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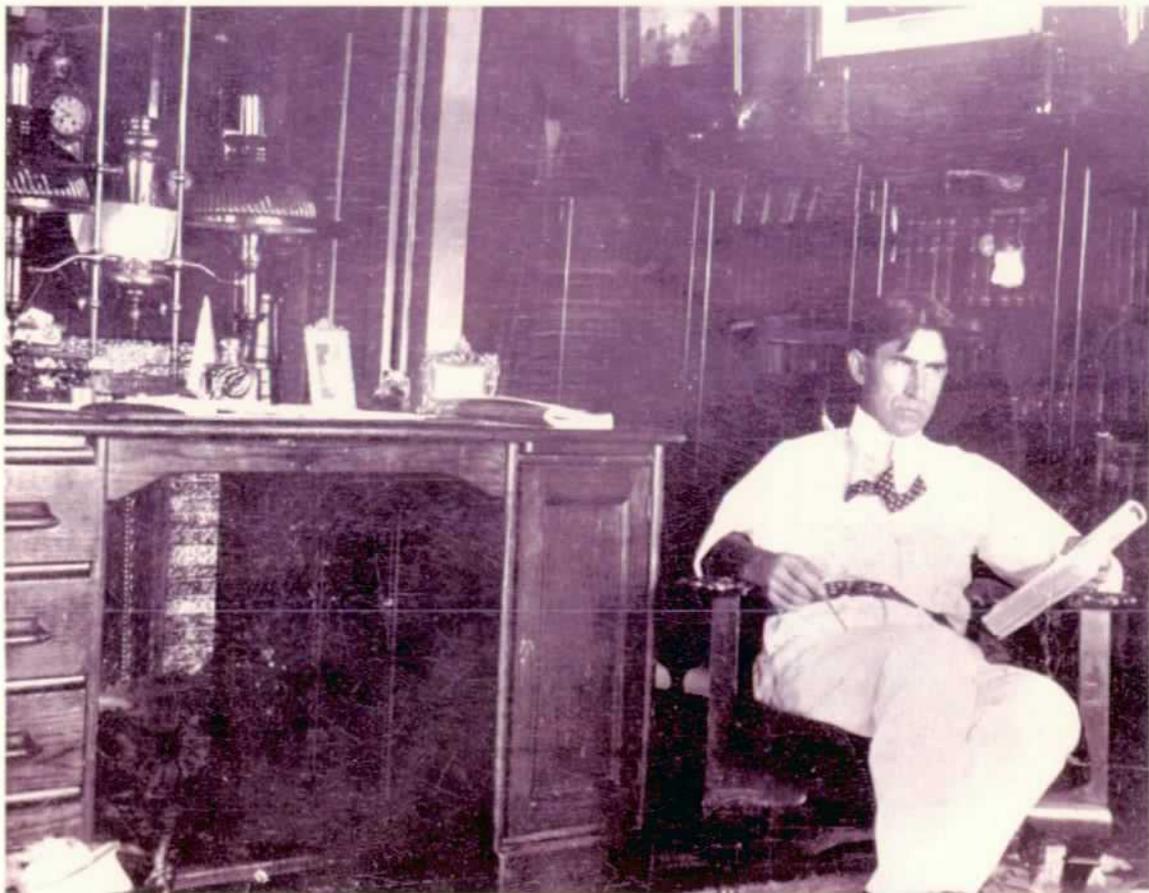


National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Historic Furnishings Report Zane Grey House

Historical Data with Implementation Options

Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River
Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania



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Photograph, Zane Grey in the Cottage, ca. 1905. Courtesy of National Park Service,
Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UPDE 871).

HISTORIC FURNISHINGS REPORT

ZANE GREY HOUSE

**Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River
Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania**

Historical Data with Implementation Options

**by
Laurel A. Racine
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**Northeast Museum Services Center
National Park Service
May 2003**

Table of Contents

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	x
MANAGEMENT SUMMARY	1
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE ADMINISTRATIVE BACKGROUND	3
Prior Planning Documents	3
National Register Significance	4
HISTORICAL DATA	
EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH CONDUCTED	7
Research Rationale	7
List of Repositories Consulted and Results	8
List of Repositories Not Consulted	14
List of Individuals Consulted	16
List of Sources Not Consulted	18
A NOTE ON SOURCES	19
Letters and Diaries	19
Financial Records	19
Legal Documents	19
Visual Documentation	20
Oral Histories	20
Interviews	21
Contemporary Periodicals.	21
Secondary Sources	21
ANALYSIS OF CONSTRUCTION, HISTORIC OWNERSHIP, OCCUPANCY, AND USE OF STRUCTURE	
The Setting: Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania	23
Delaware and Hudson (D & H) Canal Company Ownership.	26
Delaware and Hudson (D & H) Canal Company Occupancy.	26
Frederick and Mary Holbert Occupancy	27
Frederick and Mary Holbert Ownership	27
Grey Family Ownership	28
Site	28

Buildings	31
Holbert Farmhouse, Later "The Cottage"	31
Zane Grey Ownership	31
Zane Grey Family Occupancy	31
Zane Grey's Secretaries	32
Dorothy Ackerman	34
Mildred Ferguson	35
Alma or Elma Schwartz	35
Mildred Smith	36
Claire Wilhelm	36
Lillian Wilhelm	37
Elena	38
Emmeline	38
James Family Occupancy	39
1933 to the Mid-1940s	39
Helen James Johnson Ownership	39
"The Lodge"	40
Smith-Nelson House	40
Grey Family Ownership	40
Josephine Alice Grey	41
Ida Grey	42
Smith Family Ownership (Charles, Mary, and daughters Mary, Caroline Smith)	43
Nelson Family Ownership	44
Cecilia Powell Ownership	45
Outbuildings	45
Delaware and Hudson Canal Company Barn	45
1914/1915 Barn	46
Outhouses	46
Coal House	46
Children's Playhouse	46
Tennis Equipment Shed	47
Ice House	47
Cat House	48
Other Small Sheds.	48
The Big House	48
Romer Carl Grey Ownership	48
Romer Carl "R.C." Grey	49
Rebecca "Reba" Grey	51
Mary Farrell	52
Zane Grey Ownership	53
Zane Grey Family Occupancy	53
Zane Grey	54
Zane Grey and the Western Novel	64

Zane Grey and Twentieth-century Popular Culture	82
Lina "Dolly" Grey	90
Romer Zane Grey	94
Elizabeth "Betty" Zane Grey	97
Loren Grey	98
Mrs. Koch	99
Activities	101
Indoor	101
Writing	101
Painting	102
Sewing	102
Meals	103
Reading	104
Music	105
Games	106
Toys	106
Outdoor/ On Grey Property	106
Tennis	107
Other Lawn Leisure	108
Parties	108
Pets	108
Outdoor/ Beyond Grey Property	110
Walking	110
Beelining	110
Hunting	111
Boating	111
Fishing	112
Swimming	112
James Family Occupancy	112
Alvah James	113
Allie James	114
Julian James	114
Stuart James	115
Helen James Johnson Ownership/ The Zane Grey Inn and Museum	115
Helen James, Later Helen James Johnson, Later Helen James Davis	117
Buell Burdic or Burdik	117
Henry Lautenschlager	118
Albert Davis	118
National Park Service	118
National Park Service Ownership	119

EVIDENCE OF ROOM USE AND FURNISHINGS

General	121
001-004 Basement	123

101 Southeast Room (Parlor)	124
102 Southwest Room (Dining Room)	125
103 Kitchen (former Butler's Pantry and Kitchen)	126
104 Pantry	126
105 Filing Room	127
106 Northwest Room (Library)	127
107 Northeast Room (Study)	129
108 East Porch	131
109 West Porch	131
201 South Stair Hall	132
202 Southeast Chamber	132
203 Southwest Chamber (Reba Grey's Room)	132
204 Southwest Sleeping Porch	133
205 South Bathroom	133
206 West Chamber	134
207 North Bathroom	134
208 Northwest Chamber (Zane Grey's Sitting Room)	135
209 Northwest Sleeping Porch	135
210 Northeast Sleeping Porch.	136
211 Northeast Chamber (Dolly Grey's Sitting Room)	137
212 North Stair Hall	137
213 East Chamber.	137
301-305 Attic	138
ILLUSTRATIONS	141
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	183
IMPLEMENTATION OPTIONS.	199
Introduction	199
Operating Plan Considerations	199
Access	199
Hours	200
Room Use	200
Exhibit and Presentation Methods	201
Option 1	201
Option 2	202
Option 3	203
Additional Presentation Method Considerations	203
Staffing	204
Tour Pattern	204
Collection Objects.	205
Interpretive Objectives	206
Interpretive Outline	206

Notes on "Recommended Objects for Zane Grey Exhibition, Sorted by Theme"	219
General	219
Alphabetical List of Theme Codes in Chart	220
Theme Descriptions (Arranged Alphabetically by Theme Code)	221
Recommended Objects for Zane Grey Exhibition, Sorted by Theme	226
APPENDIX A: Information Regarding Film Archives	253

List of Illustrations

1. Site Plan, Zane Grey House, 1988. Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). "Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, Pike County, Pennsylvania, HABS No. PA-5371." Washington, DC: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1988.
2. Photograph, Dolly Grey in the Cottage, ca. 1905. Courtesy of Mrs. G.M. Farley Hagerstown, MD.
3. Photograph, Zane Grey in the Cottage, ca. 1905. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UPDE 871).
4. Photograph, Zane Grey in the Cottage, ca. 1905. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UPDE 1268).
5. Photograph, Zane Grey House, east elevation, post-1915. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UPDE 944).
6. Drawing, Basement Floor Plan, Zane Grey House, 1992. Short and Ford Architects, *The Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania: Historic Structures Report* (Philadelphia, PA: for Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1992), figure 38. HABS floor plan with added notations by Short and Ford.
7. Drawing, First Floor Plan, Zane Grey House, 1992. Short and Ford, *Historic Structure Report*, figure 61. HABS floor plan with added notations by Short and Ford.
8. Drawing, Second Floor Plan, Zane Grey House, 1992. Short and Ford, *Historic Structure Report*, figure 84. HABS floor plan with added notations by Short and Ford.
9. Drawing, Attic Floor Plan, Zane Grey House, 1992. Short and Ford, *Historic Structure Report*, figure 91. HABS floor plan with added notations by Short and Ford.
10. Photograph, Zane Grey as University of Pennsylvania baseball player, 1892-1896. Courtesy of Loren Grey, Woodland Hills, CA.
11. Photograph, Zane Grey as he graduates from the University of Pennsylvania, 1896. Courtesy of Loren Grey, Woodland Hills, CA.

12. Illustration, "CONDEMNED TO READ HIS OWN STORIES," from Zane Grey, "A Trout Fisherman's Inferno," *Field and Stream*, April 1910: 1118. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UPDE 779).
13. Illustration, "THE LAST TRAIL," 1939, by Vaughn Shoemaker. Courtesy of Loren Grey, Woodland Hills, CA.
14. Comic strip, "Pennsylvania Profiles: A Boy Named Pearl," 1978, by Patrick M. Reynolds. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River ("Zane Grey House Recent Clippings," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA).
15. Art work, Zane Grey commemorative postage stamp, ca. 1972. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (in UPDE 901: Zane Grey Inn and Museum Records, Series II, Box 1, Folder 7).
16. Photograph, Zane Grey writing in New Zealand, 1927. Courtesy of Loren Grey, Woodland Hills, CA.
17. Photograph, Zane Grey House, Southeast Room, facing northwest corner, July 1966. Photograph #193, July 1966, Box 1, Folder 8, Zane Grey Collection. MSSP-85, Photographic Archives, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
18. Photograph, Zane Grey House, Northwest Room (background) and Northeast Room (foreground), facing west, n.d., from the Hensel Collection of The Hawley Library, Hawley, PA.
19. Photograph, Zane Grey House, Northeast Room, facing north, n.d., from the Hensel Collection of The Hawley Library, Hawley, PA.
20. Photograph, Zane Grey in his Altadena, California study, n.d. Courtesy of Loren Grey, Woodland Hills, CA.

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Management Summary

The current report was undertaken as a preliminary step in the development of a new interpretive exhibition at the Zane Grey Museum, the early home of popular Western writer Zane Grey. Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, a unit of the National Park System, acquired the house in March 1989. Prior to the Park's acquisition, the house had served as an inn, a combination inn and museum, and, since 1973 solely as a museum. When the Park assumed management of the museum, it removed some of the more vulnerable museum objects from display, placed a ticketing and orientation area in the house's southeast room, and opened the former museum rooms to visitors on fifteen- to twenty-minute ranger-led tours. This arrangement, which is intended as a temporary measure, continues today. In addition to museum rooms, the Zane Grey Museum also houses several Park staff offices.

This report recommends that the Zane Grey Museum house an interpretive exhibition focussing on the life and work of Zane Grey during his residency in Lackawaxen from 1905 to 1918. Segments of the exhibition will address briefly Grey's childhood and earlier career as a dentist. Other segments will address briefly Grey's later work and continued legacy in American literature and popular culture. The Lackawaxen period of Grey's life is significant because here he struggled through several early, unsuccessful novels and then, with the 1910 publication of *Heritage of the Desert*, embarked on his career as a best-selling popular Western novelist. His repeated, successful use of the popular Western formula and his vivid descriptions of the West still influence Western literature, American popular culture, and the image of the American West.

The exhibition at the Zane Grey Museum will feature many of the objects and archival materials in the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River collection. To preserve some of the textile and paper-based objects, the rotation of objects and duplication of two-dimensional objects is recommended. Acquisitions should be limited to copies of photographs and archival materials in the collections of other institutions to supplement those already at the Park. The Park should also begin recording oral history interviews with visitors to the museum and consider acquiring videos and/or clips of Zane-Grey-related movies and television programs. Other acquisitions should be limited to the purchase of Lackawaxen-era books, serial magazines, and articles by Zane Grey that will support the mission and interpretive goals of the Park.

The exhibition will occupy a majority of the first floor of the house. The Park may consider using more first floor space than the current exhibition occupies. The second floor is not under consideration for exhibition space because it currently houses office space for Park staff members. Extending the exhibition onto the second floor is likely unnecessary because of the focused scope of the exhibition and the moderate number of objects to be included in it. Using the second floor also would introduce accessibility issues regarding the use of the stairwell.

The Zane Grey House will not be interpreted as a historic furnished interior because there is limited extant information upon which to base such an installation and the Park owns few Grey-era furnishings. Instead, the Grey-era furnishings and personal objects in the Park's collection will be incorporated into the interpretive exhibition.

In conjunction with the development of the new interpretive exhibition, the Park should consider extending visitor accommodations to one or both of the house's porches and the surrounding landscape. While the placement of Grey-era outdoor furniture and hammocks is not documented, the fact that the Greys owned such furniture is. Placing such furnishings on the porches and around the grounds would suggest the Greys' former use of the house and better link the house and landscape. The Park should also develop a self-guided tour of the landscape. As part of this tour, missing Grey-era landscape features should be reconstructed or marked in such a way that visitors can understand the 1910s house and landscape in which the Grey family lived.

Aside from the new interpretive exhibition in the Zane Grey Museum and a newly interpreted self-guided tour of the landscape, the museum will continue to operate much as it has over the last decade. The second floor will continue to be office space and Park rangers will continue to manage an interpretive exhibition throughout the majority of the first floor.

The Park plans to change the location of the main visitor entrance. Visitors now enter on the river side of the house through a south door into the southeast room. The future entrance will be through a north (rear) door into the southwest room. The southwest room will serve as an orientation and sales area.

The Park is striving to make the exhibits in the Zane Grey Museum as accessible to visitors as possible. To this end, the Park plans to transition from its current open, vulnerable exhibits shown on ranger-led tours to more secure exhibits which can be experienced on a self-guided basis. Making the exhibits available on a self-guided basis would allow the Park to extend the hours and season when the Zane Grey Museum is open to the public. The methods for securing exhibits and the optimum public schedule will be determined in the future. These and other issues are addressed in the section "Operating Plan Considerations."

National Park Service Administrative Background

Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River was authorized as part of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System on 10 November 1978.¹ The Park acquired from Helen James Davis the Zane Grey Museum, the early home of popular Western novelist Zane Grey, and .93 acres of land in March of 1989. In 1998, the Park acquired the neighboring Smith-Nelson House and about another acre of land from Cecilia Powell. Powell turned the property over to the National Park Service in October 2001. The Park acquired the two-acre Moran-Hurley tract located to the south of the Zane Grey House in February 2000.

When the Park assumed management of the Zane Grey Museum in 1989, it removed some of the more vulnerable museum objects from display, placed an orientation area in the house's southeast room, and opened the former museum rooms to visitors on fifteen- to twenty-minute ranger-led tours. This arrangement, which is intended as a temporary measure, continues today. In addition to museum rooms, the Zane Grey Museum also houses several Park staff offices.

PRIOR PLANNING DOCUMENTS (in chronological order)

Roach, Nancy Carrs. National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form - Zane Grey House. National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 15 October 1982.

Abbot Group Ltd. *Appraisal for United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service of the Contents of The Zane Grey Museum in Lackawaxen, PA.* New York: for Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1988.

Historic American Buildings Survey. "Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, Pike County, Pennsylvania, HABS No. PA-5371." Washington, DC: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1988.

O'Donnell, Patricia M. and Charles A. Birnbaum. *Zane Grey Property, Lackawaxen, PA: Preliminary Cultural Landscape Assessment.* Philadelphia: for Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1991.

Terry, Ron. "Historic Furnishings Report: Zane Grey House, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River New York/Pennsylvania." Unpublished report, 1991, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA.

Short and Ford Architects. *The Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania: Historic Structures Report.* Philadelphia: for Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1992.

¹ Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, National Park Service. Information on the Park's hours, access, fees, and facilities is available at nps.gov/upde, 2000.

Foster, Jeremy. *Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA: Cultural Landscape Inventory*. Philadelphia: for Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1994.

LANDSCAPES Landscape Architecture, Planning, Historic Preservation. *Cultural Landscape Treatment Plan for the Zane Grey Property, Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania*. Charlotte, Vermont, and Westport, CT: LANDSCAPES Landscape Architecture, Planning, Historic Preservation, 2000.

NATIONAL REGISTER SIGNIFICANCE

I. Summary of National Register Statement of Significance, including Criteria and Areas

A. Established Areas of Site Significance

In 1983, the Zane Grey House was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register recognizes the property as nationally significant in the area of literature.

Using current National Register criteria, the site meets Criterion B: Person. The site is associated with the early career of popular Western novelist Zane Grey from 1905 to 1918.

A portion of the National Register statement of significance reads as follows:

By 1905, [Zane] Grey had lost all interest in his dental practice and moved to this house in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, with his new wife, Lina Elise "Dolly" Roth, to pursue his writing career. That same year, Zane's brother Romer Carl Grey had finished building the house in Lackawaxen at the confluence of the Delaware and Lackawaxen Rivers where the two had frequently gone on fishing and hunting expeditions. Zane and Dolly had first met in the area and it was here, from 1905 to 1918, that the aspiring author composed a dozen of his early Western novels.

Between trips to the Southwest in 1907 and 1911, Zane [Grey] wrote the *HERITAGE OF THE DESERT* (1910) and the classic, *RIDERS OF THE PURPLE SAGE* (1912), in a bungalow [The Lodge] formerly adjacent to the Zane Grey House. In 1912 following the huge popular and critical success of *RIDERS OF THE PURPLE SAGE*, Grey added the 'Study' [northeast room, 107] or north wing onto the main house built by Romer. Surrounded by artifacts and memorabilia from trips out West, Grey continued writing best sellers based on his Western expeditions. On a lapboard and in longhand Grey composed nine of his novels in his beloved 'Study.' They are: *DESERT GOLD* (1913), *THE LIGHT OF THE WESTERN STARS* (1914), *THE LONE STAR*

RANGER (1915), THE RAINBOW TRAIL (1915), THE BORDER LEGION (1916), WILDFIRE (1916), THE MAN OF THE FOREST (1917), THE U.P. TRAIL (1917), and THE DESERT OF WHEAT (1918).

B. Potential New Areas of Site Significance

No new areas of site significance are proposed at this time.

C. Areas of Site Significance Considered and Rejected

No new areas of site significance were considered and rejected.

D. Collections as a Feature of the Site

1. Established Areas of Site Significance

Criterion B: Person, Zane Grey

National Significance

The collection objects in the Zane Grey House illuminate how Grey wrote and how he became a best-selling author of popular literature. The objects fall roughly into two groups: those associated with the Grey family and those collected later by Zane Grey Inn and Museum owner Helen James Davis.

The interior architectural features of the house survive largely intact. The finishes in the northeast and northwest rooms, Zane Grey's study and library, are also largely intact while those elsewhere in the house are diminished by later layers of paint. Of particular interest are the Navajo and Hopi friezes executed by Lillian Wilhelm in the study (1915) and library (1916). The surviving interior architectural features and finishes in these rooms are significant because Grey or his wife Dolly chose them as his surroundings while he wrote.

The historic furnishings and personal objects that can be associated with the Grey family are significant as remnants of the objects the Greys owned during their time in the Lackawaxen house. Of chief importance among these objects are Grey's Morris-type chair and lapboard where he wrote and manuscript fragments which indicate his writing process. He wrote by hand the initial drafts of his books and articles. Dolly Grey, or later Grey's secretaries, edited and typed the manuscripts to be sent to publishers. The extant objects that can be associated with the Grey family possess a moderate to high degree of integrity in terms of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, association, and setting.

Zane-Grey-related materials collected by Zane Grey Inn and Museum owner Helen James Davis aid in the interpretation of Zane Grey's writing, and later movie, career. These assembled objects document in a haphazard fashion Grey's rapid progress from his early publications in the "pulp" and "slicks," to his hardcover editions, to the dramatization of his novels in movies, to recent publications and adaptations of his works in paperbacks and magazines. The collection as a whole possesses a low degree of integrity as far as location, setting, and association; but a moderate degree of integrity in terms of design, materials, workmanship, and feeling.

2. Potential New Areas of Site Significance

No new areas of site significance are proposed at this time.

II. Additional Areas of Significance for Site Collections

No additional areas of significance for site collections are proposed at this time.

Historical Data

EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH CONDUCTED

Research Rationale

Original documents related to Zane Grey and the Zane Grey House are not all located in one central public repository. According to Park staff, many materials are held privately by Grey's surviving children, Betty Zane Grosso and Dr. Loren Grey. Both were contacted in letters outlining the goals and needs of the current project. Dr. Grey felt that the material in his collection would not provide relevant information. Betty Zane Grosso did not respond.

The largest concentration of Zane Grey material in a public collection is at the Cline Library at Northern Arizona University. Other repositories were identified by searching *The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (NUCMC) and *Research Libraries Network* (RLIN). The bibliographies of secondary sources on Zane Grey also provided leads for collections containing original materials.

Below is an accounting of the institutions consulted and those not consulted. Those consulted were perceived to be the most promising in terms of information related to the Zane Grey House, Zane Grey's personal and professional life during the Lackawaxen years, and the daily life of the Grey family during the same period. Preference was given to collections that would yield information beyond Zane Grey's public persona and the business of publishing. Therefore, his letters to David Dexter Rust, a Western explorer and Mormon, were chosen for consultation over the records of A.C. McClurg and Company and letters to businessmen and politicians. This is not to say that these collections do not contain relevant information, but in the interest of time they were not consulted. Only the information provided in the NUCMC and RLIN searches is included below.

The varied geographic locations of the repositories present an obstacle to accessing information regarding the institutions' collections and the collections themselves. Therefore, the information regarding the repositories is uneven and dependent upon that provided by staff members at the sites. When possible, copies of materials were obtained free of charge. Otherwise, most materials were dated later than the Lackawaxen period, related solely to Grey's work (e.g. manuscripts, galley proofs), or promised little relevant information.

Two collections worthy of future site visits are the Robert Hobart Davis Papers at the New York Public Library and the Ripley Hitchcock Papers at New York University's Bobst Library. The location of both collections in New York City, the number of letters available (seventy-eight), and the early time frame (in particular the 1912 series in the Hitchcock collection) make future site visits feasible and worthwhile.

List of Repositories Consulted and Results

- Arizona Historical Society, 949 E. Second Street, Tucson, Arizona, 85719.

The Arizona Historical Society has the George W. Parsons Collection which purportedly contains items related to Zane Grey. The Parsons Collection is currently uncatalogued and housed in four boxes. The nature of the materials related to Zane Grey cannot be determined without a site visit.

- Brigham Young University Archives, Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 84602.

There are 209 photographs in the Zane Grey Collection at Brigham Young University. A majority of these photographs are of a 1917 trip to Colorado. There are four photographs of the Zane Grey House in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania: one of the exterior at an unknown date and three of the interior circa 1966. Photocopies and one print (see ill. 17) of these photographs were obtained for this study.

Brigham Young University also has thirty-five manuscripts of published and unpublished works by Grey. Most are first draft pencil holographs written on one side of legal-sized paper. The manuscripts include *The Rainbow Trail*, *The Border Legion*, *To the Last Man*, and *The Shepherd of Guadalupe*.

- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, 50 E. North Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah, 84150.

The Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has eleven letters written from Zane Grey to David Dexter Rust dated March 1908 to April 1911. These letters concern Grey's desire to hire Rust as a guide for a Western trip. Grey took the trip, but Rust did not serve as his guide. This institution also has the Edwin Dilworth Woolley Papers which contains two letters from Zane Grey to Woolley. Photocopies of the Rust and Woolley Papers were obtained for this study.

- Colby College, Waterville, Maine, 04901.

The Colby College collection contains one letter dated 1933 from Zane Grey to Nathan Wallack.

- Butler Library, 6th Floor E, Columbia University, New York, New York, 10027.

Columbia University has two collections containing Zane Grey correspondence. The J.O. Brown Collection contains six communications from Zane Grey to George T. Bye dated [1927] to 1930. The Ripley Hitchcock Collection contains one letter from Zane Grey to Mrs. Ripley Hitchcock dated 1918.

- Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library; Duke University; Durham; North Carolina; 27708-0185.

The Thomas Nelson Page Papers at Duke University contains one letter dated 1919 from Zane Grey to Mr. Hampton. A photocopy of this letter was obtained for this study.

- George Eastman House/ International Museum of Photography and Film, 900 East Avenue, Rochester, New York, 14607.

The George Eastman House/ International Museum of Photography and Film owns three films based on Zane Grey's novels: the 1930 version of *Last of the Duanes*, the 1931 version of *The Rainbow Trail*, and the 1925 version of *Riders of the Purple Sage*. These films may be rented for showings, but according to the museum's policy clips from the films *may not* be used in an exhibition.

- The Hawley Public Library, 103 Main Avenue, Hawley, Pennsylvania, 18431.

The Hawley Public Library owns the "Hensel Collection" which contains three undated, Grey-period glass plate negatives depicting the exterior of the Zane Grey House, the northwest room, and the northeast room (see ill. 18-19).

- Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138.

The Houghton Library at Harvard University contains two undated letters from Zane Grey. He wrote one to Whitter Binner and the other to "Lanier."

- Hollywood Studio Museum, 2100 Highland Avenue, Hollywood, California, 90068.

The Hollywood Studio Museum has a handful of still photographs of Zane Grey during the filming of some early movies based on his books including *Wanderer of the Wasteland*. The photographs show him both on location and on studio sets. The researcher requested more information regarding these images which has not arrived to date. Knowing the details of the museum's holdings would aid in the acquisition of appropriate copies of the stills for inclusion in the Park's exhibition (see "Recommended Objects for Zane Grey Exhibition, Sorted by Theme" chart below).

- John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK) Library, Columbia Point, Boston, Massachusetts, 02125.

The Ernest Hemingway Collection at the JFK Library contains two 1935 letters from Zane Grey to Hemingway. Photocopies of these letters were obtained for this study.

- Manuscript Collections, Library of Congress, 1st Street & Independence Avenue SE, Washington, DC, 20540.

The Library of Congress has three collections with materials related to Zane Grey. The Grey Collection contains pencil drafts of seventeen novels including *Desert of Wheat*, *Man of the Forest*, *The U.P. Trail*, and *Nevada*. The Daniel Beard Papers and the William Temple Hornaday Papers contain correspondence from Zane Grey. The number of and dates for the letters cannot be determined without a site visit.

- Prints, Photographs, and Films; Library of Congress; 1st Street & Independence Avenue SE; Washington; DC; 20540.

The researcher consulted the Library of Congress' on-line database of collections in search of prints, photographs and films related to Zane Grey. See Appendix A for results.

- National Road/ Zane Grey Museum, 8850 East Pike, Norwich, Ohio, 43767.

The researcher contacted the National Road/ Zane Grey Museum by letter in October 1999. To date no response has been received. It is unknown what, if any, collection objects or archival materials the museum may have related to the Greys' 1905 to 1918 Lackawaxen period.

- Rare Books and Manuscripts, New York Public Library, 476 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York, 10018-2788.

Two collections at the New York Public Library contain correspondence from Zane Grey. The Robert Hobart Davis Papers contains thirty-one letters from Grey to Davis and thirty letters from Davis to Grey. All letters date to between 1912 and 1935. There are also two letters in the Alfred Anthony Collection: one from Grey to Ernest Ingersoll dated 1922 and one from Grey to Alfred Anthony dated 1923.

- Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, New York University, 70 Washington Square South, New York, New York, 10012-1091.

New York University's Bobst Library contains fifteen letters from Zane Grey to Ripley Hitchcock dated June to September 1912.

- Special Collections Department, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona, 86011.

The Cline Library at Northern Arizona University has a great deal of information related to Zane Grey. The Zane Grey Collection contains a Zane Grey diary dated spring 1908 and some of his correspondence. The G.M. Farley Collection contains several hundred photocopy pages of transcribed entries from Zane Grey's diary and letters between Zane and Dolly Grey dating from 1904 to 1936. The Cline Library also has a small uncatalogued lot of Zane Grey-related ephemera containing newspaper clippings,

magazine articles, and advertisements. Photocopies of relevant materials were obtained for the purpose of this study.

- Ohio Historical Center, 1982 Velma Avenue, Columbus, Ohio, 43211-2497.

The Ohio Historical Center has two collections containing materials related to Zane Grey: the Zane Grey Collection and the Lewis M. Gray Papers. The Zane Grey Collection contains items dating from 1915 to 1963. The material includes original typescripts, galley proofs, comic strip page proofs, copies of Grey's fishing articles, newspaper clippings, and television scripts from Dick Powell's *Zane Grey Theatre*. Of particular interest is a scrapbook of correspondence from Grey's readers collected on the twentieth anniversary of his relationship with Harper & Brothers in 1930. This volume is entitled *The Voice of Zane Grey's Public*. The Center also has copies of letters between Zane Grey and his agent Robert Davies dating 1912 to 1935. The correspondence from Grey's readers and the newspaper clippings are available on microfilm via interlibrary loan. Due to time constraints, the researcher did not consult these materials.

The Lewis M. Gray Papers date from 1862 to 1899, earlier than the Greys' occupancy of the Zane Grey House. The collection contains letters, personal items, account books, writings, and newspaper clippings. Due to time constraints, the researcher did not consult any materials at the Ohio Historical Center.

- Pierpont Morgan Library, Madison Avenue & 29th and 36th Streets, New York, New York, 10016.

The Pierpont Morgan Library contains two items related to Zane Grey. One is a manuscript copy of "The Rube." The other is a letter to Harper & Brothers. The researcher requested copies of these items which have not been received to date.

- Pike County Historical Society, P.O. Box 915, Milford, Pennsylvania, 18337-0915.

The Pike County Historical Society maintains a vertical file of local historical interest. This vertical file contains files on Zane Grey and Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania. These files contain newspaper clippings, magazine articles, typed and handwritten file cards, and correspondence from area civic groups. The Zane Grey file contains a letter from Dolly Grey to Alvah James dated 1945. The Society also has secondary sources on the history of Pike County. Photocopies of relevant materials were obtained for the purpose of this study.

- Pike County Mapping Department, 506 Broad Street, Milford, Pennsylvania, 18337.

The Pike County Mapping Department contains microfilm copies of the county's tax assessments. Notes were taken from these records for the years 1899 to 1919.

- Pike County Registry of Deeds, 506 Broad Street, Milford, Pennsylvania, 18337.

The Pike County Registry of Deeds contains deeds and mortgages related to the Greys' Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, property. Copies of deeds and mortgages from 1898 to 1946 were obtained for the purpose of this study.

- Rim County Museum of the Northern Gila County Historical Society (formerly the Zane Grey Museum/ Counsellor Art and Museum of the Forest), P.O. Box 2532, Payson, Arizona, 85547.

The Rim County Museum of the Northern Gila County Historical Society has a 1904 player piano and several music rolls in excellent condition. These items purportedly belonged to the Zane Grey family during their time in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania. However, the Society's staff members are not convinced of this attribution because it is based on information provided to the former owner by an antique shop. The researcher requested additional information on these items which has not arrived to date. Further information regarding these objects would be of interest in relationship to the Greys' Lackawaxen furnishings and musical activities (see "Activities - Music" section below).

- University of California Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive, University of California, 2626 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, California, 94720.

The researcher consulted the Pacific Film Archive's "Film Notes" and collection holdings on-line. The "Film Notes" are program notes from the Archive's exhibition calendar. These notes vary in length and detail, but generally include a brief comment, the director, writer, and the film's release date, length, and source. See Appendix A for results of the search in collection holdings.

- University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) Film and Television Archive, University of California Los Angeles, 46 Powell Library, Los Angeles, California.

The researcher consulted the UCLA Film and Television Archive's collection holdings on-line. See Appendix A for further information regarding the institution and for results of the search in collection holdings

- Donehy Memorial Library, University of Southern California (USC), Los Angeles, California, 90089-0182.

The University of Southern California has materials related to Zane Grey in its Hamlin Garland Papers. There are five letters from Zane Grey to Garland, only one of which is fully dated to December 1929. There is also a 1935 letter from Dolly Grey to Garland. USC also has drafts of Garland's post-1930 memoirs which contain a description of Zane Grey on an ocean voyage in November 1932. Photocopies of all materials were obtained for the purpose of this study.

- Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, P.O. Box 7219, Austin, Texas, 78713-7219.

The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center has manuscripts and correspondence related to Zane Grey. The manuscript holdings are an undated draft of *Betty Zane*, a fragment of *Heritage of the Desert*, and a revised draft of "The Last of the Bordermen" (published as *The Last Trail*). A majority of the correspondence dates between 1904 and 1907. Grey's correspondents at this time included Samuel Alman, Charles W. Brockunier, R.B. Brown of Charles Francis Press (publisher of *Betty Zane*), Madge Clark Claflin, George Corsa, his sister Ida Grey, W.G. Hornaday, H.H. Johnson, Clement Luther Martzloff, Daniel M. Murphy, J.H. Newton, May A. Perkins, Margaret M. Stultz, L.N. Wetzel, and Charles Milton Lewis Wiseman. There are also letters from individuals other than Zane Grey to Charles Francis Press: Charles W. Brockunier, R.B. Brown, Mrs. M.C. Morphis, and L.N. Wetzel. There is one 1906 letter from an unidentified author to Ida Grey. The Research Center also has letters dated 1924 between Zane Grey and James Frank Dobie. Photocopies of these letters may not be obtained without permission from the copyright holders. Since they likely do not contain information related to the furnishings or daily activities at the Zane Grey House, the researcher did not pursue copies of them. However, the early letters may contain interesting information related to the publication of *Betty Zane* and *The Spirit of the Border*.

- Special Collections Department, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 22903-2498.

The Alderman Library contains several items related to Zane Grey. Manuscripts include *Under the Western Stars*, "Shores of Lethe" (poetry), and a quotation from *The Vanishing American*. There are letters from Zane Grey to a Professor McConnahey (undated), to Douglas Doty in which he offers the first serial rights to *The Rainbow Trail* (1914), and to Robert Hobart Davis in which he postpones a fishing trip (1919). There is a 1930 letter from Grey's secretary to Milton J. Lesser. Letters from Zane Grey also appear in the Edward L. Stone-Borderland Coal Company Papers during the period of 1921 to 1935.

- Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, RR 2, Box 2428, Beach Lake, Pennsylvania, 18405-9737.

Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River has archives, collection objects, and vertical files related to Zane Grey. The three related archival collections are the Grey Family Papers, the James Family Papers, and the Zane Grey Inn and Museum Records. The Grey Family Papers include correspondence, financial records, manuscripts, sheet music, clippings, and photographs. The James Family Papers contain correspondence from the Grey family and copies of magazine articles by Alvah James. The Zane Grey Inn and Museum Records contain guest ledgers, brochure art work, collected reference materials, and photographs.

The Zane Grey Museum collection objects include furnishings; books; magazines; advertising posters and art work; dental instruments; fishing equipment; other sporting goods; personal items and clothing; children's toys; photographs; and art work by Zane and Dolly Grey.

The Park's vertical files contain files on Zane Grey and Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania. In these files are photocopied and original newspaper clippings, correspondence, magazine articles, materials produced by the Park, and research materials including correspondence conducted by project historian Nancy Spiegel in preparation for the 1988 Historic American Buildings Survey.

- Horman Library, Wagner College, 631 Howard Avenue, Staten Island, New York, 10301-4495.

The Horman Library at Wagner College has a very limited number of Zane Grey items in its Daniel Murphy Collection and Edwin Markham Collection. Today the Markham collection contains only the lower half of a letter signed by Zane Grey. A full letter from Grey to Markham is missing from the collection. The researcher has requested further information regarding the contents of the Daniel Murphy Collection, but has received no response to date.

- Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, P.O. Box 208240, New Haven, Connecticut, 06520.

The Beinecke Library at Yale University has a few items related to Zane Grey. It has a manuscript of *The Young Lion Hunter* and four scripts based on Zane Grey novels including *Riders of the Purple Sage*. There is one letter from Grey to a Mr. Hamilton. In addition there are fifteen silent films starring Tom Mix. It is possible some are Zane Grey films.

- Other

The Following institutions were contacted but do not have archival holdings related to Zane Grey: Los Angeles Public Library; Milford (Pennsylvania) Public Library; and the State Library of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

List of Repositories Not Consulted

- Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tuscon, Arizona.

The George Whitwell Parsons Papers in the collection of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society contains correspondence with Zane Grey.

- Film Forum-Film Archives, 579A Haddon Avenue, Collingswood, New Jersey, 08108-1445

The Film Forum-Film Archives is a potential source for Zane Grey films and movie stills. The film archives include films on dramatic and documentary subjects including American films from 1930 to 1960.

- Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The Joseph Hampton Moore Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania contains correspondence with Zane Grey.

- Film and Video Collection, Museum of Modern Art, 11 West 53rd Street, New York, New York, 10019.

The Museum of Modern Art's film and video collection is a potential source for Zane Grey films and movie stills. The collection contains 14,000 films and four million film stills.

- Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

The Newberry Library's A.C. McClurg and Company Records contains correspondence, contracts, royalty statements, and record books related to the publishing company. Zane Grey is represented in the records.

- Stanford University, Stanford, California.

Stanford University's Eugene T. Sawyer Collection contains correspondence from Zane Grey.

- Syracuse University - Arents Research Library, Syracuse, New York.

Syracuse University's Robert Hobart Davis Collection contains correspondence with Zane Grey.

- University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

The Special Collections Department has two letters from Hamlin Garland to Zane Grey from circa 1930. One praises a "fishing picture." The other proposes to arrange a meeting and contains Garland's new address.

- University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The University of North Carolina's George Erwin Cullet Stephens Collection contains correspondence from Zane Grey.

- University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

The University of Oregon has correspondence, manuscripts, galley and page proofs, screenplays, illustrations and other papers for many authors including Zane Grey.

- University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

The University of Wyoming's Harold Medford Papers contains scripts for Dick Powell's *Zane Grey Theatre*.

List of Individuals Consulted

- Dr. Kevin Blake, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

Dr. Blake provided copies of his 1991 master's thesis entitled "Zane Grey's Impact on Images of the American West" and his 1995 article "Zane Grey and Images of the American West."

- Mrs. G.M. (Francis) Farley, Hagerstown, Maryland.

Mrs. Farley has access to the portion of her late husband's (G.M. Farley's) Zane Grey collection not at Northern Arizona University. She loaned the researcher photographs including one depicting Dolly Grey in the Cottage, circa 1905 (see ill. 2).

- Dr. Loren Grey, Zane Grey Inc., Woodland Hills, California.

Dr. Grey is Zane Grey's youngest son and president of Zane Grey Inc. Grey has some diaries and photographs related to the Lackawaxen period of Grey's career, but felt that they would be of no value to this study as they contain little or no information about the Zane Grey House. He granted permission for this study to publish photographs whose rights he owns.

- Betty Zane Grosso, Santa Rosa, California.

Betty Zane Grosso is Zane Grey's daughter. The researcher contacted her by letter in December 1999. To date, no response has been received.

- Dr. Candace Kant, Las Vegas, Nevada.

Dr. Kant is the author of the 1984 book entitled *Zane Grey's Arizona*. The researcher contacted her by letter in October 1999. To date, no response has been received.

- Jodie Kuhn, Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania.

Ms. Kuhn is the granddaughter of Gottlieb Kuhn, the Greys' Lackawaxen neighbor and the contractor for the 1916 addition to the Big House. She has her grandfather's papers.

Those which were private she wishes to remain private. According to Kuhn, those related to the building of the addition, primarily shipping records, were photocopied and are now in the Park's collection.

- Carol Murphy, Tuscon, Arizona.

Mrs. Murphy is Betty Zane Grosso's daughter and Zane Grey's granddaughter. She was unable to supply any information regarding the Zane Grey House but encouraged the researcher to contact her mother.

- Dr. Charles Pfeiffer, Zane Grey's West Society, Columbia, South Carolina.

Dr. Pfeiffer is the director of Zane Grey's West Society. He did not have any unique materials to share but recommended a variety of primary and secondary sources to consult.

- Cecilia Powell, London, England.

Mrs. Powell is the daughter of Mary Smith Nelson and former owner of the Smith-Nelson House. She participated in an oral history interview regarding the Grey family, the Smith and Nelson families, the Zane Grey House, her memories of her mother's stories regarding the Greys, the James family, and her memories of the Zane Grey Inn and Museum. Mrs. Powell also took the researcher to see the Moran property where portions of the Cottage were recycled into two extant structures. In addition, Mrs. Powell and the researcher examined the Mary Smith Nelson papers which remain in Powell's possession. Copies of relevant materials were made for the purpose of this study.

- Dr. Philip Rulon, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona.

Dr. Rulon is a senior lecturer at Northern Arizona University and assisted in the University's acquisition of the G.M. Farley Collection. He did not have any unique materials to share but clarified some points regarding the Farley Collection.

- Carolyn Timmerman, Zane Grey's West Society, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Mrs. Timmerman is the secretary-treasurer of Zane Grey's West Society. She provided the address for Dr. Kevin Blake. She has some original correspondence in her possession. She offered to send copies of any relevant letters. To date, no copies have been received.

- Dr. Joseph Wheeler, Zane Grey's West Society, Conifer, Colorado.

Dr. Wheeler is the executive director of Zane Grey's West Society and author of the 1975 doctoral dissertation "Zane Grey's Impact on American Life and Letters: A Study in the Popular Novel." The researcher contacted Wheeler by letter in October 1999. To date, no response has been received.

List of Sources Not Consulted

Easton, Robert and Mackenzie Brown. *Lord of Beasts: The Saga of Buffalo Jones*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1961.

Goble, Danney G. "'The Days That Were No More': A Look at Zane Grey's West." *Journal of Arizona History* 14: 63-75 (spring 1973).

_____. "Zane Grey's West: An Intellectual Appraisal." Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1969.

Grey, Loren. *Zane Grey: A Photographic Odyssey*. Dallas: Taylor Publishing, 1985. [Note: photocopies of some pages were consulted in Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River's vertical files, but the researcher did not consult the book in its entirety.]

Ronald, Ann. *Zane Grey*. Western Writers Series, no. 17. Boise: Boise State University, 1975.

Schneider, Norris F. *Zane Grey and Related Newspaper Articles*. No further information.

Scott, Kenneth W. *Zane Grey: Born to the West, A Reference Guide*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

- Letters and Diaries

The main public source for Grey family correspondence is Northern Arizona University. However, the transcribed letters dating 1905 to 1936 in the Farley Collection provide little information regarding the Zane Grey House and its furnishings. The most fruitful letters are Dolly Grey's 1916 letters to Zane Grey describing the progress of their second addition to the house. Dolly Grey's letters provide slightly more information on the family's daily activities including exercise, food preparation, and visitors.

Zane Grey correspondence located in the papers of other individuals he knew personally or professionally provide little or no information directly related to the Zane Grey House. These letters are more helpful in illuminating Grey's activities on his many trips, his writing processes, and occasionally his views on life and religion.

The James Family Papers in the collection of Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River provide information on the later lives of the Grey family members. These letters span the years 1933 to 1957. The letters to Alvah and Allie James contain family news, arrangements for trips to Lackawaxen, and the very rare request that the Jameses look for something the Greys left behind. Dolly Grey's 1940s letters to Helen James Johnson illuminate the sale of the house. The 1950s letters from Betty Zane Grosso to Helen James Johnson indicate the types of Zane Grey-related objects Grosso donated to the Zane Grey Inn and Museum.

The diaries of Zane and Dolly Grey exist. Most are in private hands. Those at Northern Arizona University are Zane Grey's diary from spring 1908 when he traveled to Arizona with Buffalo Jones and a transcription of Dolly Grey's diary from 1906 when the Greys went on their honeymoon to the West. Due to the timing of the entries, these diaries provide information about the Greys' travels, not their home life.

- Financial Records

The financial records in the collection of Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River include a check book and bank book from 1912 to 1915, cancelled checks from 1913 to 1926, a limited number of invoices (mostly from R.H. Macy & Co.) from 1906 to 1918, freight bills from 1914 to 1915, and construction invoices from 1915 to 1917. The bank records provide information on the Greys' hired help, taxes, subscriptions to periodicals, and charitable donations. The invoices provide a limited view of their purchases of food, clothing, books, small furnishings, and other miscellaneous goods. The freight bills record the shipping of construction materials, horses, recreational equipment, and some furnishings to the Greys in Lackawaxen. The construction invoices offer an abbreviated account of the work and workers involved in the expansion of the Zane Grey House.

- Legal Documents

The deeds and mortgage related to the Zane Grey House are located at the Pike County Registry of Deeds. These documents contain very little physical description of

the property beyond boundary lines and acreage. They are most useful in confirming the chain of ownership and when the property changed hands.

Tax assessments of the Greys' property are located at the Pike County Mapping Department. These assessments provide a rough sense of the quantity and value of property and large structures the Greys owned during their tenure in the county. Although the notations vary year to year, often the number of large animals on the property were also recorded.

- Visual Documentation

There is limited visual documentation of the exterior of the Zane Grey House starting in the early 1910s. One photograph in the collection of Dr. Loren Grey depicts a young child seated in front of the house prior to the two large 1910s additions. Later twentieth-century photographs document changes in the house's exterior color, adornment with awnings, porches, and landscaping. Since at least the 1970s, the house appeared with some frequency in newspaper and magazine articles on Zane Grey or travel to the northeastern Pennsylvania region. National Park Service projects, the Historic American Building Survey and a historic structure report, generated sets of exterior photographs in 1988 and 1992 which documented the extant conditions.

There are two known photographs of the interior of the Zane Grey House dating to the Grey family occupancy. These photographs offer a good view of Zane Grey's two primary work spaces. There are three surviving images depicting the interior of Zane and Dolly Grey's early Lackawaxen home, the Cottage. The Cottage photographs offer a limited glimpse of the types of furnishings the Greys owned early in their marriage.

The interior of the first floor "museum rooms" of the Zane Grey Inn and Museum appear in a very few photographs presumably taken by Helen James Davis. The rooms also appear in a variety of newspaper and magazine articles. Documentary photographs were taken during the course of three National Park Service projects: the 1988 appraisal of the Zane Grey Museum's collection objects, the 1988 Historic American Building Survey, and the 1992 historic structure report. None of these photographs definitively document the contents of even the museum rooms due to the quantity of objects located in the rooms and the broad nature of the studies.

- Oral Histories

Soon after the National Park Service acquired the Zane Grey House, Historian Mary Curtis conducted a series of oral history interviews in order to document the memories of local individuals who knew the Grey family and some history of the house. Interviewees included former owners of the Zane Grey Inn and Museum, Al and Helen James Davis; Zane Grey's daughter, Betty Zane Grosso; daughter of the Greys' former caretaker, Mary Smith Nelson; and the son of one of Dolly Grey's friends, Lindsley Smith.

Mary Smith Nelson provided the most information related to the Zane Grey House and the daily lives of the Grey family. She was also able to provide a limited amount of information on the furnishings of the first floor rooms.

Helen James Davis provided information from the time when her family began living in the house in 1933 until the time of the interview in 1989. Al and Helen James Davis both provided details regarding the early 1970s to late 1980s operation of the Zane Grey Museum.

- Interviews

The researcher interviewed Cecilia Powell, daughter of Mary Smith Nelson and former owner of the Smith-Nelson House. Powell corroborated her mother's earlier informative interview and shared her own memories of the Zane Grey Inn and Museum.

- Contemporary Periodicals

Newspaper clippings in the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River collection do not shed much light on the overall career of Zane Grey. Most of them date to 1918 and pertain to movies based on Zane Grey novels.

Aside from combing old newspapers, Dr. Joseph Wheeler's doctoral dissertation is the best source for period book reviews of Grey's novels. He presents a selection of reviews dating from as early as 1916 to as late as 1970. He effectively dispels the myth that Grey received only bad reviews.

- Secondary Sources

Several books and articles address Zane Grey's life and novels. The treatment of Zane Grey can be divided roughly into three categories: books that deal with Zane Grey's work almost exclusively, those that address Grey in the context of Western writing, and those that consider Grey in the larger context of twentieth-century popular literature and popular culture.

The earliest is the 1928 Harper & Brothers publication *Zane Grey: The Man and His Work* which includes essays written by Zane Grey himself. Other books that address Zane Grey alone are Karr's 1949 *Zane Grey: Man of the West*; Gruber's 1970 *Zane Grey: A Biography*; Jackson's 1973 *Twayne's United States Author Series: Zane Grey*; Wheeler's 1975 doctoral dissertation "Zane Grey's Impact on American Life and Letters: A Study in the Popular Novel"; Kant's 1984 *Zane Grey's Arizona*; Kimball's 1993 *Ace of Hearts*; and May's 1997 *Romancing the West*.

Gruber's book provides the most biographical material but adheres to many of the myths surrounding Zane Grey at the time. The works from the mid-1980s to the 1990s take a more critical view of the actual versus the mythical man. The quantity of Zane Grey's works is a problem in most of these books. Some authors try to address all of Grey's novels and thus devote a significant amount of space to recounting the bare plot outlines of over eighty books. Others try to base their arguments regarding Grey's entire output on a select few novels that suit their purposes. The most successful book is Kant's *Zane Grey's Arizona*. Using geography as a limiting factor, Kant is able to examine a manageable number of books and movies to a satisfying degree of depth.

Books that consider Zane Grey within the context of Western writing include Folsom's 1979 *The Western: A Collection of Critical Essays*; Milton's 1980 *Novel of the*

American West; and Bold's 1987 *Selling the Wild West*. Authors in Folsom's collection and Bold examine Grey's works in relationship to other formula Westerns. Milton is more dismissive of Grey and makes a distinction between the "formula western," a "subliterary form" denoted with a lower-case "w," and the "literary Western," or works of high literary value such as those by Willa Cather and John Steinbeck.

Works which place Zane Grey's work in the larger scheme of popular culture are Nye's 1970 *Unembarrassed Muse*; Cawelti's 1976 *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture*; and Hamilton's 1987 *Western and Hard-boiled Detective Fiction in America*. Of the three, the *Unembarrassed Muse* is the broadest treatment of popular culture and includes brief discussions of Grey's novels, the movies based on his novels, and the 1950s television program, *Zane Grey Theatre*. The other two books consider Grey in the context of formula fiction and its function in American culture.

ANALYSIS OF CONSTRUCTION, HISTORIC OWNERSHIP, OCCUPANCY, AND USE OF STRUCTURE

The Setting: Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania

The Zane Grey House is located in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, a rural community in northeastern Pennsylvania in present-day Pike County. The area's first inhabitants were the Lenape and Iroquois; however, they did not build any large or permanent villages.² According to a preliminary archeological assessment conducted by Hunter Research, Inc., the Grey property contains prehistoric artifacts presumed to date from the Woodland and Archaic periods of Native American occupation.³ The first European settlement was near present-day Lackawaxen village in about 1770.⁴ The flat flood plains were easy to plow and were farmed in the eighteenth century.⁵ Lackawaxen Township, taking its name from the Lackawaxen River which flows through it, was founded in 1798. The Lackawaxen, an important tributary of the Delaware River, is named after the Native American word meaning "swift waters."⁶

Lackawaxen has supported a changing series of industries during its 200-year history. Early industries included logging and mining. In 1823 the Delaware and Hudson (D & H) Canal Company was formed. The canal formally opened in 1828 allowing easier transportation of resources from the area.⁷ The New York and Erie Railroad started servicing the region in 1848.⁸ This railroad line, today Norfolk Southern, did and does employ many local residents.⁹ Despite the 1848 expansion of the canal and addition of an aqueduct, the more dependable rail service was a blow to the canal which was disrupted by natural phenomena such as ice, drought, and floods. The D & H Canal Company eventually abandoned the canal in 1898.¹⁰

John Fletcher Kilgour took advantage of rail transportation when he started to quarry the area's bluestone in 1863.¹¹ One local history source states:

Bluestone is hard, fine-grained, and smooth. It has excellent durability and an attractive color. It takes a good polish, and does not become slippery when wet.

² George J. Fluhr, "Quarries, Kilgour, and Pike County, Pa.," in *A History of Pike County*, edited by Norman B. Lehde (Pike County: n.p., 1989), p. 1.

³ Patricia M. O'Donnell and Charles A. Birnbaum, *Zane Grey Property, Lackawaxen, PA: Preliminary Cultural Landscape Assessment* (Philadelphia: for Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1991), pp. 2-3.

⁴ Fluhr, p. 1.

⁵ Jeremy Foster, *Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA: Cultural Landscape Inventory* (Philadelphia: for Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1994), p. 6.

⁶ Alfred Mathews, *History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck, 1886), p. 954.

⁷ "Delaware and Hudson Canal," Report, Unknown source, 1990, "Lackawaxen," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA, p. [1].

⁸ Hall Stuart-Lovell, *Lackawaxen Township Bicentennial Book: 200 Years of Growth* (Narrowsburg, NY: Stuart Communications, 1998), p. 36.

⁹ John S. MacKay, "Lackawaxen Township," in *A History of Pike County*, edited by Norman B. Lehde (Pike County: n.p., 1989), p. 440. Dorothy Moon, telephone conversation with author, 6 June 2000.

¹⁰ "Delaware and Hudson Canal," p. [1].

¹¹ Stuart-Lovell, p. 47.

It eventually was to be used for purposes from building blocks to cemetery monuments but its greatest fame would come from its use as sidewalks and curbs in such cities as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Cuba, Trenton, Passaic, Minneapolis, Scranton, and Wilksbarre.¹²

Bluestone quarrying continued to be a major area industry until Kilgour's death in 1904.¹³

By the time the Grey family was considering moving to Lackawaxen in 1904, the area had reached the peak of its development while a good quantity of its resources had been tapped or exhausted.

This industrial activity which so radically changed the appearance of the landscape was . . . ephemeral, concerned either with the extraction of non-renewable resources, or the transportation of goods *through* the town to distant metropolitan regions. Lackawaxen never developed any lasting industries itself, and certainly by the time of Zane Grey's association with it, the town's commercial life was starting a slow decline, though the forest was once again beginning to regenerate itself.¹⁴

Long-time resident Lindsley Smith described the transient nature of Lackawaxen's industries in an interview: "There's never been any industry around this place, except in the old, old, days when we got a lot of stone out of here and skimmed off the mountains of timber."¹⁵

Besides removing resources from the area, the railroad also brought tourists to Lackawaxen. During the summer, thousands of people left the hot cities and traveled to Lackawaxen Station. From there they went to one of the several boarding houses, or hotels, that were erected shortly after the commencement of rail service to the area. In 1852, William Holbert built the first boarding house called the Delaware House which boasted 200 beds. The Delaware House, located across the river from the Zane Grey House, remained an area landmark until it burned in 1934.¹⁶ Compared to the heat in New York City, Lackawaxen's cooler summer climate and proximity to the river were considered pleasant and healthy.¹⁷ However, because of all the recent harvesting of resources and building of canals and railroads, the region was not as picturesque at the turn of the century as it is today.¹⁸ Zane Grey commented on the landscape in a letter to Lina Roth written on Delaware House stationery: "This is a glorious country, if one

¹² Fluhr, p. 447.

¹³ Stuart-Lovell, p. 50.

¹⁴ Foster, pp. 7-8.

¹⁵ Lindsley Smith, Oral History Interview with Mary Curtis, UDSRR Oral History Project: Zane Grey, 22 November 1989, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River Oral History Project, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA, p. 27.

¹⁶ Stuart-Lovell, p. 61. Foster, p. 17. G.M. Farley, "Lackawaxen: Where It All Began," *The Zane Grey Reporter* 2 (2): 4 (June 1987).

¹⁷ Lackawaxen may be cool in the summer, but it is very cold in the winter. Lindsley Smith commented on the Zane Grey House that winters "must have been brutal in this place" [Lindsley Smith, p. 10].

¹⁸ Foster, p. 7.

views it with the right spirit, but I must say that it is a cold, barren, rugged, and uncultivated one."¹⁹

Lackawaxen's woods and water provided visitors with good boating, hunting, and fishing. Lindsley Smith described the fishing and hunting in the first quarter of the twentieth century as "unbelievably good."²⁰ Apparently because many large tracts of land were held by absentee owners interested in logging and mining, people (including the Greys) were able to roam the area freely to hunt or fish.²¹ Local fish included eels, bass, sunfish, and perch.²² The shad population, the largest member of the herring family and former area staple, began to decline around the turn of the century due to water pollution in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania/ Camden, New Jersey, area. This pollution depleted the oxygen in the Delaware River in that area preventing shad from reaching the upper Delaware River. Shad did not return in numbers again until 1961.²³

The Greys were unlike the majority of the population of Lackawaxen. They did not make their living from the land, the railroad, or the tourist trade. Rather they were former tourists who, owing to career choice and financial circumstances, were able to establish a semi-permanent residence in the area. While Zane and Dolly Grey suffered several lean years before his writing career took off, they were able to live and work in Lackawaxen because Dolly Grey inherited money. Zane Grey's brother, Romer Carl, and his wife Reba were able to live in the area because they were independently wealthy. While the Greys enjoyed the rural environment, hunting, and fishing, they did not enjoy the company of the local inhabitants. Aside from the Charles Smith family who lived and worked closely with the Greys, they did not associate with the locals. According to Lindsley Smith, "The townspeople kept a long distance from them and I think that's because Zane's nature, not wanting to mix with them, being a little apart."²⁴ Mary Smith Nelson remembered that Zane Grey considered building a ten-foot fence around his property in order to keep people off it and maintain his privacy.²⁵

In 1950, a train crash that destroyed the town's passenger train station hurt tourism in Lackawaxen because the station was never rebuilt. In 1966, the New York and Erie Railroad discontinued passenger train service to the Upper Delaware region further reducing the tourist trade.²⁶ Despite the end of passenger train service, tourism continues to be the major source of income in Lackawaxen. In 1978, Congress designated the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River as a unit of the National

¹⁹ Zane Grey to Lina Roth, ca. 1905, Zane Grey Collection, MS 230, Special Collections Department, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ.

²⁰ Lindsley Smith, p. 10.

²¹ Mary Nelson, Oral History Interview with Mary Curtis, UDSRR Oral History Project: Zane Grey, 4 June 1990, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River Oral History Project, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA, p. 41.

²² Lindsley Smith, p. 26.

²³ Michael Kauffman of Pennsylvania Fish and Boat Commission, electronic communication with author, 13 June 2000. Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River has two mounted smallmouth bass in its collection (UPDE 1156-1157).

²⁴ Lindsley Smith, p. 29.

²⁵ Mary Nelson, Oral History Interview with Mary Curtis, UDSRR Oral History Project: Zane Grey, 1 February 1990, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River Oral History Project, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA, p. 15.

²⁶ Stuart-Lovell, pp. 45-46.

Park System to administer some of the area's natural and cultural resources.²⁷ Visitors to the Park enjoy many of the same activities people did earlier: boating, swimming, fishing, and watching birds and wildlife. In addition, the Park maintains and interprets Roebling's Delaware Aqueduct, earlier a part of the D & H Canal system and now a suspension bridge for motor traffic, and the Zane Grey House.

Today, years after the nineteenth-century burst of industry, Lackawaxen is quiet and picturesque yet still bears evidence of its early commercial activities. The railroad tracks and bridges remain in use today. Also visible are elements of the abandoned canal and quarries.

The site surrounding the Zane Grey House, too, retains traces of the Greys' earlier activities though the landscape has changed dramatically. In the 1940s, Dolly Grey divided and sold the Lackawaxen property. Remnants of the Grey family occupancy are the Big House, the Smith-Nelson House, the 1915 barn, and some of the bluestone pathways that linked areas of the property. Major additions to the landscape include the house and outbuilding built to the southwest of the Big House and a large parking lot built to the north. Major features missing from the landscape include the tennis court, the Cottage, the Lodge, and most of the period outbuildings.

Delaware and Hudson (D & H) Canal Company Ownership (ca. 1846-1898)

Delaware and Hudson (D & H) Canal Company Occupancy (1846-1892)

The first owner of the Zane Grey House property for which there is significant information is the Delaware and Hudson (D & H) Canal Company who owned the site from 1846 to 1898. The D & H Canal Company was formed in April 1823 and the canal was surveyed from May to September of the same year. Construction began in 1825 and the canal formally opened in October of 1828. It connected the Delaware and Hudson Rivers and allowed the one-way movement of the Upper Delaware's resources, such as timber and anthracite coal, to the eastern seaboard.²⁸

With the expansion of the canal in mind, Chief Engineer Russell Lord purchased 126 acres of land south of the confluence of the Delaware and Lackawaxen Rivers from Charles Lacoste for \$7,000 in 1846. For the first five years Lord allowed the Canal Company to occupy and use the land. He deeded it to the Company in 1851. By 1852, the company rerouted the canal across Lord's property in order to link the new Lackawaxen River suspension aqueduct to the Delaware River aqueduct.²⁹

In addition to rerouting the canal, the D & H Canal Company also began to build a variety of structures on the former Lacoste lands. Development of the later Zane Grey House site may have taken place as early as the 1870s. By at least 1892, the Company

²⁷ Foster, p. 6.

²⁸ "Delaware and Hudson Canal," p. [1]. LANDSCAPES Landscape Architecture, Planning, Historic Preservation, *Cultural Landscape Treatment Plan for the Zane Grey Property, Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania* (Charlotte, Vermont, and Westport, CT: LANDSCAPES Landscape Architecture, Planning, Historic Preservation, 2000), p. 3.

²⁹ Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), "Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, Pike County, Pennsylvania, HABS No. PA-5371" (Washington, DC: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1988), p. 1.

had built a two-story farmhouse, barn, dock, pontoon bridge, and river access path on the Zane Grey House site.³⁰

By May 1848, the D & H Canal Company had completed its expansion. This project included the construction of aqueducts designed by John Roebling.³¹ One of the aqueducts which originally carried barges from the Lackawaxen River section to the Delaware River section of the canal, still exists as a bridge for motor traffic. It is possible that the Canal Company's expansion was intended to combat the new competition introduced by the New York and Erie Railroad which began servicing the area in 1848. Unfortunately, due to the canal's reliance on flowing water which could be interrupted by drought, ice, and flood; it lost traffic to the more reliable railroad.

In 1892 the Canal Company began leasing the farmhouse, barn, and a parcel of land to Frederick and Mary Holbert.

Frederick and Mary Holbert Occupancy (1892-1898)

According to tax assessments, Frederick J. and Mary A. Holbert leased a farmhouse, barn, and three-acre parcel of land from the D & H Canal Company from 1892 to 1898.³² Frederick Holbert, also known as "Frank," was likely a member of a local family of long residence. He shares his name with William Holbert who owned land on the opposite side of the Delaware River and built the Delaware House in 1852. In 1917, Zane Grey mentioned a walk on the "Holbert Trail" with his family.³³

Frederick and Mary Holbert Ownership (1898-1904)

On 1 October 1898, Mary Holbert purchased three acres of land from the D & H Canal Company for \$300.³⁴ In 1899, Frederick Holbert purchased the adjacent two acres to the south to expand the couple's holdings.³⁵

On the first three acres were a house assessed for \$100, a barn assessed for \$5, and an outbuilding also assessed for \$5. The value of the property and its structures held steady until 1903 when the tax value of the outbuilding doubled.³⁶ In 1904, the Holberts mortgaged the property for \$800 to Christine Holbert Watson of Ossining, New York. The same year the tax values of the structures went up dramatically. The house taxes

³⁰ According to the Historic American Building Survey report, "vague" town records indicate there were a farmhouse and barn on the property. Two structures and a pontoon bridge appear in a photograph tentatively dated to circa 1890. The earliest reliable evidence for these improvements is an 1898 surveyor's map [HABS, p. 2].

³¹ "Delaware and Hudson Canal," p. [1].

³² LANDSCAPES, p. 6.

³³ Zane Grey Diary, 3 June 1917, G.M. Farley Collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, p. 145.

³⁴ Delaware & Hudson Canal Co., Deed to Mary A. Holbert, 1898, *Deed Book 54*, pp. 24-25, Pike County Registry of Deeds, Administrative Building, Milford, PA.

³⁵ LANDSCAPES, p. 6.

³⁶ Assessment of Seated Property, Real and Personal, Subject to Taxation for State and County Purposes in Lackawaxen Township, Pike County, Pennsylvania, 1899-1903, Pike County Mapping Department, Administrative Building, Milford, PA.

tripled and the barn taxes jumped from \$5 to \$75.³⁷ It appears that the Holberts significantly improved the property with the borrowed money.

The Holberts were farmers who practiced agriculture and animal husbandry. In 1904 they were taxed for one cow. They must have also kept other animals because according to oral history interviews, residents from Minisink Ford remembered their parents crossing the river to breed their animals at the Holberts' farm.³⁸

In September of 1904 the Holberts sold the northern three acres to Zane Grey for \$1,425. In January 1906, they sold the remaining two acres to Zane Grey's brother Romer Carl Grey for \$325.³⁹

Grey Family Ownership (1904-1946)

Site

The Greys acquired a roughly six-acre parcel of land at the confluence of the Lackawaxen and Delaware Rivers in three transactions between 1904 and 1916 (see ill. 1). As noted above, Zane Grey purchased three acres in 1904 and Romer Carl Grey purchased two acres in 1906. Dolly Grey purchased another acre to the south of these lots in 1916 from a neighbor, Charles Shannon.⁴⁰ In addition to the contiguous property on the Pennsylvania bank of the Delaware River, the Greys also owned property across the river. In 1911, Dolly Grey purchased over 400 acres in Sullivan County, New York, for \$1,000 from Peter and Areta Dohl of Pennsylvania.⁴¹

Two other land transactions took place during the Grey family occupancy. In 1913, Charles and Mary Smith purchased an acre of property from Romer Carl and Reba Grey. In 1914, the Romer Carl Greys sold Dolly Grey their remaining acre and the Big House.⁴²

At its largest extent, including the Smiths' property which was essentially a part of the Grey family compound, the Greys' property was bounded to the north by the Lackawaxen River, to the east by the Delaware River, and to the west by the New York and Erie Railroad embankment and tracks. To the south the Greys shared a property line with the Kuhn family. While the Greys legally owned property to the edge of the rivers, there was (and is) a scenic drive that ran parallel to the river banks and divided the banks

³⁷ Mary A. and Fred J. Holbert, Mortgage to Christine Holbert Watson, 1904, *Mortgage Book 15*, pp. 139-141, Pike County Registry of Deeds, Administrative Building, Milford, PA. Assessment of Seated Property, 1904.

³⁸ Assessment of Seated Property, 1904. HABS, p. 2.

³⁹ Mary A. and Frederick J. Holbert, Deed to Dr. Zane Grey, 1904, *Deed Book 59*, pp. 41-42, Pike County Registry of Deeds, Administrative Building, Milford, PA. Frank Holbert, Deed to Romer C. Grey, 1906, *Deed Book 60*, pp. 151-153, Pike County Registry of Deeds, Administrative Building, Milford, PA.

⁴⁰ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 19 July 1916, quoted in Candace Kant to Nancy Spiegel, 20 October 1988, "Nancy Spiegel Research Material," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 17 September 1916, in Kant to Spiegel. The first letter indicates the Greys may have split the property with Charles Smith.

⁴¹ Peter P. and Areta P. Dohl, Deed to Lina Elise Grey, 1911, *Deed Book 166*, pp. 594-597, Sullivan County Government Center, Monticello, NY.

⁴² Romer C. and Rebecca D. Grey, Deed to Lina Elise Grey, 1914, *Deed Book 68*, pp. 72-73, Pike County Registry of Deeds, Administrative Building, Milford, PA.

from the rest of the family's holdings. For this reason, they used this land very little except for boating access and to pump water to the houses.⁴³

The 1994 *Cultural Landscape Inventory* best describes the site of the Zane Grey House:

The property sites entirely within a long sweep of floodplain terrace of the Delaware River, in which the mouth of the Lackawaxen only makes an incision. Immediately beyond the site, on all sides, the steep wooded sides of the valley rise up and form an enclosing skyline. Being situated at a gentle bend in the river, oblique views from the property provide dramatic medium-distance vistas up and down the valley. Even without any manmade features, the underlying topography of [the] site provides virtually all the basic qualities of a 'natural place' in the landscape: a clearly defined and fairly level platform, set off against predominantly enclosing topography, yet also with water frontage and with good prospects in all directions.⁴⁴

The *Cultural Landscape Inventory* continues its description of the site:

The overwhelming spatial quality of the property during Zane Grey's tenure was its openness. Having been so recently farmed the main visual elements in the landscape were buildings and the handful of trees which originated before Grey's tenure. . . . As a result, the spatial organization of the site during Grey's tenure was mostly suggested by constructed rather than planted elements. Most conspicuous of these constructed elements were the buildings scattered throughout the site.

It is probably fair to say that the spatial organization of the historical site reflected the fact that it was still very much a landscape in the process of rapid transformation, one characterized by episodic and frequent alteration, hybrid character (part farm and part rural retreat), and multiple use. It would appear from evidence available that for many years there was no overall architectural scheme for the property; new construction simply occurred when and where it was most expedient. This ad hoc quality was entirely in keeping with what was in fact a rather unusual social organization, a largely self-sufficient compound of middle-class, metropolitan-oriented households of complex kinship living together in a rural setting.

The busy, heterogeneous quality has not survived. Instead, the site today has a largely static and mature quality.⁴⁵

In fact, by about 1928 the Grey property had changed in appearance from its earlier 1910s aspect. Zane Grey wrote to Dolly Grey, "The place has grown up most wonderfully. It is a forest. It is a jungle. The trees are splendid. Oh, *that* is the way I wanted it *then*."⁴⁶ Grey was active in his pursuit of a tree-filled landscape throughout his

⁴³ Foster, p. 66.

⁴⁴ Foster, p. 30.

⁴⁵ Foster, p. 37.

⁴⁶ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 1928, Farley Collection, p. 343.

tenure in Lackawaxen. In a circa 1905 letter to Lina Roth, Grey describes planting four young pine trees and trimming the lower branches off one of the ash trees on the property.⁴⁷ According to Mary Smith Nelson, her father Charles Smith planted trees for Grey in the 1910s (perhaps the sugar maples lined up along both sides of the former tennis court). Grey's secretaries complained that the trees were planted in a linear fashion rather than laid out more naturally.⁴⁸ Besides shade trees, the Grey property also boasted apple and pear trees. There was one orchard in the southwest corner of the property and a second may have occupied a portion of the northwest corner.⁴⁹

There were three cultivated gardens corresponding to the three dwellings on the property. The Cottage garden contained grape arbors, vegetables, and a berry patch. The Big House garden contained corn, asparagus, and other vegetables. The Smith House garden contained, among other things, cabbage.⁵⁰

Besides edible plantings, the Greys' property also supported several kinds of decorative flowers. In fall of 1917, Zane Grey noted an "increase of foliage, a corn-field with huge tall shocks, great nodding sunflowers and brilliant cosmos, those lent some change to the grounds around my home. And it was a favorable change."⁵¹ Mary Smith Nelson remembered daffodils and narcissus around the tennis court.⁵² Other flowering plants on the property include roses, spirea, clematis, and possibly wisteria.⁵³

Some space was set aside as pasture for the cow that lived on the property. One known pasture area was located in the center of the southern acre of property Dolly Grey purchased in 1916.⁵⁴ Other areas may have served as pasture or been mown for hay.⁵⁵ While horses were kept on the property, the *Cultural Landscape Inventory* states that they fed on purchased fodder.⁵⁶

According to the *Cultural Landscape Inventory*, very little of the Grey property was used as lawn. Lawn was limited to areas near the dwellings or under trees for relaxation. Most of the Greys' land was set aside for utilitarian purposes. The *Cultural Landscape Inventory* notes that "land use was primarily to feed the extended family of people who lived there, mainly in the summer, in a time before electrical refrigeration and easy transport of foodstuffs."⁵⁷

A manmade feature of the Grey property was the tennis court. The first tennis court was centered on the western border of the property. This tennis court was abandoned when a second court was built sometime between 1913 and 1916.⁵⁸ This

⁴⁷ Zane Grey to Lina Roth, ca. 1905, Zane Grey Collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University.

⁴⁸ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 29.

⁴⁹ LANDSCAPES, p. 20, fig. 21.

⁵⁰ LANDSCAPES, fig. 21.

⁵¹ Zane Grey Diary, 5 October 1917, Farley Collection, p. 151.

⁵² Mary Nelson, Oral History Interview, 8 August 1988, "Interviews with Mary Nelson," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. [4].

⁵³ LANDSCAPES, p. 37.

⁵⁴ LANDSCAPES, fig. 21.

⁵⁵ LANDSCAPES, p. 37.

⁵⁶ Foster, p. 43.

⁵⁷ Foster, p. 43.

⁵⁸ LANDSCAPES, p. 12. HABS, p. 8.

court, situated between the Big House and the Smith-Nelson House, was composed of red clay and lined with lime.⁵⁹

A series of paths and drives linked the dwellings and major thoroughfares. Long bluestone walks led from the Big House to the Cottage, to the scenic drive, and to a footpath along the base of the railroad embankment. A gravel driveway led from the scenic drive to the 1915 barn.⁶⁰

Buildings

Holbert Farmhouse, or "The Cottage"

- Zane Grey Ownership

Zane Grey Family Occupancy

The two-story Holbert Farmhouse, which the Greys called "The Cottage" was a part of Zane Grey's 1904 purchase from the Holberts. It is believed that he and his mother and sister moved into the Cottage soon thereafter.⁶¹ Dolly Grey moved into the house in the spring of 1906 after the couple's honeymoon. It is unclear whether the other two women remained in the house upon Dolly's arrival or not. By 1907, the Greys appear to have improved the Cottage because its tax value went from \$300 to \$500.⁶² More than twenty years later Zane Grey recalled writing in the Cottage during the winter:

I wrote in a little bare room with a stove, a table, and a chair. The time came when I had to put my hand into the open stove every quarter of an hour to keep it from freezing. But I kept on writing.

I had other work, vastly easier. In the winter mornings when I went down to build the fires there would be several inches of snow on the kitchen floor, which had blown under the door and through the cracks. I chopped wood and waded through the snow to the village and back.⁶³

Photographs of the Greys in the Cottage belie Zane Grey's statement because the rooms are hardly bare considered by today's standards. In one photograph, Dolly Grey sits in a rocking chair at a covered table with an urn-shaped pedestal base (see ill. 2). Several large books sit on the table. To the left is a large, ornate stove. Behind the table is a tiled fireplace containing a decorated fire back and with a mantel shelf and mirror above. On the mantel are a clock and several portrait photographs.⁶⁴

A second photograph (UPDE 871) shows Zane Grey seated in a wooden Morris-type chair beside a large wooden desk (see ill. 3). The appearance of the desk in this

⁵⁹ Foster, p. 13. Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 29.

⁶⁰ LANDSCAPES, fig. 21.

⁶¹ Foster, p. 11.

⁶² Assessment of Seated Property, 1907.

⁶³ Zane Grey, "My Own Life," in Zane Grey et al, *Zane Grey: The Man and His Work* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928), p. 5.

⁶⁴ Photograph, Dolly Grey in the Cottage, ca. 1905, Collection of Mrs. G.M. Farley, Hagerstown, MD.

photograph was (and still is) partially duplicated at the Zane Grey House. Chief among the items on the desk are a double lamp with green glass shades (UPDE 1149), a pyramidal paperweight (UPDE 1143), and a photograph of Dolly Grey (UPDE 1140). Behind the desk is a tiled fireplace (possibly the same fireplace as in the previous photograph of Dolly) with a clock (same as in previous photograph) above. Behind Grey are a glass-front bookcase and what appear to be horizontal landscape prints or paintings on the wall. Dolly Grey sent this photograph to Alvah James in 1956 with a note reading:

I came across this old picture when I was going through some things and as it is a verification of the Zane Grey exhibit you have in your home, desk, lamps, bookcases, photographs, etc., I think you should have it. Of course the location is not the same, but is the big upstairs front room where we lived when we were first married in the old cottage. You will remember it as you spent that first summer with us. The doorway of your bedroom was just opposite the door that shows in the center rear of the picture.⁶⁵

A third photograph of the Cottage (UPDE 1268) shows Zane Grey seated in a wicker chair in front of a fireplace surmounted by an elaborate mantel with two shelves and a mirror (see ill. 4). The fireplace and mantel are all but covered with artwork and photographs. In the rear corner of the room is an etagere also loaded with two-dimensional art work and photographs. Despite the extant photographs and Dolly Grey's reference to two rooms upstairs, the full floor plan of the original Cottage is unknown. The Zane Grey family lived in the Cottage until 1913.

In 1913, Charles Smith bought the house occupied by Josephine and Ida Grey from Romer Carl Grey. According to Mary Smith Nelson, Josephine and Ida Grey, Grey's mother and sister, lived in the Cottage until their 1914 move to Middletown, New York.⁶⁶ At some point between their 1914 move and Josephine Grey's July 1917 death, the two women returned to Lackawaxen to knit and sell items to raise funds for the Red Cross. They conducted their sales from the Cottage's porch.⁶⁷

Zane Grey's Secretaries

In 1914, the Greys demolished the original Cottage and built a second structure, also called "The Cottage," on the same foundation.⁶⁸ The Zane Greys had moved to the Big House in the spring of 1913. According to Mary Smith Nelson, the first floor of the new Cottage had a large room on the "Lackawaxen side." A small bedroom and office were off the large room.⁶⁹ The Historic American Building Survey states that Zane Grey kept an office at the Cottage, possibly the small office, although he did not write there

⁶⁵ Dolly Grey to Alvah James, 7 August 1956, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA.

⁶⁶ Nelson, 8 August 1988, p. [2].

⁶⁷ "In the Death Notice of Mrs. Alice Zane Grey," Information card, n.d., "Zane Grey," Vertical File, Pike County Historical Society, Milford, PA. Nelson, 8 August 1988, p. [2].

⁶⁸ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 34.

⁶⁹ Mary Nelson, Oral History Interview, 16 June 1988, "Interviews with Mary Nelson," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. 3.

often.⁷⁰ The Cottage also had a one-story kitchen wing and a wrap-around porch. On the second floor were two bedrooms, a bathroom, and a sleeping porch. Very little information survives regarding the furnishings of the second Cottage. Nelson recalled, "the cottage was just full of mounted fish and I can remember the little sailfish hanging from the ceiling on some . . . kind of strings. . . . Yes, there were a lot of swordfish."⁷¹ In addition, there was a large box of toys for the Grey and Nelson children just inside the door of the Cottage.⁷²

During the circa 1915 construction work conducted at the Big House, some improvements were also made at the Cottage. In April, Zane Grey wrote to Dolly about problems he had had receiving the correct size window shades. Due to a lack of "big shades" he and Mr. Kuhn, likely their next-door neighbor Gottlieb Kuhn, were only able to install shades on the second floor of the Cottage at that time.⁷³ In late 1914 and early 1915 a well for the Cottage was drilled and equipped with a pump.⁷⁴ Nelson remembered the Cottage being supplied with water from the Lackawaxen River which was pumped through a pipe into a 500-gallon tank under the house's porch.⁷⁵ The well was likely for drinking water while water for other purposes was pumped from the river.

The new Cottage was intended to house Zane Grey's secretaries and visiting members of their families. Several sources describe the Cottage as a "summer residence" for the secretaries. It is unclear how these women divided their time. They may have spent some winters with Zane Grey on trips or they may have spent their off-time at their parents' homes. There is also confusion over whether more than one secretary lived in the Cottage at once. Nelson recalls the secretaries residing there separately, but otherwise they are most often referred to in the plural implying that more than one was in residence at a time.

The secretaries' official roles were to type Zane Grey's handwritten manuscripts after they had been carefully edited by Dolly Grey. When he was in the midst of writing, Grey could churn out 100,000 words per month. Their unofficial roles were to serve as companions for the Grey family. It is difficult to discern Dolly Grey's relationship with the various secretaries. When Zane Grey was gone on long trips, the women that remained in Lackawaxen kept Dolly and the children company. They participated in recreational activities such as tennis, canoeing, horseback riding, and church dinners. However, the secretaries' intimacy with and influence over Zane Grey frustrated Dolly Grey. Zane Grey would often take one or more "secretaries" with him on his exotic trips. On occasion he wrote home to ask Dolly Grey's advice on how to settle a squabble that had erupted out of jealousy amongst his female travel companions.⁷⁶

According to Mary Smith Nelson, who admired Zane Grey's secretaries and never believed anything untoward occurred with them, the women were very attractive. She

⁷⁰ HABS, p. 8.

⁷¹ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 37.

⁷² Cecilia Powell, Interview by author, Tape recording, Lackawaxen, PA, 11 August 1999, p. 4.

⁷³ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 23 April 1915, Farley Collection, p. 74.

⁷⁴ Invoice, Bishop and Avery, 30 December 1914, Series III, Box 2, Folder 8, Grey Family Papers, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA.

⁷⁵ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. 2.

⁷⁶ The information regarding Zane Grey's affairs is provided here in order to inform Park staff but is not intended for inclusion in public interpretation. This topic is not among the site's themes, goals, or objectives and does not appear in the interpretive outline.

said as a girl "I was, I would say, wide-eyed over his secretaries because I don't know, I'm sure they weren't just picked for looks but oh, they were charmers. And lovely looking."⁷⁷ Grey did seem to have an interesting set of criteria for selecting these women because in 1927 he protested Dolly's hiring one for him. He wrote, "I would be afraid to let you select a secretary for me, because she would either be lame or married and certainly ugly."⁷⁸

The Cottage continued to house Zane Grey's secretaries until he moved to California in 1918. The house may have been vacant or infrequently used from 1918 until 1933. Despite the vacancy, it appears that Charles Smith kept the Cottage in good repair for the Greys because it received a new roof in the early 1930s.

▪ Dorothy Ackerman

Dorothy Ackerman of Middletown, New York, became Zane Grey's secretary prior to August 1915.⁷⁹ When she was in residence in Lackawaxen, she brought her mother to live in the Cottage with her.⁸⁰ Nelson described her as beautiful and kind to the Grey and Smith children:

And the other one that was so lovely was Dorothy Ackerman. . . . lovely, oh, dear she was pretty, too. I remember when she became engaged, we tried to plead with her because we didn't want her to get married. I guess it was thought we might lose her friendship, or something. But she would sit down and we'd have little tea parties with our little play dishes. She was that kind. She was just so kindly and lovely.⁸¹

Despite her kindness with children, Zane Grey could stretch Ackerman's patience. During a trip on which she, Mildred Smith, and others were accompanying Grey a row broke out among the women. Grey apparently wrote to Dolly for advice. She wrote back:

Aren't they all perfectly sweet and nice and lovely when they have you all to themselves? But let some other female get a little of your attention and Zowie!! I can't blame Dorothy. I just feel sorry for her, for she's reacted in the way natural to her. Naturally she is a sweet and wholesome & normal girl, but she's had more than she can stand.⁸²

⁷⁷ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 6.

⁷⁸ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 16 May 1927, Farley Collection, p. 317.

⁷⁹ Helen Davis, Oral History Interview with Mary Curtis, UDSRR Oral History Project: Zane Grey, 9 August 1989, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River Oral History Project, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA, p. 13. Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 16 August 1915, Farley Collection, p. 79.

⁸⁰ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 6.

⁸¹ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 5.

⁸² Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 18 January 1924, in "The Letters of Dolly and Zane Grey," *The Missouri Review* 18 (2): 139 (1995).

In the late 1910s Ackerman married a lawyer from Port Jervis, New York, named Walter Parshall or Partial. They moved to Nyack, New York, and Dorothy Ackerman-Parshall continued to visit the Greys when they returned to Lackawaxen.⁸³

▪ Mildred Ferguson

According to a 1972 newspaper account, probably obtained from the woman herself, Mildred Ferguson met Zane Grey at a "young people's dance" and then became his secretary for two years.⁸⁴ By 1916, she had traveled with him and his entourage to Catalina Island.⁸⁵ By 1972, she was Mrs. H.A. Meyer of Middletown, New York.⁸⁶

▪ Alma or Elma Schwartz

Alma or Elma Schwartz of New York was one of Zane Grey's secretaries. When she was in residence in Lackawaxen, she brought her grandmother to live in the Cottage with her.⁸⁷ According to Elizabeth Zane Grey, Alma was about fourteen years older than her, or born in 1898.⁸⁸ If so, she was only fifteen when she went on a 1913 trip to Arizona with Grey.⁸⁹ Mary Smith Nelson remembered her as particularly beautiful:

Now Alma Schwartz was a, oh dear, she was almost like a Grecian goddess, I thought, blond, you know, beautiful blond girl. . . . The story was told that Zane Grey took . . . her to Florida one time. . . . He took her down there one time and the president of Sears Roebuck happened to be in the dining room where they went to dinner. It was a dinner where they had music and they got up and danced and the president of Sears Roebuck came over to the table and asked Alma to dance. And I was told, after that, he really got irate over it.⁹⁰

On a 1917 trip Zane Grey became so vexed with Schwartz and Mildred Smith (see below) that he "fired them." This did not last because the following year Zane Grey felt that Dolly Grey and Schwartz were aligned against him and his writing. He wrote, "I am annoyed at the way you and Elma finish my work."⁹¹ It is unclear whether he was unhappy with the quality of their editing or if he caught them tweaking his writing to the point of changing its meaning.

⁸³ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 5.

⁸⁴ According to Zane Grey scholar Joe Wheeler, Grey spent time during World War I in Middletown, New York, researching the town's youth for his novel *Day of the Beast*. This research may explain his presence at a "young people's dance" [Joe L. Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact on American Life and Letters: A Study in the Popular Novel," Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1975, p. 170].

⁸⁵ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 99.

⁸⁶ Edward P. Dougherty, "Zane Grey Lived Here," *Sunday Record* [Middletown, NY], 24 December 1972.

⁸⁷ Nelson, 1 February 1990, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁸ Betty Zane (Grey) Grosso, Oral History Interview by Ron Terry, Santa Rosa, CA, 17 July 1990, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA, p. 8.

⁸⁹ "The Letters of Dolly and Zane Grey," *The Missouri Review* 18 (2): 122 (1995).

⁹⁰ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 5.

⁹¹ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 28 February 1918, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 130.

Even after the Greys moved from Lackawaxen, Schwartz kept in touch with the family. She visited them when they returned to Lackawaxen and visited them in their Altadena, California, home.⁹²

- Mildred Smith

Mildred Smith was a particularly influential secretary employed by the Greys from prior to 1916 into the 1930s. By 1916 Smith had accompanied Grey to Catalina Island.⁹³ On a 1917 trip Zane Grey became so vexed with Alma Schwartz and Smith that he "fired them" if only for a brief time.⁹⁴ In 1924, Smith was embroiled in another altercation while on a trip with Grey. Apparently she had a difficult personality. According to Dolly Grey, "What is so unforgivable in Mildred to other women is the assurance of righteousness and superiority. It sticks out all over her, and enrages her adversaries!"⁹⁵

Dolly Grey also found Smith's involvement with and influence over her husband frustrating. In 1925, Smith usurped Dolly's role of editor and advisor while Smith and Grey were sailing aboard *The Fisherman*. Regarding the writing of *Captives of the Desert*, Grey wrote to Dolly, "I planned that story [*Captives of the Desert*] on the Fisherman, and I went on with it at intervals until I fell ill. *McCall's* pressed me again. So with careful instruction and construction I had Mildred finish it."⁹⁶

Apparently, Grey and Smith carried on an affair into at least the early 1930s.⁹⁷ In 1931, Grey wrote to Dolly describing blackmail threats leveled by his friend and ship captain of seven years, a British man named Mitchell whom Grey had recently dismissed. Mitchell wished to be paid for an additional eighteen months or else he would describe Grey's affair with Smith. According to Grey, Mitchell threatened "You can't stand the publicity! Meaning of course he will throw dirt, and give to the newspapers stuff that would disgrace Mildred and Miss C. and ruin me. Oh, he is surely a fine type of English Gentleman! I am absolutely certain now that he is a liar and a thief." In the same letter Grey acknowledged that the allegations were true.⁹⁸

- Claire Wilhelm

Claire and Lillian Wilhelm were Dolly Grey's first cousins who lived in New York City.⁹⁹ Their exact roles at the Grey property are unclear. It appears that they stayed in the Cottage as either guests or secretaries. Betty Zane Grosso stated in an

⁹² Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 6. Grosso interview, p. 8.

⁹³ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 99.

⁹⁴ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 17 May 1917, Farley Collection, p. 130.

⁹⁵ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 18 January 1924, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 139.

⁹⁶ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 7 September 1925, quoted in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 192.

⁹⁷ The information regarding Zane Grey's affairs is provided here in order to inform Park staff but is not intended for inclusion in public interpretation. This topic is not among the site's themes, goals, or objectives and does not appear in the interpretive outline.

⁹⁸ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 15 March 1931, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," pp. 156-157.

⁹⁹ Candace C. Kant, *Zane Grey's Arizona* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1984), p. 23.

interview that they were Grey's secretaries.¹⁰⁰ In any case, they spent time in Lackawaxen and accompanied Zane Grey on his many trips.

By 1916, Claire Wilhelm had accompanied Grey to Catalina Island.¹⁰¹ Unlike his many other female companions, Claire was not argumentative or overly intellectual. Grey wrote to Dolly, "God save me from another intellectual woman! Give me a girl like Claire, if I can't live longer without one."¹⁰² On a 1918 trip West, Grey reported that Claire had taken a post teaching "Little Indians," presumably on a reservation.¹⁰³ By 1924, Claire fell from grace when she confessed to Zane Grey that she and others had consumed whiskey cocktails at the Cottage.¹⁰⁴

Later Claire Wilhelm married a man named Carlton and had a son.¹⁰⁵

▪ Lillian Wilhelm

Lillian Wilhelm was born in 1882 in New York City. She trained as an artist for eight years specializing in painting. While she painted in oils, her preferred medium was watercolors. According to a later biographer:

Lillian herself was a beautiful little person in form and in feature. At times she modeled in costume for the art classes. Her eyes were dark and expressive, and one noted those eyes could spark on occasion when the owner was displeased. Her hair was dark and long. A lovable person with a ready smile, she had great charm.¹⁰⁶

Wilhelm was a member of the New York City intellectual set. According to Zane Grey scholar Candace Kant, Grey attempted to ingratiate himself with the intelligentsia who held his work in low regard by involving Wilhelm in his research and work. In particular, "Lillian Wilhelm's presence on this [1913] excursion to the land of Grey's inspiration [Arizona] was intended to win for him the favor of the eastern literary crowd."¹⁰⁷ Starting in 1916 with *The Border Legion*, Lillian Wilhelm began creating illustrations (at the rate of forty dollars each) and dust jackets (fifty dollars each) for Grey's books. The last book she illustrated was *Fishing Virgin Seas* in 1925.¹⁰⁸

In addition to art for Grey's books, Wilhelm also created art for Grey's walls. In 1915 and 1916 she painted friezes in the first floor rooms Grey added as a study and library. The friezes depict Hopi kachinas and Navajo figures reflecting their mutual interest in the Southwest. Wilhelm later executed similar paintings on the walls and ceiling of Grey's Altadena, California, library and on the curtains of his library on

¹⁰⁰ Grosso interview, p. 8.

¹⁰¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 99.

¹⁰² Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 21 September 1916, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 127.

¹⁰³ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 22 September 1918, Farley Collection, p. 202.

¹⁰⁴ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, January 1924, Farley Collection, p. 227.

¹⁰⁵ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 6. Grosso interview, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ Catherine M. Manley, "Artists Who Illustrated Grey (#1 In a Series): Lillian Wilhelm Smith," Magazine article, Unknown magazine, n.d., "Zane Grey Information for Interpretive Programs," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Kant, *Arizona*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ Manley, p. 10.

Catalina Island. When Helen James Johnson asked her in 1961 about the paintings in the Lackawaxen house, Lillian Wilhelm Smith could not remember the designs she had used which indicates she may have executed many such projects.¹⁰⁹ Continuing her work on walls, Smith later decorated the children's wings of two Flagstaff-area hospitals with Mexican motifs.¹¹⁰

In the 1920s, Wilhelm met her future husband, Jess Smith, on a Zane Grey movie shoot at Monument Valley. Smith was the head of the shoot's pack train. Wilhelm and Smith married around 1925 and managed guest ranches in Arizona. From 1933 to 1935 Lillian Wilhelm Smith was a guest artist at the Biltmore Hotel in Phoenix where she sold china and paintings. Jess Smith died in 1960. Within a couple of years Lillian moved to the Arizona Pioneers home in Prescott, Arizona, and continued painting. She exhibited her work in galleries and local venues such as libraries. Lillian Wilhelm Smith died in early 1971.¹¹¹

- Elena

"Elena" was a circa 1916 houseguest or secretary who likely lived in the Cottage. By 1916 she had traveled to Catalina with Grey and had also spent time with Dolly in Lackawaxen.¹¹² There she accompanied Dolly on horseback rides and attended a church supper with the family.¹¹³ Around 1916 Dolly wrote to Zane Grey asking him to have mercy on Elena: "*Don't* try to keep her heart & soul in bondage to you, as you do the rest of your floppy friends. Be unselfish for once. You don't need to be afraid of other men."¹¹⁴

- Emmeline

"Emmeline" likely lived in the Cottage in 1916.¹¹⁵ At that time Zane Grey was helping her write a book which Dolly Grey felt was far from publishable. It appears that she spent time working with Grey and then he took a trip leaving her in Lackawaxen. In the time he spent with Emmeline, Dolly felt he hurt her as much as he may have helped her.¹¹⁶ At one point she boasted of how well the woman was doing after he left.¹¹⁷

During her time in Lackawaxen Emmeline spent a considerable amount of time with Dolly Grey. The two took a walk and got caught in the rain; she rode the horse named "Sol"; played croquet; and played tennis.¹¹⁸ She was not a very good tennis player, however, for Dolly Grey wrote, "if she hits a ball every few days she's doing well." Problems arose, though, when Emmeline wanted to remain in Lackawaxen until

¹⁰⁹ Lillian Smith to Helen James Johnson, 15 February 1961, "Zane Grey Duplicates," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

¹¹⁰ Manley, p. 12.

¹¹¹ Manley, pp. 11-12.

¹¹² Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 99.

¹¹³ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, ca. 1916, Farley Collection, pp. 85-86.

¹¹⁴ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, ca. 1916, Farley Collection, p. 83.

¹¹⁵ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 17 September 1916, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 123.

¹¹⁶ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 5 September 1916, Farley Collection, pp. 108-109.

¹¹⁷ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 17 September 1916, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 123.

¹¹⁸ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1916[?], Farley Collection, p. 85. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1916, Farley Collection, p. 92. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 96.

Zane Grey returned in the fall. Dolly wrote to him in September desiring Emmeline to leave so that Zane and Dolly could spend time together when he returned. He agreed that Emmeline was to leave "at once."¹¹⁹

James Family Occupancy

According to Mary Smith Nelson, the James family, who later lived in the Big House, lived in the Cottage when they first arrived in Lackawaxen in 1933. When the weather turned cold, at Allie James' request, Grey agreed to let the family move into the vacant Big House (see "The Big House - James Family Occupancy" for more information on the James family members).¹²⁰

1933 to the Mid-1940s

The Cottage was likely vacant or only intermittently used after the James family moved out in 1933. The Grey property suffered through a series of floods beginning in 1936. Dolly Grey wrote to Alvah James in June of 1936 in response to photographs he had sent to her: "The flood pictures are really exciting. I hardly recognize the cottage in such a setting."¹²¹ A flood in the early-to-mid 1940s damaged the Cottage beyond repair.¹²²

- Helen James Johnson Ownership

In the mid-to-late-1940s, Johnson purchased the Cottage and the surrounding land from Dolly Grey. This was likely the second of the "two deals" in which Johnson purchased the majority of the Grey property.¹²³

Shortly after Johnson's purchase, her neighbors the Morans (John Moran was Mary Smith Nelson's cousin) asked if they could dismantle the Cottage and reuse parts of it on their property. With Johnson's permission, the Morans moved the one-story kitchen ell and its porch to be used as a free-standing structure. The Morans occasionally stayed in the small building while building a larger house next door. When the house was complete, the smaller building became a shed. The Morans also incorporated interior architectural features and furnishings from the Cottage into their new house. Among these salvaged items are the staircase, wood trim, bathroom fixtures, and a desk with attached glass-front cabinet. Mary Smith Nelson also lists two chests, several tables, lamps, and numerous chairs among the items salvaged from the Cottage.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 5 September 1916, Farley Collection, p. 108. Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 21 September 1916, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 129.

¹²⁰ Nelson, 1 February 1990, pp. 17-18.

¹²¹ Dolly Grey to Alvah James, 12 June 1936, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers.

¹²² Dates for this flood are given variously as 1942 (LANDSCAPES, p. 10. HABS, p. 11. O'Donnell, p. 15.), 1943 (Foster, p. 14.), and 1945 (Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 16).

¹²³ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 10.

¹²⁴ HABS, p. 11. Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. [4].

"The Lodge"

It is believed that Zane Grey built "The Lodge" in 1906 as a warm-weather writing studio. It was an unheated, one-room structure measuring approximately fifteen feet square.¹²⁵ The Historical American Building Survey states that the Lodge was in place by February 1908 because Zane Grey mentions "'huge cakes of ice floating, bumping into the bungalow.'"¹²⁶ Mary Smith Nelson described the Lodge as a one-room structure with a "big fish" on the exterior.¹²⁷

Grey's son Romer Zane later stated that Grey wrote *Riders of the Purple Sage* in the Lodge. Romer Zane Grey and others speculated that he also wrote *Heritage of the Desert* there.¹²⁸ If the Lodge was in place by 1908, portions or all of these early works were likely written there. It is unclear whether Grey continued to use the Lodge during warm months even after his new study was completed (1915-1916). Among the other early novels that he may have written in the Lodge are *Desert Gold* and *Light of Western Stars*.¹²⁹ By 1920, the Lodge was being used as a storage shed.¹³⁰

The Lodge was likely included in the 1946 land transaction between Dolly Grey and Helen James Johnson. It was damaged in the same early-1940s flood that affected the Cottage. It was likely dismantled in the 1940s around the time the Morans dismantled and salvaged portions of the Cottage.¹³¹

Smith-Nelson House

- Grey Family Ownership

The first evidence of a third house on the Grey family property is the 1908 tax assessment that lists a house with a \$500 tax value in the possession of Dolly Grey. Then, from 1909 to 1912 the house was assessed at the same rate under the ownership of Romer Carl Grey. The tax value of the house dropped to \$400 in 1913 and 1914. Although Romer Carl Grey sold the house to Charles Smith in 1913, it continued to be assessed to Grey until 1915.¹³²

According to Mary Smith Nelson, the small house to the west of the Big House was originally constructed for Josephine and Ida Grey, Zane and Romer Carl's mother and sister. It was a two-bedroom house heated with coal stoves.¹³³ Despite the coal heat, it is unclear whether the Grey women lived in the house over the winter because it was not winterized until later. Nelson refers to it as a "summer house."¹³⁴

¹²⁵ LANDSCAPES, pp. 12, 40.

¹²⁶ HABS, p. 4.

¹²⁷ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. 2.

¹²⁸ Romer Grey to Helen James Johnson, 27 January 1961, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers.

¹²⁹ Romer Grey to Helen James Johnson, 27 January 1961, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers.

¹³⁰ HABS, p. 8.

¹³¹ Helen James Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 12. Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 37.

¹³² Assessment of Seated Property, 1908-1915.

¹³³ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. 1.

¹³⁴ Nelson, 4 February 1990, p. 1.

Josephine Alice Grey¹³⁵

Josephine Alice Grey, Zane Grey's mother, through her father Samuel Zane was a direct descendant of Colonel Ebenezer Zane. Colonel Zane defended Fort Henry during the American Revolution; received a grant of 10,000 acres of land in Ohio from Congress; established a trail called Zane's Trace across the future state; and founded the town of Zanesville, Ohio. In addition to the Zane heritage that Zane Grey was so proud of, one of his mother's ancestors was supposedly an American Indian making Grey 1/32 American Indian.¹³⁶

Josephine Zane married Lewis M. Gray, an Ohio dentist and former traveling preacher, on 5 February 1856. The couple had five children: Ella Leota, Ida Gertrude, Lewis Ellsworth, Pearl Zane, and Romer Carl. Ella died in her teens.¹³⁷

Josephine Grey influenced the course of Zane Grey's life in at least two ways. First, when he entered college she asked that he sign a pledge not to drink alcohol. Grey became a strict teetotaler who was easily irritated by the drinking of those under his charge. Years later in the 1930s Grey described to fellow-writer Hamlin Garland signing the "Frances Murphy" pledge for his mother.¹³⁸ Legend also has it that Josephine Grey discovered the diary of her ancestor Colonel Ebenezer Zane. She gave the diary to Zane Grey who was inspired to write the Ohio trilogy.¹³⁹

Josephine Grey lived in Zanesville, Ohio, until 1890 when she moved to Columbus with her family. Her husband Lewis Gray died around 1905 leaving her and her one surviving daughter, Ida, alone in Ohio. It is believed that Josephine and Ida moved to Lackawaxen to live in the Cottage with Zane Grey prior to his marriage to Dolly.¹⁴⁰ By 1907, the Greys built a house for Josephine and Ida on land belonging to Romer Carl and Reba Grey. According to Nelson, the house was only a summer residence, so the women may have lived in Middletown, New York, or New York City during the winter months.

By 1914, Josephine and Ida Grey were living primarily in Middletown. They still visited Lackawaxen, however, because Nelson remembered the women knitting and selling goods for the Red Cross in Lackawaxen during World War I. By 1916, Josephine's health was failing.¹⁴¹ In April 1917, Zane Grey visited his mother in Middletown and described a feisty old woman: "Mother scolded and complained and ranted in a way as amusing as pathetic."¹⁴² Josephine died on 23 July 1917 in Lackawaxen while Zane Grey was in California.¹⁴³ He returned for the funeral at which

¹³⁵ Zane Grey's mother's name appears variously as "Josephine Alice," "Alice Josephine," "Josephine Allie," "Josephine," and "Alice." "Josephine Alice" occurs most frequently.

¹³⁶ Frank Gruber, *Zane Grey: A Biography* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1970), pp. 6-7.

¹³⁷ Gruber, p. 7. "Gray Family History," *Zane Grey's West* 4: 13 (1986).

¹³⁸ Hamlin Garland, "Fortunate Exiles," n.d., Unpublished memoir, Hamlin Garland Collection, American Literature Special Collections, Donehy Memorial Library, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, p. 121.

¹³⁹ Jean Karr, *Zane Grey: Man of the West* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1949), p. 24.

¹⁴⁰ Gruber, p. 22. Dougherty, "Zane Grey Lived Here." "In the Death Notice of Mrs. Alice Zane Grey." Foster, p. 11.

¹⁴¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 12 September 1916, Farley Collection, p. 115.

¹⁴² Zane Grey Diary, 3 April 1917, Farley Collection, p. 131.

¹⁴³ "In the Death Notice of Mrs. Alice Zane Grey."

Josephine Grey was buried in Middletown, New York.¹⁴⁴ Zane Grey later wrote in his diary:

The news, reaching me in San Francisco, was a rude and severe shock. I cannot remember ever having been so affected. There was a sudden shock, then slow bewildered thought - then numb pain, and after that the tragic realization which can come to a man only once in his life.

I remember the day before I left that I took a picture of her, and Romer & Betty, sitting on the back porch. This picture turned out splendid. And by some chance she stood in that same spot to wave goodbye to me on the train. She waved goodbye to me. Alas! It in [is?] indeed goodbye!¹⁴⁵

Ida Grey

Ida Gertrude Grey was the second child of Josephine and Lewis Gray. She lived with her parents in Columbus, Ohio, until she and her widowed mother went to live with Zane Grey in Lackawaxen.¹⁴⁶ She and her mother moved into the Lackawaxen house the Greys built for them in 1907. She remained there until the house was sold to the Smiths at which time the women moved into the Cottage. Around 1914, they moved to Middletown, New York. Ida cared for her mother until her 1917 death. Zane Grey describes her at home in Middletown in 1917: "my sister bustled about, important with her late responsibility as housekeeper, and she was lively, cheerful and vain of her work."¹⁴⁷ In addition to her work at home, Ida also knit and sold items to raise money for the Red Cross during World War I.

At the time of her mother's 1917 death, Ida began to live with her brother Ellsworth and his wife Ethel. Presumably Ida went to live in their Middletown home. Ellsworth was a successful illustrator in New York City and Ethel was the daughter of a well-known Middletown merchant. However, Dolly Grey wrote to Zane regarding a guest also staying with Ellsworth and Ethel: "Ida doesn't like it a bit. She's worrying about her own good time and several more things. She was sore because she had to cook a meal for Pauline. And she's terribly set about having it understood that they [Ellsworth and Ethel Grey] are living with her, not she with them."¹⁴⁸ Apparently this arrangement did not last long because Ida went to live with the Romer Carl Greys until Romer Carl died in 1934.¹⁴⁹ She apparently did not move in with Zane Grey because Dolly Grey disliked her. In 1928 Zane Grey wrote to Dolly, "Somehow the sting of this letter of yours, the reiterated scorn of Rome and Ida, has sunk deeper than ever before."¹⁵⁰ Starting in 1934 Ida lived with the Zane Greys until she died of cancer in 1937.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Dougherty, "Zane Grey Lived Here."

¹⁴⁵ Zane Grey Diary, 5 October 1917, Farley Collection, p. 151.

¹⁴⁶ Gruber, p. 7. Memorial Service for Ida Grey, 9 September 1938, Series IV, Box 2, Folder 13, Grey Family Papers.

¹⁴⁷ Zane Grey Diary, 3 April 1917, Farley Collection, p. 131.

¹⁴⁸ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 12 September 1918, Farley Collection, p. 200.

¹⁴⁹ Gruber, p. 221.

¹⁵⁰ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 14 October 1928, Farley Collection, p. 334.

¹⁵¹ Gruber, p. 221.

- Smith Family Ownership

Charles and Mary Smith purchased the former home of Josephine and Ida Grey from Romer Carl Grey in 1913. They proceeded to winterize it so that they could use the house year round.

Charles Smith was of German descent and had lived on the New York side of the Delaware River. He owned 100 acres of land and managed with his brothers a store and post office in Minisink. Upon his brothers' deaths of tuberculosis, Smith gave up the business enterprises and became a stonecutter in a local bluestone quarry.¹⁵² He met Zane and Romer Carl Grey through their mutual interest in hunting and fishing. As a native of the area, Smith served as a guide to the Greys in both activities. His daughter remembers the men hunting a variety of game including grouse and fishing for trout.¹⁵³ Smith began to work more extensively for the Greys after he sold his businesses. At that time he became a caretaker, gardener, and handyman for the Grey property.¹⁵⁴

Smith met his future wife Mary Farrell through the Greys because she served as Romer Carl and Reba Greys' housekeeper and cook. Farrell was an Irish immigrant who worked for Reba Smith in New York prior to her marriage to Romer Carl Grey. Charles Smith and Mary Farrell married in 1910 and lived in a small house in Lackawaxen Village for several years. Upon her marriage, Mary retired from housekeeping and cooking (except occasionally for Zane Grey personally).¹⁵⁵

For mutually beneficial reasons, the Smiths purchased a house and moved in next door to the Greys in 1913. This move solidified the already close relationship between the Greys and the Smiths. Although Charles Smith was in the employ of the Greys, he maintained their respect and the family members were close companions. Zane Grey enjoyed spending time at the Smith house. He played checkers with Charles until all hours of the night. He often dropped by at lunchtime to enjoy Mary Farrell Smith's cooking. When returning to Lackawaxen from a trip he would send Mary telegrams requesting she prepare specific foods upon his return. He particularly liked her strawberry shortcake.¹⁵⁶ In addition to meals for Zane Grey, the Smiths provided the Greys with dairy products including cheese, milk, cream, butter, and cottage cheese from their one Jersey cow.¹⁵⁷

The Smiths had two daughters, Mary and Caroline. Mary Smith was born in 1911; she was two years younger than the Greys' son Romer Zane with whom she attended school.¹⁵⁸ Mary Smith Nelson later recalled playing constantly with the Grey children. They spent time playing on the property in the playhouse, in the Cottage, on the

¹⁵² Nelson, 1 February 1990, pp. 20-21.

¹⁵³ Nelson, 4 June 1990, pp. 37-39.

¹⁵⁴ Patricia H. Christian, "Zane Grey: The Legacy of His Lackawaxen Days," Report, Unknown source, 1984-1989, "Zane Grey Information for Interpretive Programs," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. 9.

¹⁵⁵ Nelson, 1 February 1990, pp. 1-3. Powell, p. 3.

¹⁵⁶ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 39. Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 5. Powell, p. 7.

¹⁵⁷ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ "Membership Mentionings," *The Zane Grey Review* 11 (2): 9 (February 1996). Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 4.

tennis court, and in the berry patch.¹⁵⁹ They also went hiking in the woods with the Greys' governess, Mrs. Koch. They rarely went inside the Big House except to receive snacks in the kitchen.¹⁶⁰ According to Nelson's daughter, Cecilia Powell, when the children played together they shared the same privileges. The Smith children's contact with the Greys extended to spending time with the adults also. Zane Grey spoke to Mary Smith Nelson as an adult. Nelson also fondly remembered the secretaries including having tea parties with Dorothy Ackerman.¹⁶¹

After the Greys' move to California, Charles Smith remained their caretaker until about 1933 when the James family moved into the Big House. The Greys and Smiths kept in contact through visits to Lackawaxen and correspondence for the rest of the elder members' lives. They exchanged letters, holiday cards, gifts, announcements, and other correspondence. Mary Farrell Smith died six months prior to the Greys' 1929 visit to Lackawaxen.¹⁶²

Mary Smith credits her supportive family and her early exposure to the well-educated Grey family for her lifelong pursuit of education. She attended the three-year school in the area and then went on to finish high school in Shohola, Pennsylvania. She continued her education for two years in Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, so that she could become a teacher in Greeley, Pennsylvania. She then went to school in New York City to receive her bachelor's degree and commuted to New York City while teaching in Shohola so that she could earn her master's degree.¹⁶³

Charles Smith continued to live in the Smith-Nelson House until his death in 1947.¹⁶⁴ Dolly Grey wrote a letter of condolence to the Smith daughters reading in part, "Zane always said that Charlie Smith was the only man who could beat him at checkers!"¹⁶⁵

- Nelson Family Ownership

Mary Smith married Peter Nelson in 1949.¹⁶⁶ At that time they set up housekeeping in her parents former home.¹⁶⁷ It is unclear whether Smith had been living there all along or chose to move back at that time. The Nelsons had at least one child named Cecilia.

Mary Smith Nelson continued to teach school in Shohola, a community that later named a school after her, until 1981.¹⁶⁸ During the summer recesses from school, the Nelsons would go on a family vacation and then run a boarding house from 4 July to Labor Day.¹⁶⁹

¹⁵⁹ Nelson, 1 February 1990, pp. 4, 8. Powell, pp. 4-5.

¹⁶⁰ Powell, p. 9.

¹⁶¹ Powell, p. 7. Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 5.

¹⁶² Christian, p. 19.

¹⁶³ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 11.

¹⁶⁴ Christian, p. 19.

¹⁶⁵ Dolly Grey to Mary and Caroline Smith, 12 December 1947, Mary Smith Nelson Collection, in care of Cecilia Powell, Lackawaxen, PA.

¹⁶⁶ "Membership Mentionings," p. 9 (February 1996).

¹⁶⁷ Foster, p. 14.

¹⁶⁸ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 11.

¹⁶⁹ Powell, p. 12.

Presumably the Smith-Nelson House remained the same size until Mary Smith Nelson expanded it. Today the house presents a much-altered appearance with a large picture window facing east toward the Big House.¹⁷⁰

Mary Smith Nelson continued to live in the Smith-Nelson House until her December 1995 death.¹⁷¹ No further information is available about the Nelson family at this time.¹⁷²

- Cecilia Powell Ownership

Cecilia Powell inherited the Smith-Nelson House at the time of her mother's death. Powell lives with her family in London, England. The Powells regularly spend several weeks each summer at the house. Foreseeing a time when they will no longer spend as much time in Lackawaxen and understanding the National Park Service's desire to acquire the property, Powell entered an agreement with the National Park Service in 1998. At that time Powell deeded the property to the National Park Service but will continue to occupy the house until 2003. The current contents of the house are much the same as when Mary Smith Nelson lived there.¹⁷³

Outbuildings

- Delaware and Hudson Canal Company Barn

In 1904 the D & H barn housed a single cow. The tax assessment for 1905 does not mention the cow, but it is noted in the assessments from 1906 to 1913.¹⁷⁴ It seems that the Smith family took over the maintenance of the cow and production of dairy products when they moved onto the property in 1913.

Starting in 1917 Zane Grey was taxed for three horses. He shipped three Western horses from Arizona to the property and kept them in the barn and adjoining corral.¹⁷⁵ The horses were named Night, Black Star, and Sol. The two black horses, Night and Black Star, were named after the "superhorses" in Grey's 1912 *Riders of the Purple Sage*. According to Betty Zane Grosso, Black Star broke his leg and the other two horses were shipped West to the family after their move there. She received the aged Night as a birthday gift in 1926.¹⁷⁶

It is unknown how the D & H barn was used after the Greys left the property, but it burned down in the 1950s.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁰ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. 1.

¹⁷¹ "Membership Mentionings," p. 9 (February 1996).

¹⁷² If deemed necessary, the Park may conduct further interviews with daughter Cecilia Powell.

When the researcher interviewed Powell, the conversation focused on the Grey family ownership period.

¹⁷³ LANDSCAPES, p. 23.

¹⁷⁴ Assessment of Seated Property, 1904-1913.

¹⁷⁵ Betty Zane Grosso to Helen James Johnson, post 1958, "Zane Grey Duplicates," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River. Assessment of Seated Property, 1917-1919.

¹⁷⁶ Grosso interview, p. 2. O'Donnell, p. 35.

¹⁷⁷ HABS, p. 12.

- 1914/1915 Barn

In 1913, the Smiths purchased an acre of property from Romer Carl Grey. In 1914 to 1915, while the Greys were building the second Cottage and expanding the Big House, the Smiths built a new barn.¹⁷⁸ The barn and its adjoining corral housed at least one Jersey cow.¹⁷⁹ Loren Grey also has memories of a calf living on the property. He was very dismayed to have the calf lick his fingers and then later find its slaughtered carcass hanging in the barn.¹⁸⁰

At an unknown time the barn ceased to house a cow and became a garage for automobiles. The barn still stands and remains the garage for the Smith-Nelson house.¹⁸¹

- Outhouses

According to the recent *Preliminary Cultural Landscape Assessment*, there were three outhouses on the Grey property serving the three houses. The outhouses for the Cottage and Big House were to the southwest of each house. That for the Smith-Nelson house was to the northwest of the house. The outhouse for the Big House was linked to it with a bluestone path while that for the Cottage stood near a grape arbor. As the privy pits filled, the outhouses may have been moved. There are two locations for the Cottage outhouse.¹⁸²

Betty Zane Grosso recalled the family using an outhouse but then installing rudimentary plumbing.¹⁸³ By the time the James family moved into the Big House in 1933, Helen James Davis recalled again using the outhouse which she describes as surrounded by a lot of lilac bushes.¹⁸⁴

One outhouse was destroyed by the 1940s flood. Another was removed in the 1950s.¹⁸⁵ The demise of the third is unrecorded.

- Coal House

The coal house is located west, or to the rear, of the Smith-Nelson House. It was built in 1914 and still stands today.¹⁸⁶

- Children's Playhouse

The children's playhouse was constructed to the south of the Big House around 1916. It was an open, four-sided structure. Mary Smith Nelson remembers it as being fairly large. Her estimates of its size ranged from fourteen-by-sixteen feet to eighteen-

¹⁷⁸ Foster, p. 12.

¹⁷⁹ LANDSCAPES, p. 40.

¹⁸⁰ Loren Grey to Nancy Spiegel, 18 July 1988, "Zane Grey Duplicates for Seasonal Training," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

¹⁸¹ Foster, p. 12.

¹⁸² LANDSCAPES, p. 40.

¹⁸³ Grosso interview, p. 2.

¹⁸⁴ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 4.

¹⁸⁵ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 4. LANDSCAPES, p. 40.

¹⁸⁶ O'Donnell, p. 15.

by-twenty feet. The roofed structure had walls only halfway up and an open doorway. The walls were lined with shelves which Nelson remembers filled with toys.¹⁸⁷ Grosso remembered the structure being an empty "little square" constructed of logs. In 1990 there was a photograph of the playhouse in Grosso's possession.¹⁸⁸

The only distinct memory Nelson had of the playhouse was a day when Romer Zane Grey raided his mother's stash of wrapped Christmas gifts. He lowered them down from her sitting room in the Big House and the children unwrapped them in the playhouse.¹⁸⁹

The playhouse was destroyed in the 1940s flood. Helen James Johnson's brother-in-law hauled the remains away at that time.¹⁹⁰

- Tennis Equipment Shed

There was at least one tennis equipment shed built near the tennis court between the Big House and the Smith-Nelson House. This was the second tennis court on the property and was probably built between 1913 and 1916.¹⁹¹ The shed contained the lime for lining the court and probably rackets and balls as well.¹⁹² The shed is no longer on the property. Three tennis rackets (UPDE 685, 1079, 1080) and a net (UPDE 1216) are in the collection of Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

- Ice House

Zane Grey built the ice house around 1906.¹⁹³ Ice was taken from the frozen Delaware River in the winter and stored in the ice house for use in the warmer months.¹⁹⁴ The ice house was almost directly in the center of the Greys' property. Each dwelling house would have contained an ice box where ice brought from the ice house was used to cool perishable foods. The *Cultural Landscape Inventory* states that electricity and water were brought to the houses by 1926. If the residents of the complex chose to purchase refrigerators, the ice house may have become obsolete at that time.¹⁹⁵

After the ice house no longer contained ice, Nelson remembered it containing debris and objects from the Grey family occupancy.¹⁹⁶ In the 1940s, Helen James Johnson had the ice house removed.¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁷ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. 2. Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 8.

¹⁸⁸ Grosso interview, pp. 3, 18.

¹⁸⁹ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 8.

¹⁹⁰ HABS, p. 11.

¹⁹¹ HABS, p. 7.

¹⁹² Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 29.

¹⁹³ Foster, p. 11.

¹⁹⁴ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 30.

¹⁹⁵ Foster, p. 13.

¹⁹⁶ Richard Hunter et al, *A Preliminary Archaeological Assessment of the Zane Grey Property, Lackawaxen Township, Pike County, Pennsylvania* (Trenton: Hunter Research, 1990), p. 5-3.

¹⁹⁷ HABS, pp. 11-12.

- Cat House

On 4 April 1904 Dolly Grey noted that the cat house was completed.¹⁹⁸ It was a small wooden structure located near the D & H barn.¹⁹⁹ According to Betty Zane Grosso, Grey loved cats and at one time owned as many as nineteen Persian cats. Dolly Grey was not as fond of the animals.²⁰⁰

- Other Small Sheds

The *Cultural Landscape Treatment Plan* indicates there were several other small sheds in the center area of the Grey property. The plan describes these sheds as housing chickens, paint, and animal feed.²⁰¹

The Big House

Romer Carl Grey Ownership

Romer Carl Grey purchased two acres of land beside Zane Grey's three acres at the confluence of the Lackawaxen and Delaware Rivers in 1906 for \$325 from Frank Holbert.²⁰² On the basis of an inscription left on the south wall of the foundation reading "'Wm Eakhart, May 2, 1906,'" the Historic American Building Survey concluded that the Big House was built on the property the same year.²⁰³ The Historic American Building Survey describes the house as "a four-square plan with Queen Anne and Neoclassical influences. . . . It exemplifies the local traditions of frame and masonry construction, and incorporates standardized, machine-made materials on the exterior and the interior."²⁰⁴ Despite its square form and central chimney, each elevation is different and the north, or rear, elevation is asymmetrical.

According to the HABS report, the first floor consisted of a parlor, dining room, kitchen, two porches (front and rear), and what appears to be a pantry. Two staircases led to the second floor which contained a hall, bathroom, and four rooms (one with a closet). The third floor had two rooms with closets and open storage space.²⁰⁵

In the vertical files of the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River are copies of two early photographs of the house in the collection of Loren Grey. One photograph depicts in the foreground a small child dressed for cold weather, possibly Romer Zane Grey, sitting beside a bluestone walk. In the background is what appears to be the north and west elevations of the 1906 house. According to the photograph, the rear porch covered only the western two-thirds of the first floor, not the whole first floor

¹⁹⁸ Gruber, p. 62.

¹⁹⁹ HABS, p. 4. Notes from Helen James Davis, Oral History Interview, 13 June 1988, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. [3].

²⁰⁰ Gruber, p. 62.

²⁰¹ LANDSCAPES, fig. 21.

²⁰² Frank Holbert, Deed to Romer C. Grey, 1906, *Deed Book 60*, pp. 151-153, Pike County Registry of Deeds, Administrative Building, Milford, PA.

²⁰³ HABS, p. 5.

²⁰⁴ HABS, p. 12.

²⁰⁵ HABS, drawing sheet 2.

as drawn by HABS. Another depicts the full southern and a small portion of the eastern elevations. This photograph shows striped awnings on all visible first- and second-story windows. The awnings may have been removed seasonally, so would not appear in the cold-weather photograph of the bundled child. Or, the awnings were features from a different time period. Both photographs show a dark-colored house with white trim, a pyramidal roof, and a central chimney.²⁰⁶

Romer Carl Grey was first charged taxes on his new home in 1907 when the house was assessed for \$1,200, more than twice the assessment for Zane Grey's Cottage. From 1908 to 1910 Romer Carl was taxed for one horse, but it is unclear where he may have kept it. In 1913, both houses assessed to Romer Carl Grey, the Big House and the future Smith-Nelson house, dropped in value. The Big House lost a third of its tax value, its value dropping to \$800.²⁰⁷

According to current information, at least three people lived in the Big House until 1910: Romer Carl Grey, Reba Grey, and their housekeeper and cook, Mary Farrell. It is unknown whether another servant lived in the second third-floor room or if a servant replaced Mary Farrell when she left the Greys' employ in 1910.²⁰⁸

By spring 1913, the Romer Carl Greys were living in a new home. Dolly Grey wrote to Zane Grey, "Rome is cleaning & papering his new house & will move in in about a week. He and Lew are working hard on it." In the same letter it sounds as if she had already moved into the Big House herself: "Our new home is very pleasant & I think I'll like it much."²⁰⁹ A little over a year later Dolly Grey purchased the house from her brother-in-law for one dollar.²¹⁰ However, Romer Carl continued to pay taxes on the house until 1915. By 1916, he was only paying taxes on one acre of land with a barn on it. By 1918 the Romer Carl Greys had sold all of their Lackawaxen property and were preparing to move to California with Zane Grey.²¹¹

- Romer Carl "R.C." Grey

Romer Carl Grey, Zane Grey's younger brother, was born in Zanesville, Ohio, in 1875.²¹² Romer Carl and Zane Grey were very close friends as children and later as adults. The two boys shared a bedroom and an interest in sports, particularly baseball, tennis, hunting, and fishing.²¹³ As a child Romer Carl was called "Reddy" because of his hair color. He was later called simply "R.C." He was short, stocky, strong, and very adept at baseball.²¹⁴

When the boys' family moved to Columbus, Ohio, in 1890, Romer Carl worked as a delivery boy for a grocery store to help support the family. He and Zane Grey joined a

²⁰⁶ Loren Grey to Nancy Spiegel, 29 August 1988, "Nancy Spiegel Research Material," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

²⁰⁷ Assessment of Seated Property, 1907-1910, 1913.

²⁰⁸ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 1.

²⁰⁹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 11 April 1913, Farley Collection, p. 66.

²¹⁰ Romer C. and Rebecca D. Grey, Deed to Lina Elise Grey, 1914, *Deed Book* 68, pp. 72-73, Pike County Registry of Deeds, Administrative Building, Milford, PA.

²¹¹ Assessment of Seated Property, 1915-1916, 1918.

²¹² Gruber, p. 245.

²¹³ "His Autobiography!" part 1, *Zane Grey Reporter* 1 (1): 7 (1986).

²¹⁴ Gruber, pp. 13, 26.

semi-professional baseball team in Columbus. Romer Carl later joined professional teams in Delphos, Ohio, and East Orange, New Jersey. He continued playing baseball until his September 1905 marriage to Reba Dalliba Smith.²¹⁵

According to Zane Grey, the Romer Carl Greys helped him through some difficult financial times during his early years of writing. He reminded Dolly Grey of this years later when he bought his brother gifts: "Reba sold bonds and pawned diamonds to get me money. Rome gave me many a dollar of his hard earned salary, earned by the hardest kind of work, and then poorly paid. Baseball! He saved \$600 a year, and we got it all."²¹⁶

Before and after his marriage to Smith, Romer Carl Grey traveled with Zane Grey. In the 1890s, the men traveled frequently to the Lackawaxen area on hunting and fishing trips. Romer Carl likely funded these early trips. He later accompanied Zane Grey on countless trips to Arizona, Oregon, Catalina Island, New Zealand, and other exotic locations. Zane Grey footed a majority of the expenses for these later, much more elaborate trips.

In 1906, Romer Carl Grey, previously of New York City, purchased two acres neighboring Zane Grey's three acres at the confluence of the Delaware and Lackawaxen Rivers. The Romer Carl Greys lived in Lackawaxen until 1913 when they built a new house elsewhere, probably in Middletown.

By the mid-to-late 1910s, Romer Carl Grey appears to have had something of a crisis. In December of 1917 Romer Carl told his brother that he was planning to go to France under the auspices of the YMCA to do construction and engineering work for the military. While Grey was personally sad, he tried to remind himself that this choice may be the best for his brother:

A week ago he was ill in be[d], a broken man. And now suddenly he is transformed. He said, 'I've been doing nothing for years, I've been sick, idle, morbid . . . [in text] I've been dependent; now I'll go to war, and if my back breaks, or I go to pieces, I will be doing something for my country!'

And so in the end, after all his years of failure, he is going to be a man. There is indeed in all men a divine spark. I find him grown dearer to me, and that I am told is one of the strange lessons of this war.²¹⁷

It is unclear whether Romer Carl followed through with his plan or not because in 1918 Zane Grey wrote to Dolly Grey that Romer Carl was afraid the next draft would "get him."²¹⁸

In 1918, the Romer Carl Greys, along with the rest of the Grey clan, moved to California with Zane Grey. At least as early as the 1920s, the Zane Greys made comments about the Romer Carl Greys benefiting from Zane Grey's income. Dolly Grey wrote in 1922, "Don't ever worry that he'll [Romer Carl Grey] go back on you. He wants

²¹⁵ Gruber, pp. 22-23, 26, 54. Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 26.

²¹⁶ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 14 October 1928, Farley Collection, pp. 333-334.

²¹⁷ Zane Grey Diary, 11 December 1917, Farley Collection, p. 169.

²¹⁸ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 22 August 1918, Farley Collection, p. 199.

the money & he wants certain of the good times."²¹⁹ In 1928, there was a row over whether Zane Grey should have bought Romer Carl a Stutz (an expensive sports car) as a Christmas gift.

In 1932, as Dolly Grey labored to keep the family's finances afloat, she asked Romer Carl Grey to assist her with the running of Zane Grey Inc. She reported to Zane Grey that he was unable to do so because he was busy with financial trouble of his own.²²⁰ Also, in the early 1930s Romer Carl had suffered a minor heart attack. In 1934 he suffered a major heart attack and died.²²¹ Zane Grey wrote to Allie James, "Rome died suddenly yesterday afternoon at four o'clock, of a heart attack induced by acute indigestion./ I got there just too late."²²²

- Rebecca "Reba" Grey

Rebecca "Reba" Grey was born Rebecca Dalliba Smith. She was a member of a wealthy family involved in coal mining in the town of Blairsville, Pennsylvania. Without further research, it is unclear whether Reba Smith ever lived in Blairsville because Mary Smith Nelson reported that Mary Farrell worked for Smith in New York. Nelson also stated that Smith sent postcards to Farrell describing camping trips to the Lackawaxen area with Romer Carl Grey.²²³ Smith married Romer Carl Grey on 20 September 1905.²²⁴ By 1906, the couple had moved into the newly built Big House.

Unlike Dolly Grey, Reba Grey appears to have enjoyed traveling for she and Romer Carl were frequent companions on Zane Grey's many exotic trips. In fact, at times Grey felt pressure to plan trips to entertain them. Dolly Grey wrote to Zane:

Restless soul, when are you ever going to do any writing if you just leap from one trip to another? What about Clemente in August? Now, listen. Think this over carefully. If you want to take that trip *for your own good and pleasure*, I'll say go ahead. But if you're planning it for the girls, or the Wiborns, or Rome & Reba, *cut it out*. . . . If Rome & Reba want to fish in mosquito-bitten Oregon, let them. My God, do you have to plan all their comings and goings?²²⁵

Reba Grey was apparently a difficult person because both Zane and Dolly Grey mention problems dealing with her. She had a dominant personality and often controlled Romer Carl Grey's movements. Dolly Grey wrote to Zane, "Rome says he's getting ready to break loose. I don't see how he'll ever do it. He was here for fifteen minutes, the other night & his wife telephoned him that it was time to come home & he should start at once."²²⁶ Reba and Zane Grey vied for Romer's company. Dolly Grey observed, "You're

²¹⁹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 23 February 1922, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 134.

²²⁰ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, August 1932, Farley Collection, p. 383.

²²¹ Gruber, p. 220.

²²² Zane Grey to Allie James, 9 November 1934, Series II, Box 1, Folder 3, James Family Papers.

²²³ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 1. Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 34.

²²⁴ Marriage Announcement, Romer Carl Grey to Rebecca Dalliba Smith, 20 September 1905, Series IV, Box 2, Folder 13, Grey Family Papers.

²²⁵ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 23 February 1922, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 134.

²²⁶ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 11 April 1913, Farley Collection, pp. 66-67.

as bad about Rome as Reba is. You want to be the fate & Deity to him."²²⁷ However, Zane Grey eventually came to tolerate Reba while Dolly did not. Grey wrote to Dolly, "Yes, Reba *is* a hard pill for *you* to swallow. She used to be for me until I saw the uselessness of being sore. Now I never think of her short comings." The occasion for this commentary was a squabble over the sports car Zane Grey had bought for his brother for Christmas in 1928. Knowing the costly gift would irritate Dolly, Reba took the opportunity to give Dolly Grey a "dig."²²⁸

The Romer Carl Greys lived in Lackawaxen until 1913 when they built a new house elsewhere, probably in Middletown. In 1918, they, along with the rest of the Grey clan, moved to California with Zane Grey.

By February 1939, Reba Grey's health was failing. Dolly Grey described a visit with her in that month:

I spent the afternoon of my birthday being a good Samaritan. Hildred picked me up and we drove out to see Reba. The doctor out there does not give her more than about a month to live. However, although she seemed weak and it was difficult for her to talk, I think she still retains her faculties. Hildred and I just babbled on because it was almost impossible for Reba to say anything. There again, I think it will be a great blessing when the end comes.²²⁹

Reba Grey died before Zane Grey's own October 1939 death.²³⁰

- Mary Farrell

Mary Farrell was an Irish immigrant who worked for Reba Smith in New York prior to Smith's marriage to Romer Carl Grey in 1905. Farrell served as the Greys' housekeeper and cook at the Big House from 1906 until her 1910 marriage to Charles Smith. She cared for the house when the Greys were in residence and when they were not.²³¹ During her time in the Greys' employ, Farrell inhabited a room on the third floor.²³²

Mary and Charles Smith lived in a small house in Lackawaxen Village until around 1913 when they purchased the later Smith-Nelson House. Upon her marriage, Mary retired from housekeeping and cooking except for meals she prepared at her home for Zane Grey personally.²³³ The Romer Carl Greys gave to the Smiths as a wedding gift a "sterling silver service for twelve." Nelson commented, that this was "something nobody else in Lackawaxen ever had at that time."²³⁴ (See "Smith-Nelson House - Smith Family Ownership" above for more information on Mary Farrell, later Mary Smith.)

²²⁷ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 23 February 1922, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 134.

²²⁸ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 14 October 1928, Farley Collection, p. 333.

²²⁹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 10 February 1939, quoted in "Family - Lina E. Roth - Dolly Grey," *The Zane Grey Review* 12 (4): 15 (June 1997).

²³⁰ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 37.

²³¹ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 1. Powell, p. 3.

²³² HABS, p. 5

²³³ Nelson, 1 February 1990, pp. 1-3. Powell, p. 3.

²³⁴ Christian, p. 21.

Zane Grey Ownership

- Zane Grey Family Occupancy

The Zane Grey family moved into the Big House in the spring of 1913.²³⁵ From 1913 to 1918, the Big House served as their summer residence from May or June until October. The rest of the year the Greys spent in Middletown, New York, with the exception of the winter of 1917 to 1918 which they spent in New York City.²³⁶

The main changes Zane and Dolly Grey made to the Big House are two large additions added to the north side of the house between 1914 and 1916 (see ills. 5-9). The first addition was added to the northeast of the house extending the front façade. The work was undertaken in the winter months while the family was in Middletown. It appears that August Clouse of Barryville, New York, was the contractor for the first addition.²³⁷ The addition provided a large first-floor study for Zane Grey complete with a fireplace constructed by Fred Beck, a skilled mason from Lackawaxen, and a decorative frieze executed by Dolly's cousin Lillian Wilhelm.²³⁸ The second floor of the addition boasted a large bedroom and a sleeping porch. In addition to more living space, rudimentary utilities were added. A well was dug at the northwest corner of the house for drinking water. A water tank and pump were also installed so that the Greys could pump water from the river for bathing, laundry, and toilet uses. A Delco system was installed in the basement to provide for some electric light.²³⁹

The second addition was constructed during at least part of the time that Dolly Grey and the children spent at the Big House in the summer and fall of 1916. The second addition was constructed to the rear of the 1914-1915 addition, at the northwest corner of the house. The Greys' neighbor to the south, Gottlieb Kuhn, served as the contractor for the second addition. By August 1916 the foundation and cellar were almost finished.²⁴⁰ In September, Dolly Grey could already tell the addition was large: "The addition is growing very fast these days. The place is going to look like a boarding house; it'll be so big."²⁴¹ This addition provided a full walk-in basement paved with bluestone, an additional first-floor office space for Zane Grey decorated with another Wilhelm frieze, a file room for housing manuscripts adjoining the earlier first-floor study, and a pantry adjoining the kitchen. The second floor provided another bedroom, sleeping porch, and possibly a bathroom.

²³⁵ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 11 April 1913, Farley Collection, p. 66.

²³⁶ Candace Kant to Nancy Spiegel, 20 October 1988, "Nancy Spiegel Research Material," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

²³⁷ Invoice, August C. Clouse, 1 February 1915, Series III, Box 2, Folder 8, Grey Family Papers.

²³⁸ Christian, p. 8.

²³⁹ Invoice, Bishop and Avery, 30 December 1914, Series III, Box 2, Folder 8, Grey Family Papers. Christian, p. 7. The Delco system was an isolated plant based on storage batteries. A generator, likely a small gas engine, created the power that was stored in the batteries. Often generators were run during the day to store the energy that fueled electric lights at night. During times of high demand both generator and batteries supplied electrical power [Duncan Hay, conversation with author, Northeast Museum Services Center, Charlestown, MA, 7 July 2000].

²⁴⁰ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 19 August 1916, in Kant to Spiegel.

²⁴¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 12 September 1916, in Kant to Spiegel.

The first mention of the Greys moving to California is a February 1918 letter from Zane to Dolly Grey. This letter regarding the family's plans for the following winter implies that they were considering only a temporary stay in California:

By the way, [Grey's sister] Ida heard me dictating that I meant to spend the winter in California . . . We may spend the winter in Lackawaxen. I certainly will not go to New York. . . . If conditions grow worse, as seems inevitable, we'll have to stay home.²⁴²

By the summer, they had decided to at least winter in California because in mid-July Grey rented a house outside of Los Angeles.²⁴³ In August they decided that Dolly Grey, likely accompanied by the children, would go West in October at the end of their season in Lackawaxen.²⁴⁴ As Mary Smith Nelson contends, the Greys likely planned to keep the Big House as a summer residence because they left behind many belongings.²⁴⁵ Dolly Grey and the children continued to visit their Lackawaxen house for brief periods until Dolly's 1957 death, but they never returned for extended stays as they had in the earlier 1910s.

Zane Grey

The popular western novelist Zane Grey was born Pearl Zane Gray on 31 January 1872 in Zanesville, Ohio. He was the fourth of five children born to dentist Dr. Lewis Gray and his wife, the former Josephine Alice Zane.²⁴⁶ Grey's older siblings were Ella Leota, Louis Ellsworth (more commonly called "Ellsworth" or "Cedar"), and Ida Gertrude. Grey was closest to his younger brother Romer Carl (more commonly called "R.C." or "Reddy").²⁴⁷

It is unclear exactly what the atmosphere was in the Gray household where young Pearl grew up. Grey's later recollections give contradictory accounts of his father burning his first literary attempt and allowing his son to wile away winter evenings reading.²⁴⁸ It seems several biographers have given more weight to the burning of the story than to other events of Grey's childhood. Grey recalled in an unfinished autobiography the pleasant winter he spent at age eleven:

In the long winter evenings I sat beside the fire and read. My mother sat on the other side of the fireplace with her knitting and Dad was back of us reading. He did not seem to mind how long I stayed up while I was reading. We did not have many books but those we had I read over and over. I read *Robinson Crusoe* and *The Last of the Mohicans* until I knew them by heart. It would be impossible for me to tell which one of these books I loved the most, but in after years I

²⁴² Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 28 February 1918, Farley Collection, p. 185.

²⁴³ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 16 July 1918, Farley Collection, p. 190.

²⁴⁴ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 18 August 1918, Farley Collection, p. 194.

²⁴⁵ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 44.

²⁴⁶ Gruber, pp. 6-7.

²⁴⁷ "Gray Family History," p. 13. Karr, p. 5.

²⁴⁸ May, p. 2. Karr, p. 5. "His Autobiography!" part 2, *Zane Grey Reporter* 1 (2): 6 (1986).

discovered that Cooper's great story of Hawkeye and Uncas had a tremendous influence in my development as a story teller.²⁴⁹

According to Grey, his father did burn his first short story, "Jim and the Cave," which he wrote at age fourteen. However, his father may have reacted less out of anti-intellectualism and more out of anger at finding an array of stolen household goods in a large hole in his backyard.²⁵⁰ Another piece of evidence possibly disputing Lewis Gray's portrayal as an anti-intellectual is a folder at the Ohio Historical Society filled with newspaper clippings containing poems, anecdotes, and essays the Society believes Dr. Gray collected.²⁵¹

Pearl attended Moore Street Elementary School and graduated from Zanesville High School in 1890.²⁵² Grey later recalled disliking school and eagerly awaiting vacations. The only subjects he enjoyed were geography and history. Grey wrote, "In geography and history I was very good and my drawing turned out so well that I had delusions of becoming an artist. The teacher had me draw maps and sketches on the blackboard every Friday afternoon."²⁵³

Shortly after Pearl graduated from high school, the Gray family moved to Columbus, Ohio. The reason for the move is unclear but may relate to Pearl's having been caught in a brothel while in high school or to Dr. Gray's fortunes.²⁵⁴ Whatever the reason for the move, Dr. Gray's new practice in Columbus was not immediately profitable, and he had suffered some financial problems in Washington, DC, before the move.²⁵⁵ Therefore, Pearl and Romer Carl took part-time jobs to earn money. Pearl added to his family's income working as a theater usher. In 1891, he served as an adjunct to his father's dental practice by traveling and pulling teeth. In his free time he was a pitcher on amateur baseball teams. While pitching for a Columbus team, he was discovered by a recruiter from the University of Pennsylvania and awarded a scholarship. Pearl played at the varsity level until he graduated in 1896 with a degree in dentistry (see ill. 10-11).²⁵⁶ The same year he opened his practice in New York City as Dr. Zane Grey, dropping the first name he never liked and modifying his family surname with an "e."²⁵⁷

On a 1900 trip to Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, with Romer Carl, Grey met his future wife Lina Elise Roth.²⁵⁸ In 1902 he published his first article on fishing, "A Day on the Delaware," inspired by a Lackawaxen visit.²⁵⁹ A year later he borrowed \$600 from Roth to publish his first novel, *Betty Zane*. In 1905, Zane Grey married Lina Roth,

²⁴⁹ "His Autobiography!" part 2: 6.

²⁵⁰ Grey, "My Own Life," pp. 6-8.

²⁵¹ Ohio Historical Society, Lewis M. Gray Papers Collection Synopsis, Unpublished finding aid, n.d., Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, p. 2.

²⁵² Gruber, p. 245.

²⁵³ "His Autobiography!" part 6, *Zane Grey Reporter* 2 (2): 7 (1987).

²⁵⁴ "His Autobiography!" part 6: 8-9. "His Autobiography!" part 7, *Zane Grey Reporter* 2 (3): 5 (1987).

²⁵⁵ "His Autobiography!" part 7: 5.

²⁵⁶ Gruber, p. 245.

²⁵⁷ Dental Office Opening Announcement, Dr. Zane Grey, ca. 1896, Series I, Box 1, Folder 3, Grey Family Papers.

²⁵⁸ Gruber, p. 37.

²⁵⁹ Gruber, p. 2.

closed his dental practice, moved to Lackawaxen, and took up writing in earnest. The next year A.L. Burt & Company published *Spirit of the Border*.²⁶⁰

In 1907, Grey took a career-changing trip to Arizona with Charles Jesse "Buffalo" Jones.²⁶¹ Jones had formerly been a big-game hunter but had become a conservationist concerned with the preservation of western animals.²⁶² Grey went on a second trip with Jones in 1908, and a portion of the diary he kept survives. In it he describes his adventures photographing Jones and his party lassoing lions:

I began the decent by jumping sliding. It was terribly steep, all slide rock. But I went down fast. Once near the bottom of this first slope I looked across and saw the lion on top of a pinion.

I got to him in short order, and then yelled for Jones & Jim.

They came as fast as possible. I took several pictures. Jones had a hard time roping him, but at last he succeeded. We all pulled him out. It was now terribly exciting. He fought like a tiger! While Jones & Jim wrestled him, choked him, tried to lasso him I took pictures. They at last got him tied & muzzled.

Jones said it was a very huge female, weight about 250. There we had her, and a mile of slide rock, angle 65 degrees to climb.

I took the lassoes, chains, my camera, canteen & rifle, and started. Jones & Jim followed with the lion on a pole. It was slow[?] Toil, Toil! Toil!²⁶³

Apparently, Jones lassoed lions and brought them back to his camp for sport. However, Grey quickly learned that although the men were not shooting the lions, capturing lions also took its toll. On the party's 1908 trip four lions died: the female captured above died of heat and exhaustion before the men could get her up the hill, their hounds killed a second lion who was tied up, a third strangled herself with the lasso around her neck, and a fourth chained lion killed herself.²⁶⁴ These experiences likely led to Grey's early interest in conservation and concern for wild animals.²⁶⁵ Grey's diaries for his 1907 trip with Jones served as the basis for his *Last of the Plainsmen* which was unceremoniously rejected by several publishers the same year.²⁶⁶

Zane Grey did not make an easy transition to being a writer. In his autobiography he admitted that he brought little more than "tremendous determination" to the enterprise.²⁶⁷ He suffered years of rejection by publishers and lived on the encouragement and inheritance of his wife Dolly.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁰ Gruber, p. 246.

²⁶¹ Gruber, p. 246. Christian, p. [1].

²⁶² Karr, p. 33.

²⁶³ Zane Grey Diary, 26 April 1908, Zane Grey Collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, pp. 17-18.

²⁶⁴ Zane Grey Diary, 26 April 1908, 27 April 1908, 1 May 1908, 6 May 1908, Zane Grey Collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, pp. 17-18, 24, 28, 31.

²⁶⁵ G.M. Farley, *Zane Grey: A Book Checklist*, 3rd ed. (Payson, AZ: Leaves of Autumn Books, 1996), p. 62. Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," pp. 341-342.

²⁶⁶ Karr, p. 27.

²⁶⁷ Grey, "My Own Life," p. 1.

²⁶⁸ Gruber, p. 246.

Zane Grey's first literary triumphs occurred in the early 1910s. He sold *The Heritage of the Desert* as a serial in 1910. The same year Harper & Brothers published it as a novel. His 1912 *Riders of the Purple Sage* was a huge success.²⁶⁹ Grey wrote his first ten novels at his Lackawaxen property.²⁷⁰ He wrote the stories in longhand on sheets of yellow legal paper while sitting in a Morris-type chair with a lapboard across the arms.²⁷¹ Grey was a "binge writer" meaning he would work intensively on a story until it was finished.²⁷² During these periods he would put in long days, often not leaving his study for meals (see "Activities - Writing" section below).

Besides the popular Western novels for which Zane Grey is most well known, he also wrote several books for youths early in his career. Early books include *The Short Stop* (1909), *The Young Forester* (1910), *The Young Pitcher* (1911), and *The Young Lion Hunter* (1911). Grey's two later youth books are *Ken Ward in the Jungle* (1918) and *The Redheaded Outfield and Other Stories* (1920).

Grey balanced his periods of hard work with long stretches of adventurous travel to exotic locations. These trips with friends and relatives were rejuvenating and inspiring but also a source of strain. They took him from his home and wife; and, they put a tremendous financial burden on the otherwise wealthy author. In addition, no matter where Grey was, he could never escape his "black spells."

At times Grey's melancholy rendered him unproductive, argumentative, and indescribably sad.²⁷³ World War I brought on one such spell. On 23 April 1917 Grey wrote in his diary,

I wrote an impulsive foolish letter, which was resented. And the reply I got completed the havoc already wrought by days of worry, depression, gloom, and hate. And so I arrived at a state where a word or a look could inflame me to rancorous, impotent passion. What time I wasted! What energy I spent! What congestion of blood! What risk to health! Oh, it was all so wrong, so tragic, so hopeless!

For many years I have had these spells. All my notebooks are full of them. It seems futile to think of conquering them. But that is necessary or else success, happiness, life is impossible. The tendency to morbid brooding is an insidious terrible disease. It has me in its grip before thought of inhibition can rise.

This then is what I face, Defeat and Loss! I can bear defeat, but not loss of all, not at one fell swoop! Loss of family, friends, loss of my great power to write! Loss of virility, strength, eyesight! What horror!

²⁶⁹ Gruber, p. 246.

²⁷⁰ Chris Farlekas, "Museum Offers Glimpse of Zane Grey's Life, Work," *Times Herald Sunday Record*, 3 September 1972.

²⁷¹ Gruber, p. 159. Albert H. Davis, "Museum and Home of the Author Zane Grey," Brochure, 1985, Series II, Box 1, Folder 6, Zane Grey Inn and Museum Records, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA.

²⁷² May, p. 124. Norris F. Schneider, *Zane Grey: "The Man Whose Books Made the West Famous"* (Zanesville, OH: Norris F. Schneider, 1967), p. 23.

²⁷³ Carlton Jackson, *Twayne's United States Authors Series: Zane Grey*, edited by Sylvia Bowman (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973), p. 66.

This war has upset my mental equilibrium. It is a bad time for thinking men and fatal for an idealist. I need so much sober correcting cautious thought. But my needs would fill this volume. I feel them all in a great flash of insight.²⁷⁴

A week later he was starting to feel better:

A hyena lying in ambush, that is my black spell! I conquered one mood only to fall prey to the next. And there have been days of hell. Hopeless, black, morbid, sickening, exaggerated mental disorder! I knew my peril - that I must rise out of it, very soon for good and all, or surrender forever.

It took a day, a whole endless horrible day of crouching in a chair, hating self and all, the sunshine, the sound of laughter, and then I wandered about like a lost soul, or a man who was conscious of imminent death. And I ached all over, my eyes blurred, my head throbbed, and there was pain in my heart.

Today I began to mend, and now there is hope.²⁷⁵

Grey's travels took him to a variety of locations where he could hunt, fish, and explore wild terrain. He and his entourage traveled to Nova Scotia, the Florida Keys, the Canadian Pacific Coast, Oregon, Arizona, New Mexico, Catalina Island, Mexico, the Caribbean, New Zealand, Australia, Tahiti, and Fiji.²⁷⁶ As transportation and to support his interest in big-game fishing Grey owned two yachts during his life. He purchased the first in 1924 and called it *Fisherman*. After selling the first vessel, Grey purchased the short-lived *Fisherman II* in 1930.²⁷⁷ During his career as a fisherman Grey set many world fishing records. These were later revoked when the standards for records were changed with the founding of the International Game Fish Association.²⁷⁸

While Grey's traveling, hunting, fishing, and exploring can be viewed as breaks from extended periods of writing; these activities also allowed Grey to write non-fiction books, pamphlets, and articles based on his experiences. In fact, some of his earliest published writing was about his outdoor exploits. *Recreation* published his first article, "A Day on the Delaware," in May of 1902 and *Field & Stream* published several of his early articles including "Camping Out" in February of 1903. Grey would later publish nine books on fishing, one book on camps and trails, and many articles and several pamphlets on outdoor sports.²⁷⁹

Despite his globetrotting, Grey's home base remained Lackawaxen until 1918. In 1918, three of his novels were made into motion pictures: *Riders of the Purple Sage*, *Light of the Western Stars*, and *Desert Gold*. At that time, the Greys moved to California to be closer to the young film industry.²⁸⁰ Grey contributed to several of the early films

²⁷⁴ Zane Grey Diary, 23 April 1917, Farley Collection, p. 139.

²⁷⁵ Zane Grey Diary, 30 April 1917, Farley Collection, p. 141.

²⁷⁶ Gruber, pp. 38, 248-249. Karr, p. 110. Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, "Zane Grey Museum: Home of the 'Father of the Western Novel' along the Upper Delaware" (Beach Lake, PA: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1995), p. 1.

²⁷⁷ Gruber, p. 248.

²⁷⁸ Dorothy Moon, electronic communication with author, 5 June 2000.

²⁷⁹ Zane Grey's West Society, Information on Zane Grey and Zane Grey's West Society available at zanegreysws.org, 2000.

²⁸⁰ Gruber, p. 247.

created from his books insisting they be shot on (or near) location. He wanted actors to be subordinate to their roles, rather than seek stardom in their own right. He began his own production company, Zane Grey Productions, in 1919.²⁸¹ The company made only a few films before Grey sold it to what would later become Paramount Pictures.²⁸² Paramount had a unit devoted solely to the production of Zane Grey movies. By the 1930s Grey was disillusioned by the industry whose films barely resembled his novels (see "Zane Grey and Twentieth-Century Popular Culture" below for further discussion of Grey and the movie industry).²⁸³

While an enormous house in Altadena, California, was his new home base, Grey also owned several satellite homes. He had a second house on Catalina Island and cabins in Mogollon Rim, Arizona, and Rogue River, Oregon. He also owned fishing camps in New Zealand, Australia, and Tahiti.²⁸⁴

Zane Grey's most productive year of writing was 1925 when he wrote four serials and Harpers published two of his novels.²⁸⁵ Despite his continued popularity with the reading public, Grey suffered at the hands of literary critics who often ignored or attacked his work.²⁸⁶ He was accused of having a stiff style, writing in formulaic plots, portraying stereotypical and unrealistic characters, and infusing emotion into commonplace situations.²⁸⁷ Above all, Zane Grey did not write in a realistic style when realism was at its height. He admitted this "flaw" in his western romances and responded with his own distaste for the realistically written novels containing vulgar language and unnecessary sexual situations.²⁸⁸ In the mid-1920s he wrote his unpublished, twenty-page "My Answer to the Critics."²⁸⁹ He learned to ignore his critics by the 1930s (see "Zane Grey and the Popular Western Novel" below).

Despite the barbs of contemporary critics and the current opinion that he never matured as a writer and cannot be considered "great," Zane Grey novels have enjoyed considerable success to the present day.²⁹⁰ Grey wrote over 100 books which have been translated into several languages and made into over 100 movies.²⁹¹ In his own time (as today), his novels appealed to a wide audience crossing economic, geographic, and social boundaries.²⁹² One reason for his appeal is the same as for his criticism: he was a romantic. While other post-World-War-I writers turned to realism, he kept alive the optimism and idealism typical of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America. He did not portray America as a perfect place, but he did affirm its positive points.²⁹³

²⁸¹ May, p. 108. Gruber, p. 204.

²⁸² May, p. 108. Gruber, p. 205.

²⁸³ May, p. 110.

²⁸⁴ "Zane Grey Museum: Home of the 'Father of the Western Novel'," p. 1.

²⁸⁵ Gruber, p. 248.

²⁸⁶ Jackson, p. 144.

²⁸⁷ Karr, p. xi. T.K. Whipple, "American Sagas," in Grey et al, *Zane Grey: The Man and His Work*, p. 25. May, p. 23. Jackson, p. 7. May, p. 121.

²⁸⁸ Karr, p. xvi. L.H. Robbins, Review of *Call of the Canyon* (1924), quoted in Jackson, p. 49.

²⁸⁹ May, p. 134.

²⁹⁰ May, p. 157.

²⁹¹ Davis, "Museum and Home of the Author Zane Grey," fold 2. Current statistical information about Zane Grey's output was obtained by counting relevant entries on Zane Grey's West website, zanegreysws.org.

²⁹² Karr, p. xii.

²⁹³ Karr, p. xvi. Kant, *Arizona*, p. 5.

Grey also offered a glimpse into a different world. He brought the landscape and adventure of the American West to many people who had never been there. His emphasis on the setting over character development satisfied people's desire to see the places he had seen.²⁹⁴ It also conveyed his belief that the desert environment was a catalyst that brought out the greatest good or evil in people. Hence, his characters are simplistic portrayals of good and evil easily affected by their environment.²⁹⁵

Unlike his simplistic characters, Grey was a complex man filled with contradictory beliefs and impulses. While his politics were conservative, his religious beliefs may be categorized as akin to current New Age ideas. According to Wheeler, "Grey's political beliefs would have to be categorized as conservative main-stream American, in some ways almost ultra conservative. . . . He wanted to protect his garden from the evil European influences and withdraw into a high-walled ideological inner sanctum where he would not be troubled by radicals with all their 'isms.'"²⁹⁶ Grey disliked it when a European war threatened to disrupt American life in 1917. He wrote in his diary:

There is a sentry of the 71st. national Guard on duty out at the bridge. I can see a light out there near the soldier camp. This is amazing to me. We are on the eve of war with germany and the soldiers have been sent all over the U.S. to guard bridges, water-powers, and public buildings. meanwhile [sic] there is hell in washington [sic], excitement all over the country, and a surprised and upset nation wondering what on earth is about to happen.

I am perhaps as far as any man from wanting war.

I am no pacifist - no peace at any price man. I hate the Germans, although I recognize their greatness. But I hate war more than I hate anything else.²⁹⁷

Grey also hated taxes. He wrote to Dolly in 1924, "I think it monstrous that I have to pay an enormous sum out of my earned income to a pack of political hounds."²⁹⁸ Grey tended to be unsympathetic to recent immigrants to the United States; anti-German; unsympathetic to communism, bolshevism, and socialism; anti-labor; and against the illegal use of drugs. Grey was also resistant to technological progress including automobiles, trains, and telephones. Grey stood for hard work, the Protestant work ethic, the superiority of the United States, and the superiority of the white, Anglo-Saxon race over all others. He spoke of most other races in pejorative terms and predicted that through survival of the fittest, Native Americans would be dominated by European Americans.²⁹⁹

Grey's politics may have been solidly conservative and reflective of mainstream American beliefs, but his religious beliefs were very ambiguous and likely would have scandalized believers in organized religion. Grey was raised as a fundamentalist, but

²⁹⁴ Whipple, p. 29. Whipple quotes Zane Grey: "My inspiration to write has always come from nature. Character and action are subordinate to setting."

²⁹⁵ Kant, p. 112.

²⁹⁶ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 307.

²⁹⁷ Zane Grey Diary, 5 April 1917, Farley Collection, p. 133.

²⁹⁸ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 27 February 1924, Farley Collection, p. 235.

²⁹⁹ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," pp. 304-306, 308-311.

never fully bought into the belief.³⁰⁰ In fact, Grey held several grudges against organized religion including its inability to conquer poverty; its history of holy wars; its efforts to force dogma on those who believe otherwise; and its spreading the Word via incompetent missionaries and clergy.³⁰¹ Rather than adhering to any one belief, Grey built his own belief system from the ideas he read in publications by English romantic nature writers, Darwin, Spencer, and Coue; the ideas he gathered during his travels among Native Americans; and his own unique observations on nature and man's place in it.³⁰² Grey wrote of his mixed beliefs in 1906:

For me God is intangible, mysterious, a Spirit that breathes in the air, an invisible Presence felt in the woods, a Life in the hills, the waters, and the stones. This wonderful unintelligible Force in nature, this marvel of the human mind, this something that baffles with its beauty and power, this colossal enigmatical system, at once perfect and cruel, is God.

The Religion which I would like to follow is embodied in the rule, 'do unto others as you would have others do unto you.' Be unselfish, give as you receive, let others live.³⁰³

Thirty years later Grey was still exploring his religious ideas in a letter to Alvah James:

Of course I believe in God and Immortality. I reconcile the fact of evolution with science and religion. I cannot explain just what God is to me. But He is Omniscience. Anyone with any mind at all can go out in the desert, to a high place, and look up at the heavens and the stars, and realizing that the universe never had a beginning and will never have an end, that space is limitless, time nothing, that Einstein's theory merely a scientist's sad and profitless conjecture, come to believe something omniscient. And that is sufficient for me. I was not born with the analytical or metaphysical type of mind that conjectures on and digs into theories of religion and conduct. Life has always been too full and rich for me, and I hope it will continue that way.

My books are full of this intimation, along with a worship of nature; and that is further reason why they have lasted in a modern age of realism.³⁰⁴

After his 1937 stroke, Grey turned to Christian Science, Dolly Grey's religion since the time of her father's circa 1900 death. His 1939 funeral service was a Christian Science service.³⁰⁵

Grey's above letter to Alvah James continues to describe his negative perception of books in the modern age of realism as "an endless turgid flow of filth, of seamy-sided sex stuff, of novels that have profanity, obscenity, homosexuality on every page."³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 321.

³⁰¹ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 322.

³⁰² Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 321.

³⁰³ Zane Grey Diary, 9 September 1906, quoted in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 321.

³⁰⁴ Zane Grey to Alvah James, 26 October 1936, quoted in "A Visit to Zane Grey's Home,"

Antique Angler, spring 1982: 6.

³⁰⁵ Moon, electronic communication, 5 June 2000. Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 13.

³⁰⁶ Zane Grey to Alvah James, 26 October 1936, quoted in "A Visit to Zane Grey's Home," p. 6.

While he was outwardly conservative about the portrayal of sex in fiction, in his personal life he was a philanderer.³⁰⁷ He admits that as early as his high school days he was caught in a brothel. Later in life and with Dolly Grey's knowledge he had affairs with several of his secretaries. It is clear that Grey understood the discrepancy between his own behavior and the morals he touted in his books because he hid these exploits from his reading public (see "Zane Grey's Secretaries - Mildred Smith" above). According to the author of the preface to a series of revealing letters between Zane and Dolly Grey, "possibly because of the old-fashioned moralism of Zane Grey's novels and the nature of his audience, some of the facts about his life have been needlessly obscured. Biographers have participated in this obscurantism by means of avoidance and outright denial."³⁰⁸

Grey also held contradictory beliefs when it came to commercial success and the spending of money. According to Zane Grey scholar Joe Wheeler:

ZG had always coveted money -- not because he wanted it merely to ostentatiously strut with but because it was a means to an end; it would provide him with freedom: freedom to do what he wanted to, when he wanted to, and go where he wanted to go -- so when it came he used it for that purpose.³⁰⁹

Grey did spend money lavishly on his hobbies and expeditions when the money was coming easily in the late 1910s and 1920s. However, early and late in his career he expressed ambivalent views about material success and his spending habits. In the 1910s Grey wrote to fellow author Hamlin Garland regarding an article Garland had written about young authors in the *New York Times*. Grey seems to draw a line between himself as a commercially successful writer and the message about materialism he shares with his public. He also disingenuously distances himself from the business of selling books:

I believe that a man can write literature - romance - idealism - and still gain a large public. . . .

I would have liked your article years ago when I didn't understand what I see now.

I seem to feel that I want you to know that *all* young writers have not success as their motto.

Materialism is the dry rot of America. We have no ideals. Money is everything.

And if any hint of that could be found in my books I would stop writing. It is my publisher who sells them - not I.³¹⁰

In the late 1920s, Zane Grey was not unaware of the ills of money, but somehow felt he was the only one qualified to spend it. He wrote to Dolly Grey regarding her financial management:

³⁰⁷ Information regarding Zane Grey's affairs is provided here in order to inform Park staff but is not intended for inclusion in public interpretation. This topic is not among the site's themes, goals, or objectives and does not appear in the interpretive outline.

³⁰⁸ "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 118.

³⁰⁹ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 291.

³¹⁰ Zane Grey to Hamlin Garland, 10 May 1910s, Hamlin Garland Collection, University of Southern California.

I earn most of the money, and I intend to have more to say about it's [sic] use. So that's that.

As to the future, of course if I do not go ahead with my plans, we'll have no need to bother our heads about money. We can just let it accumulate to ruin Betty & Loren, as money has almost ruined Romer. I'd be a great deal better to spend it.³¹¹

Two years later Grey complained to Dolly of her dark news about the Great Depression choosing to believe other sources that told him what he wanted to hear: "All your radios have been depressing. We get the press news. And there are many claims that conditions are better in the U.S. and bound to improve. Anyone would think you wanted to keep me in the blues."³¹² In talking to Garland later after spending or losing most of his money in the Great Depression, Grey recounted:

the money came in wagon-loads and for a time I spent it like the proverbial drunken sailor. Men cheated me on all sides. I made bad investments. I bought boats and automobiles, -- and worse yet, I financed film companies, and it was in this way that I came to know the shady side of Hollywood.³¹³

Even Zane Grey's popularity could not insulate him from the pressures brought on by the Great Depression. By 1932 his book sales were down.³¹⁴ By 1933, even by cutting the prices of his serials to a third, sales were still slow.³¹⁵ For this reason, he allowed his name and works to be involved with projects he did not fully support such as poor-quality movies and the serial comic *King of the Royal Mounted*.³¹⁶

In 1937 Grey suffered a stroke while in Oregon. This illness was presaged more than ten years earlier when Grey wrote to Dolly, "I am feeling pretty good again, though I have a pain now and then. In my hip or leg or shoulder, or somewhere! It must be neuritis. I get exhausted very easily, and my heart pumps to beat the band."³¹⁷ Two years later he again complained:

I am pretty sick. Such for me is not unusual, but it seems unusual this time. I wonder how much I can stand of trouble. Last night my heart hurt; it beat slowly as if tired; and the thought persisted that perhaps I would not be required much longer to fight the odds. That may seem morbid, in writing, but last night it seemed clear.³¹⁸

He recovered from his 1937 stroke in Altadena and then went on a trip to Australia the following year. He died in 1939 leaving over twenty unpublished manuscripts and a pop

³¹¹ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 14 October 1929, Farley Collection, p. 349.

³¹² Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 9 May 1931, Farley Collection, p. 363.

³¹³ Garland, "Fortunate Exiles," p. 122.

³¹⁴ Gruber, p. 248.

³¹⁵ Zane Grey to Alvah James, 3 November 1933, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers.

³¹⁶ Farley, *Book Checklist*, p. 27.

³¹⁷ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 21 September 1926, Farley Collection, p. 279.

³¹⁸ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 14 October 1928, Farley Collection, p. 336.

culture legacy managed by Zane Grey Inc.³¹⁹ His family members continued to edit and publish his books long after his death. The popularity of the American West in the 1950s spawned other projects linked to his name including *Zane Grey's Western Magazine* and the *Zane Grey Theatre* television program.³²⁰

▪ Zane Grey and the Western Novel

The author Zane Grey occupies a prestigious place in the history of the not-so-prestigious genre of the popular Western novel. He occupies a place below those who write literary novels about the West, but he rose above the anonymous "hacks" and most of the named writers who wrote popular Westerns during his time. Grey wrote within the formula of the popular Western while injecting it with his own style and furthering the development of the genre. His novels were popular because his views affirmed the experience and opinions of Americans from across social classes, he vividly described areas which few Eastern Americans had visited, and his stories were idealistic and romantic.

Early in the history of the Western novel there was a disparity in quality between the accomplished literary novelist and the second- or third-rate formula writer who wrote popular literature for the masses. Popular literature, as with other popular arts, arose in the nineteenth century to entertain the growing middle class. Popular literature is intended for a wider audience than elite literature. It is meant to reach a wide audience and fulfill the expectations of that audience. It is intended to be profitable and is adjusted to appeal to the median taste of its audience. Popular literature is not complex or profound nor does the audience need specialized knowledge in order to understand it. Its goal is to confirm the experiences of the majority of the audience and to reflect the attitudes and concerns of mainstream society. In order to reach a large audience, popular literature must be mass produced for broad distribution. The audience for popular literature is less self-conscious than that of elite literature, has standards that are less clearly defined, and has expectations that are less consistent or integrated. Also, there is rarely a direct line of communication between the writer and the audience; there are other people such as publishers, retailers, and advertisers who may interfere with the popular writer's output before it reaches the intended audience.³²¹

More specifically, literary scholar John R. Milton states the "formula western" "deals in stereotyped characters and stock patterns of action; it exploits the myths of the frontier; it depends upon a two-sided morality of good and evil, neglecting the many complexities of the human condition; it is characterized by sameness through hundreds of books, many of which were written by just a few people using up to twenty pseudonyms each." By contrast the "literary Western" (differentiated by Milton with a capital "W"), possesses a "degree" of high literary value; is sensitive to human behavior and the meaningful qualities of the land; is conscious of the relationship between history and the present; is concerned with several kinds of reality; places some importance on both land and characters; and takes place in a regional setting. However, the literary Western's

³¹⁹ Gruber, p. 249. "Zane Grey Museum: Home of the 'Father of the Western Novel'," p. 2.

³²⁰ May, p. 156.

³²¹ Russel Nye, *The Unembarrassed Muse: The Popular Arts in America* (New York: The Dial Press, 1970), pp. 3-5.

themes are not confined by the setting; "Historically, spiritually, psychologically, symbolically, and archetypically, they rise above the region of their roots."³²² Cultural history scholar Russel Nye describes the popular Western novel with fewer value judgments:

The purpose of the popular Western novel is to entertain, and it is effective only insofar as it succeeds in doing so. It is written neither to shock or titillate; it is neither myth nor epic nor multilevel symbolic narrative. It is an adventure story, good or bad only as it succeeds or fails to come alive as adventure and communicate the Western experience accurately and honestly. Fashionable academic criticism, beginning about 1945, saddled the Western novel with hero myths, fertility rites, quests, ritual killings, and phallic symbolism, very nearly smothering it in a fog of footnotes.

It is an adventure story which deals with a romantic, exciting, and colorful period of American history. Life in the Western's West is simple, with easily defined enemies and clear-cut victories and defeats. In it the old-fashioned virtues prevail - courage, integrity, pride, honor, stamina - in an unambiguous, uncompleted, uncomplicated society where success and failure, good and evil, bravery and cowardice, can be clearly identified and measured.³²³

The form of the popular Western novel is dictated by a literary formula which is "a structure of narrative or dramatic conventions employed in a great number of individual works."³²⁴ In a hierarchy set forth by literary scholar John G. Cawelti, the Western literary formula falls under the larger literary archetype of the adventure story. The goal of the adventure story is to fulfill the audience's need for enjoyment and escape.³²⁵ According to Cawelti:

the culturally significant phenomenon is not the individual work, but the formula or recipe by which more or less anonymous producers turn out individual novels or films. The individual works are ephemeral, but the formula lingers on, evolving and changing with time, yet still basically recognizable. Therefore, a popular form, like the Western, may encompass a number of standard plots. Indeed, one important reason for the continued use of a formula is its very ability to change and develop in response to the changing interests of audiences. A formula which cannot be adapted like this will tend to disappear.³²⁶

The Western formula is defined by setting, characters, and patterns of action. Geographically, the Western is most often set in the Western United States. However, the geographic location is flexible (allowing Westerns to take place in frontier New York,

³²² John R. Milton, *The Novel of the American West* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), p. xv.

³²³ Nye, p. 303.

³²⁴ John G. Cawelti, *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 5.

³²⁵ Cawelti, *Adventure*, pp. 6, 39.

³²⁶ John G. Cawelti, *The Six-gun Mystique* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, n.d.), pp. 25-26.

Kentucky, Missouri) and bows to the social and historic aspects of the setting.³²⁷ Cawelti states:

The Western story is set at a certain moment in the development of American civilization, namely at that point when savagery and lawlessness are in decline before the advancing wave of law and order, but are still strong enough to pose a local and momentarily significant challenge. In the actual West, this moment was probably a relatively brief one in any particular area.³²⁸

The Western setting isolates the novel's action and allows for descriptions of the grandeur and beauty of the landscape.³²⁹ Milton views the setting of the Western in the West as a marketing ploy:

the (inferior) western is set in the west deliberately in order to exploit a romantic and adventurous situation which becomes a commodity for sale in the mass market. In this case the West as a place (and it is almost always the nineteenth-century West) is chosen for its built-in appeal to the public.³³⁰

The Old West is particularly attractive to Americans because it represents an important period in the shaping of the United States. Many Americans look back to the frontier with nostalgia and view the history of the West as their cultural heritage.³³¹

The characters who inhabit the Western landscape are of distinctive types who wear distinctively western- or frontier-style clothing.³³² In general, there are three types of characters in the Western: the townspeople/agents of civilization; the villains who threaten civilization; and the heroes who possess the qualities and skills of the villains but are committed to civilization. The town is usually dominated by women who are viewed as symbols of civilization. The location of women in town increases the seriousness of the villain's threats because there is the potential of rape and/or abduction. While the townspeople are mainly women, the villains and heroes are usually men. The villains can be angry Native Americans, bloodthirsty savages, men in trouble with the law (outlaws), or madmen.³³³

The hero is a more complex figure because he has internalized the conflict between savagery and civilization. His inner conflict between the new values of civilization and the personal heroism and honor of the old wilderness tends to overshadow the clash between savages and townspeople. While he undertakes to protect and save the pioneers, this type of hero also senses that his own feelings are bound up with wilderness life.³³⁴

³²⁷ Cawelti, *Six-gun*, pp. 35-36.

³²⁸ Cawelti, *Six-gun*, p. 38.

³²⁹ Cawelti, *Six-gun*, p. 39.

³³⁰ Milton, p. 2.

³³¹ Milton, p. 34.

³³² Cawelti, *Six-gun*, p. 35.

³³³ Cawelti, *Six-gun*, pp. 46-48, 52-54.

³³⁴ Cawelti, *Six-gun*, p. 55.

The hero is free to move about the landscape because he has a horse and can defend himself with a gun. The hero does not generally become involved in hand-to-hand combat and prefers not to shed blood. When he does kill with his gun it is with reluctance, control, and elegance. The hero is also often a man of few words, is shy around women, and prefers to keep moving out of town.³³⁵

The plot of the popular Western novel usually pivots around a moment when the values of American society are in jeopardy near the edge of the savage, lawless wilderness. After the villains threaten civilization, there is a pursuit, or, possibly an alternating pattern of flight and pursuit. Along the way there is often time for romance and observation of the surrounding landscape. The conflict ends when the hero isolates the villain and captures him. In this way good triumphs over evil and the core American values in question are affirmed.³³⁶

The origins of the American Western novel are debated, but most scholars agree James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*, a series of five novels set on the frontier in upstate New York published from 1823 to 1840, are the genre's antecedents.³³⁷ Although the *Leatherstocking Tales* are not set in the American West, Cooper's hero Natty Bumppo inhabited the then frontier between Eastern civilization and the untamed wilderness of the West. In the telling of Bumppo's story, Cooper is able to examine the tensions between East and West; civilization and untamed territory; and European Americans and Native Americans.³³⁸ Bumppo is a marginal character living in a marginal setting filled with conflict and change. Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* were so compelling that lesser writers imitated them for years after their publication.³³⁹ While Cooper wrote literary novels, his imitators sowed the seeds of the formula that would produce the popular Western novel.

The early popular literature imitations of Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* increased during the second half of the nineteenth century when several phenomena converged to create a mass publishing industry. Technological improvements in printing allowed for the rapid and inexpensive production of large quantities of books and magazines.³⁴⁰ By 1860 the population of the United States had doubled since 1830 and ninety percent of that population could read.³⁴¹ Many people lived in urban areas which facilitated the distribution of literature. Also, distribution to rural areas was made possible in the 1880s with the lowering of postal rates and the introduction of rural free delivery.³⁴²

Erastus Beadle created the first profitable mass literature in 1860: the Beadle dime novel.³⁴³ The dime novel was a pocket-sized paperback volume containing one story which cost ten cents. These books were popular because they were inexpensive,

³³⁵ Cawelti, *Six-gun*, pp. 57, 59, 61, 64.

³³⁶ Cawelti, *Six-gun*, p. 66.

³³⁷ Nye, p. 283.

³³⁸ Christine Bold, *Selling the Wild West: Popular Western Fiction, 1860-1960* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. xi.

³³⁹ Bold, p. xii.

³⁴⁰ Bold, p. xii.

³⁴¹ Nye, p. 23.

³⁴² Cynthia A. Hamilton, *Western and Hard-boiled Detective Fiction in America: From High Noon to Midnight* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1987), p. 55.

³⁴³ Milton, p. 9. Bold, p. xiii.

conveniently sized, and contained slightly sensational adventure and romance stories.³⁴⁴ In 1896 Frank Munsey began to publish pulp magazines, a medium that would eclipse the dime novel partially due to changes in postal restrictions by the First World War. Pulp magazines were so called because they were printed on low-quality paper. In addition to stories, the "pulp" magazines contained advertisements. Pulp magazines remained popular in America until the 1950s when television sets became commonly available.³⁴⁵ Also around the turn of the twentieth century another magazine format called "slicks" began to circulate. The "slicks" were printed on high-quality coated paper and illustrated with many color pictures. The presentation of and advertising in the slicks was more sophisticated than that in the pulps. The slicks could compete, though, because publishers maintained a competitive price by selling more advertisements than the pulps.³⁴⁶ These inexpensive books and magazines contained many early, low-quality Western stories that established the formula for the popular Western but did little else to forward the genre. While Cooper had dealt with conflicts, his imitators only produced ritualistic adventures.³⁴⁷

After James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*, Owen Wister's *The Virginian* published in 1902 is commonly cited as the next innovative story in the history of the Western novel. Wister published serials in middle range, and "middlebrow," slicks such as *Harper's Weekly* and *Collier's*. Most of his stories were later published as hardcover books.³⁴⁸ Wister's *The Virginian* appeared at an important time in the development of the United States. By the end of the nineteenth century immigration, urbanization, manufacturing, and transportation were seriously impinging on the Great Plains. In 1890, the director of the Census Bureau announced that "the unsettled area [in the West] has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line."³⁴⁹ Three years later University of Wisconsin professor Frederick Jackson Turner interpreted this event in a speech entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" which he read at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago. In summarizing Turner's famous essay, historian Gerald D. Nash wrote:

the frontiering experience constituted the dominant influence on the shaping of American civilization. It molded the distinctive character of Americans, shaping traits such as individualism, hard work, and self-reliance; it was the major determinant of the democratic character of their political institutions; and it provided American cultural life with unique characteristics.³⁵⁰

According to Turner, with the closing of the Western frontier, the first phase of American history was complete.³⁵¹

³⁴⁴ Library of Congress, Information on dime novels available at loc.gov/spcoll/061.html, 1998. Michigan State University, Information on dime novels available at lib.msu.edu/coll/main/spec_col/nye/dime.htm, n.d.

³⁴⁵ Bold, pp. 7, 9.

³⁴⁶ Bold, p. xiv.

³⁴⁷ Bold, p. 10.

³⁴⁸ Bold, p. 38.

³⁴⁹ Bold, p. 37.

³⁵⁰ Gerald D. Nash, *Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), p. 3.

³⁵¹ Bold, p. 37.

While Cooper focused on the conflict between the values of the Eastern and Western United States, Wister chose to emphasize the similarities between the regions' sets of values. According to literary scholar Christine Bold, "The plots of [Wister's] fiction . . . demonstrate, repeatedly, the differences and the acts of reconciliation between East and West."³⁵² In *The Virginian*, the love story stresses the common ground between the two regions while its setting in Wyoming between 1874 and 1890 rendered it untouchable by current events. Therefore, Wister's novel of the Old West was a reassuring note from the recent past in an otherwise turbulent social, political, and economic time. Instead of merely imitating the established Western formula, Wister contributed to it. He attempted to resolve the conflict between the East and West; he attempted to prolong the life of the Old West by using formal devices to set the plot of *The Virginian* in a time and place that could not change; and he tried to counter the progress that was diminishing the West and creating a moral decline in America as a whole.³⁵³

Zane Grey was the first of the next wave of popular Western writers. Grey became a highly successful popular writer but was not initially successful. Three out of his first four novels were rejected by publishers and his 1906 *Spirit of the Border* published by A.L. Burt & Company was not well received.³⁵⁴ In fact, Ripley Hitchcock of Harper & Brothers said of *Last of the Plainsmen*, "I don't see anything in this to convince me you can write either narrative or fiction."³⁵⁵ But Grey continued undaunted. Grey's first major Western novel was his 1910 *Heritage of the Desert* which was first serialized in the pulp *Popular Magazine* and published in book form by Harper & Brothers the same year.³⁵⁶

His next novel, *Riders of the Purple Sage*, contained a negative portrayal of Mormons, which made it undesirable among publishers because they feared Grey's views might not reflect the median views of their readers. In 1911 the serial rights for *Riders* were rejected by *Popular Magazine*, *Munsey's Magazine*, and others.³⁵⁷ The following year, after the novel had been rejected by Harper & Brothers because of its controversial subject, Grey became aggressive and asked the vice president of the company to read the manuscript. Harpers then agreed to publish the novel in 1912 and *Riders of the Purple Sage* became a resounding success with reviewers and readers alike.³⁵⁸ Shortly thereafter, Grey became a consistent best-selling author. From 1915 to 1925 there was a Zane Grey book at or near the top of the best seller list every year.³⁵⁹

Through the 1910s Grey continued to publish serials in magazines and in book form. The serials appeared in pulp magazines such as *Popular Magazine*, *Munsey's Magazine*, *Munsey's All Story*, and *Argosy*. Grey's last serial to appear in a pulp magazine was *The U.P. Trail* in 1917. The year before Grey had sold *Wildfire* to the slick *Country Gentleman* for a high price. His sales of serials to the slicks continued into

³⁵² Bold, p. 41.

³⁵³ Bold, p. 39.

³⁵⁴ Gruber, p. 246.

³⁵⁵ Grey, "My Own Life," p. 4.

³⁵⁶ Gruber, p. 246.

³⁵⁷ Gruber, pp. 98, 246.

³⁵⁸ Gruber, p. 246.

³⁵⁹ "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 115.

the early 1930s. Grey serials appeared in *Country Gentleman*, *McClure's*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Harper's Magazine*, *McCall's*, *Collier's*, *American Magazine*, *Pictorial Review*, and *Cosmopolitan*.³⁶⁰ Grey's sales to magazines markedly decreased during the Great Depression because magazines could not sell advertising space, the main source of their revenues.³⁶¹ Even by cutting his rates to a third, Dolly Grey had difficulty selling the stories.³⁶² Grey's last sale to a magazine was a short story sold to *Country Gentleman* in 1934.³⁶³

Up until the Great Depression, Grey was able to make a great deal of money through the publication of his stories in many forms. When new, the stories could be serialized and/or published by Harpers in hardcover editions. After they appeared in hardcover, they could then be syndicated to appear in less expensive editions such as those produced by Grosset & Dunlap and/or in newspapers and smaller magazines.³⁶⁴ Harpers did have a limit to how many Zane Grey books it could publish in a year, however. Harpers felt there was a market for one novel and one non-fiction book by Zane Grey per year. When it published two novels per year, sales declined. By the 1920s Zane Grey was producing more novels per year than Harpers could publish, so at the time of his 1939 death, there was a backlog of twenty novels still to be published.³⁶⁵

Zane Grey's motivations in becoming an author are difficult to assess. He originally wanted to write literary novels, what he called "psychological novels."³⁶⁶ To this end he read the works of great writers and treatises on writing techniques. He wrote in 1910:

I am studying Tennyson for beauty, and for Saxon words; Wordsworth for interpretation of nature (putting feeling into dead things: *Diary of June 1, 1909*); Arnold for the profound sadness of life; Stevenson for style; Hawthorne for moral evil and moral good. And with the help of what I learn from them, and with my own observations, convictions, and emotions, I intend to build my philosophy of method.³⁶⁷

In addition he read the writings of Henry James, John Ruskin, Guy de Maupassant, and Robert Louis Stevenson; Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, J.H. Gardiner's *Forms of Prose Literature and Literature of Feeling*, Clayton Hamilton's *Methods and Materials of Fiction*, and the Bible; as well as books on mythology, natural history, astronomy, physical geography, and geology.³⁶⁸

Despite his good intentions and the expectations of his wife Dolly Grey and his friend Alvah James, Grey's writing never progressed beyond the level of the popular novel. According to later critic Lawrence Clark Powell, Grey:

³⁶⁰ Gruber, pp. 246-248.

³⁶¹ Gruber, p. 232.

³⁶² Zane Grey to Alvah James, 3 November 1933, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers.

³⁶³ Gruber, p. 239.

³⁶⁴ Gruber, p. 3.

³⁶⁵ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 183.

³⁶⁶ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 28 February 1918, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 131.

³⁶⁷ Zane Grey Diary, 12 February 1910, quoted in Joe Wheeler, "Dawn and Dusk on the Delaware: Keynote Address 1987 Middletown, NY Convention," *Zane Grey's West* 5: 40 (1989).

³⁶⁸ Zane Grey Diary, 12 February 1910, quoted in Wheeler, "Dawn and Dusk," p. 40.

lacked the capacity for literary growth, possessed by Willa Cather and Will Comfort, that would have enabled him to reach another peak later in life. . . . Early and lucrative success did to ZG what it did to Jack London -- raised his standard of living which led to overproduction and lowered his standard of criticism.³⁶⁹

At first Dolly Grey was satisfied with his popular writings. She saw them as a means to an end, a way for Grey to become known as a writer and to make money at the same time.³⁷⁰ However, Grey was either unwilling or unable to break from the formula of the popular Western. Even when he thought he was creating a literary novel with rich historical content he was merely adding a layer of historical detail or social commentary to the popular Western.³⁷¹ According to literary scholar Cynthia Hamilton, Grey wanted contradictory things: he wanted to be both a popular writer and a literary writer.³⁷² In 1917, Grey believed his best writing was ahead of him:

I believe absolutely in myself, my singular place, my gifts, my force, my passion, my zeal to work, my destiny. I saw years ago what no one believed - what my life now acknowledges. I can see more still in the future. All I need is time - years to fulfill work. But dreaming so much I let years slip by. Yet in 10 years I have written 19 books, none of which is equal to my ability. I have never spent myself. I am capable of great work.³⁷³

But by 1918, Grey either understood his limitations or accepted that popular writing was lucrative and thus an end in itself. He wrote to Dolly Grey, "I gave up the psychological novels, that for 20 years I had hoped to write. From that it is no great stretch to give up trying to write beautifully and nobly of the west."³⁷⁴ It is interesting to note that Grey claimed to give up on writing a literary novel at the beginning of his best period of work, 1918 to 1925. In 1922, a critic in the *Boston Transcript* wrote of *Day of the Beast*, Grey's only "Eastern" novel and a book which Dolly Grey disliked:

There can be no question but that in this honestly conceived and carefully written novel Mr. Grey has attempted to make a deeper, firmer, more understanding book than any to which he had recently set his hand . . . He falls just short of having written an altogether distinguished novel because he is not quite sure of the exact location of the line between sentiment and sentimentality.³⁷⁵

³⁶⁹ Lawrence Clark Powell, "Writer of the Purple Sage," *Westways*, August 1972, quoted in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," pp. 253-254.

³⁷⁰ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1 May 1905, Farley Collection, p. 37.

³⁷¹ Bold, p. 84.

³⁷² Hamilton, p. 79.

³⁷³ Zane Grey Diary, 25 October 1917, Farley Collection, pp. 160-161.

³⁷⁴ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 28 February 1918, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 131.

³⁷⁵ Review, *Boston Evening Transcript*, 23 August 1922, quoted in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 172.

Zane Grey likely wrote to the best of his ability. Contemporary writer Hamlin Garland wrote:

That he is a man of resolution and power one cannot deny. The longer I talked with him, the more clearly I saw that he had written as best he could. His books are not literature in the strict sense of the word, but they display imagination, and an unusual power of description. He knows the romantic side of the southwest by virtue of careful survey.³⁷⁶

Grey believed his writing accurately reflected the facts of the American West and a true assessment of the topics he covered. In fact, he tackled tough issues that resonated with his audience such as labor unrest, the plight of the Native American, and mistreatment of war veterans. Unfortunately, Grey's novels fell short because he was not a highly skilled writer. According to Hamilton:

The range and seriousness of the ideological issues Grey explores in his westerns have not been recognized. In large measure this is because Grey's failings as a literary stylist give his work an apparently shallow finish. This in turn can be traced to his misunderstanding of the stylistic requirements of the colloquial style, to his misdirected literary pretensions and to his poor ear for the vernacular. Indeed, these factors are related: his desire to appear 'literary' undoubtedly clouded his understanding of the potential of the colloquial style, while his poor ear prevented him from using it skillfully.³⁷⁷

His subjects, his characters, his dialogue, and his plots often ran away from him. Hamilton continues:

Grey's writing is much closer to recorded daydream than to a self-conscious attempt at synthesis. His work does not mature, either in terms of a developing literary skill or in terms of an evolving world view. This has led critics to perceive a sameness in Grey's output and to denounce him as a 'one-book author,' but this assessment is unfair.³⁷⁸

Part of the unfairness of the criticism of Grey's work is that many of his flaws are directly related to the formula in which he was working. Hamilton states that in terms of the popular novel, "the issue should be the artistic skill with which conventions are employed, not the limitations of conventions themselves."³⁷⁹

How, then, did Grey's writing compare when considered within the limitations of the popular Western novel? Grey's descriptions of the Western settings in which the majority of his novels took place are considered by many to be the highlights of his work. Grey's settings were not mere backdrops for the characters and action of his stories as they were in some popular Westerns; the Western landscape played an active role in the

³⁷⁶ Garland, "Fortunate Exiles," p. 122.

³⁷⁷ Hamilton, p. 91.

³⁷⁸ Hamilton, p. 80.

³⁷⁹ Hamilton, p. 4.

shaping of his characters. Grey felt that the West was a catalyst capable of bringing out the greatest good and the greatest evil in people.³⁸⁰ With a nod to social Darwinism, the good and the fit tended to triumph over the evil and those unable to adapt to the landscape. Most of Grey's descriptions were based on first-hand knowledge of the West and therefore contained a great deal of detail and realism. Zane Grey scholar Candace Kant states, "[Grey's] penchant for detail and accuracy in geography . . . gave his stories interest and vitality, and enabled the reader to visualize and vicariously experience the adventures and the land of which he wrote."³⁸¹ This vicarious experience especially appealed to Grey's Eastern audience, many of whom had never visited the Far West. However, literary scholar Gary Topping feels that because Grey is unable to control his descriptive passages, the reader is overwhelmed by description:

Grey lacked a fundamental control over his prose, especially when describing the physical setting and developing the psychology of his characters. In great literature such things usually build gradually and in subtle ways so that the reader has time to assimilate their effect. Grey, however, too often preferred simply to open the floodgates and let the verbal deluge overwhelm the reader suddenly.³⁸²

It appears reactions to Grey's descriptions of settings are subjective. Some enjoy the depth of detail he provides because they are interested and feel it adds credence to his stories while others find the level of detail gratuitous and wordy.

Grey's characters often come under critical fire because they are stereotypical and engage in highly unrealistic dialogue. The simplicity of a majority of Grey's characters can be chalked up to working within the formula of the popular Western and his greater interest in the Western landscape. In general, the characters in popular Westerns are not intended to make the reader analyze himself through their thoughts and actions. Instead they are intended to affirm the reader's idealized self-image.³⁸³ Yet Grey actually created some of the most complex and interesting heroes in the genre. Heroes such as Lassiter in *Riders of the Purple Sage* were ambiguous and interesting because they did not fit so easily into the mold of the stereotypical Western hero.³⁸⁴ Lassiter plays the role of hero, but readers cannot help but be as ambivalent about his behavior and world views as heroine Jane Withersteen is. Lassiter is not as well integrated into society as Wister's Virginian; he is more of a mysterious and alienated character.³⁸⁵ Many of even Grey's simplistic characters at least engage in real activities. Topping points out that Grey's cowboys "actually raise cattle, get tired, dirty and drunk, and curse, albeit mildly, when angry."³⁸⁶

As with his descriptions of Western settings, Grey's characterizations were influenced by his observation of actual people from or living in the West. Some of his

³⁸⁰ Kant, *Arizona*, p. 112.

³⁸¹ Kant, *Arizona*, p. 158.

³⁸² Gary Topping, "Zane Grey: A Literary Reassessment," *Western American Literature* 13: 53 (1978).

³⁸³ Cawelti, *Adventure*, p. 18.

³⁸⁴ Arthur G. Kimball, *Ace of Hearts: The Westerns of Zane Grey* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1993), p. 101.

³⁸⁵ Cawelti, *Adventure*, p. 234.

³⁸⁶ Gary Topping, "Zane Grey's West," *Journal of Popular Culture* 7: 687 (winter 1973).

characters were directly influenced by specific acquaintances. For example, real life Navajo traders Mr. and Mrs. John Wetherill often stood as models for the good traders in Zane Grey novels. While it is unclear where reality ends and invention begins, Grey knew a Native American named Nas Ta Bega for whom the character in *Rainbow Trail* is named.³⁸⁷ While Grey made notes in his diary about the appearance and activities of the people he met, he preferred to "invent" most of his characters.³⁸⁸ Grey wrote in 1909, "My characters have all been creatures of the imagination; and if they are true, it is from the accident of feeling, not from conscious art."³⁸⁹ It is likely his translation of real people into invented characters and the attendant exaggeration of particular traits that led Grey's characterizations astray. Whether or not his characters were convincing to his audience, Loren Grey asserts that:

On my father's part, while he was creating them, he loved his heroes and heroines and hated his villains as much as if he had actually been there with them. There was so much unexpressed feeling that could not be entirely portrayed that, in his later years, he would weep when rereading one of his own books.³⁹⁰

Grey's emotional attachment to his characters may partly explain the overly emotional quality some critics find in Grey's work. Topping notes that Grey's Eastern characters experienced "catastrophic emotional upheavals," the Western characters frequently resorted to guns and fists, and the women vacillated between tears and swoons.³⁹¹

Realistic dialogue was not Grey's strong suit. This is perhaps the most obvious shortcoming in Grey's work for any reader who picks up one of his novels and reads only the first chapter. He defended the colloquial speech of his characters and claimed that he adapted his characters' diction and dialects from life. However, as noted above, Grey had a very poor ear for capturing pronunciation and usage in a convincing manner. This weakness causes his characters to make awkward speeches and ludicrous exclamations instead of making easy conversation or expressing genuine surprise. The awkward colloquial speech of his characters is only exacerbated by the fact that it is often placed on the same page as studied passages of narration. As Topping notes, "the difficulties multiply under Grey's goal of making cowboys sound natural while expounding some fairly sophisticated ethical concepts and historical theories."³⁹²

Grey is also criticized for using repetitive, formulaic plots that conclude with predictable, happy endings. As a writer of popular Western novels, Grey had little choice but to write within the formula expected by his audience.³⁹³ According to Cawelti, "Formulas enable the audience to explore in fantasy the boundary between the permitted

³⁸⁷ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 142. Other people Grey used as Western models include Buffalo Jones, James Simpson Ematt, Lee (Babe) Haught, and Al Doyle [Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 133].

³⁸⁸ Romer Zane Grey, Interview, 26 July 1973, discussed in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 270.

³⁸⁹ Zane Grey Diary, 18 April 1909, quoted in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," pp. 270-271.

³⁹⁰ Loren Grey, "Foreword," in Kant, *Arizona*, p. xii.

³⁹¹ Topping, "Literary Reassessment," p. 54.

³⁹² Topping, "Literary Reassessment," p. 54.

³⁹³ Hamilton, p. 1.

and the forbidden and to experience in a carefully controlled way the possibility of stepping across this boundary."³⁹⁴

To feed his readers' fantasies, Grey included generous helpings of violence and romance. The increased level of violence in Grey's work over that of Wister is recognized as one of Grey's contributions to the genre.³⁹⁵ Topping cites Grey's effective "imaginative realism" in violent passages as one of the author's strengths.³⁹⁶ Despite the violence, Grey considered his novels above all else romances. His stories always contained one or more romantic plot lines. As with his overly emotional characters, Grey was also accused of infusing everyday situations with an undue amount of emotion in order to generate interest.³⁹⁷ Also controversial is Grey's treatment of sex in his novels. Grey was, like the majority of his audience, conservative and spoke out against the explicit treatment of sex in the novels of the 1920s and 1930s.³⁹⁸ Some critics found his avoidance of sex naïve. Contemporary critic T.K. Whipple wrote in 1925:

In Zane Grey's conception of human nature, nothing is more curious than his view of sex. In 'Riders of the Purple Sage,' a young man and a girl live alone together for weeks in a secret canyon; in 'The Lone Star Ranger,' the hero rescues an innocent girl from a gang of bandits and roams about Texas with her for a long time - and all as harmlessly as in 'The Faerie Queene' Una and the Red Cross Knight go traveling together. Nothing shows more clearly how far away Mr. Grey's world is from actuality; his Texas is not in the Union but in fairyland.³⁹⁹

Grey's response to Whipple (whom Grey later called "that great highbrow")⁴⁰⁰ appears in his unpublished "My Answer to the Critics":

The inference here seems to me to be that Mr. Whipple could not believe in the truth of the ideal and pure relation of Venters and Bess, locked up in their lonely canyon, Surprise Valley [in *Rider of the Purple Sage*]. I interpret this to mean th[at] Mr. Whipple would expect his own son, in a like situation, to take advantage of the helpless trusting girl. That must be the realism and decadence of our East. That must be the paganism and immorality of the over-populated centers in this modern age. Thank God it is not true in the West. I have known a hundred cowboys like Venters. Virile, strong, fire-spirited young men with whom any fine girl would be safe, even though locked up in a lonely canyon! Thank God there are no doubts. I *know*. Then, too, I have known western girls just as sweet and innocent, and ignorant of life as Bess or Ludy Bostil or Fay Larkin . . . I have found all over the west boys and girls, and men and women, clean and

³⁹⁴ Cawelti, *Adventure*, p. 35.

³⁹⁵ Cawelti, *Adventure*, p. 238.

³⁹⁶ Topping, "Literary Reassessment," p. 57.

³⁹⁷ May, p. 121.

³⁹⁸ Zane Grey to Alvah James, 26 October 1936, quoted in "Visit to Zane Grey's Home," p. 6.

³⁹⁹ Whipple, p. 28.

⁴⁰⁰ Zane Grey to Alvah James, 26 October 1936, quoted in "Visit to Zane Grey's Home," p. 6.

fine, with a simplicity that would be appalling to Mr. Whipple could he but believe.⁴⁰¹

Here Grey parries off Whipple's accusation by stating that the shortcoming is actually Whipple's because he is not as well acquainted with the ideals of the West as Grey. Literary scholar Arthur Kimball reads Grey's lack of overt sexual situations in a different light. Rather than a naïve omission, Kimball believes Grey was writing within the literary climate of his time. Grey remained conservative in order to avoid lawsuits like those brought against D.H. Lawrence for *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and James Joyce for *Ulysses*. Kimball goes on to explain the enjoyment readers could derive from Grey's conservative style: "Anticipation often exceeds the actual experience, and the teasing style - arousal and postponement - may provide more erotic titillation than outright consummation."⁴⁰²

While Grey's plots fulfilled readers' fantasies, they also were grounded in reality. According to Zane Grey scholar Joe Wheeler, Grey's work was as historically accurate as was required of fiction writers in his era. Wheeler summarizes the era's guiding philosophy as "'tell your story within the framework of historical truth when possible, but never let the truth stand in the way of a good story.'"⁴⁰³ To enhance the historical content of his stories Grey conducted research into the subjects he wished to address. For example, he went to Washington state in 1917 to research his book *Desert of Wheat*. While there he read about wheat, wheat diseases, and compiled a series of newspaper clippings about the International Workers of the World (IWW), otherwise known as the "Wobblies."⁴⁰⁴

Desert of Wheat, besides being a well-researched novel, also demonstrates a degree of growth in Grey's technical writing skills. His early works prior to 1918 all focus on the novel's present moment and move sequentially through the story's plot. Beginning with *Desert of Wheat* and continuing until 1925, Grey attempted to connect his fiction to cause and effect. In order to do this he ordered the stories' events in more complicated ways including flashbacks and telling stories from the past. Using these techniques he could explore the past's power over the present as a theme.⁴⁰⁵

At times, publishers and editors limited the content of Zane Grey's plots. One of the most notable examples is the conclusion of *The Vanishing American*. According to Wheeler, Grey's original ending to the story portrayed the Native American hero Nophaie and the European American heroine Marian deciding to get married and have children. As published in serial form in the *Ladies Home Journal*, Nophaie dies of influenza and appears to turn white on his death bed. A third conclusion appeared in the book edition published by Harpers. This time Nophaie dies implausibly of exhaustion. In this instance Grey suffered the consequences of being a popular Western writer: he had to bow to the wishes of the publishers and editors who felt they knew best what the reading

⁴⁰¹ Zane Grey, "My Answer to the Critics," unpublished paper, n.d., quoted in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 250.

⁴⁰² Kimball, p. 103.

⁴⁰³ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 149.

⁴⁰⁴ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 166. Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River has a folder containing several articles on the IWW from 1917 when Zane Grey conducted his research [Series I, Box 1, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers].

⁴⁰⁵ Bold, pp. 85-87.

public would tolerate. They felt that in 1923 Zane Grey's audience would rather see Nophaie die than marry a white woman.⁴⁰⁶

Grey explored a variety of somewhat contradictory topics in his popular Western writings. He shared Wister's impulse to warn against the changes made by progress. Grey saw the West as the repository of the promise of America.⁴⁰⁷ He hoped that reminding people there was still good, hope, and purity in the world would reverse the progress of the moral degradation he witnessed around him. Grey's social criticism touched on such varied topics as European Americans' treatment of Native Americans, the threat of civilization to wildlife and natural resources, Mormon polygamy, the labor unrest caused by the International Workers of the World, and America's mistreatment of World War I veterans.

While warning of the dangers of progress, Grey also held up civilization as a positive force every time the Western hero defended a town and made it safe for women and children to inhabit. At times Grey chronicled the efforts men made to extend civilization into the Western wilderness. In such stories as *The U.P. Trail*, *Western Union*, and *Boulder Dam* Grey tells the story of the otherwise faceless men who participated in laying the track of the Union Pacific Railroad, stringing the wire for the Western Union telegraph service, and diverting the Colorado River for the construction of what is now Hoover Dam. The telling of these stories makes these efforts heroic and part of the mythic Western tradition alongside the daily activities of the nineteenth-century cowboy.

Zane Grey's novels were far more popular with the general public than they were with reviewers, particularly from the mid-1910s to the mid-1920s. His popularity cut across geographic, economic, and social boundaries. In celebration of the twenty year relationship between Harper & Brothers and Zane Grey in 1930, the publisher solicited letters from Grey's readers. Disproving the commonly held belief that only blue collar workers and people with little education read Zane Grey novels, Harpers received fan letters from numerous professionals working in a variety of fields including finance, medicine, education, politics, law, and corporate America.⁴⁰⁸ Zane Grey scholar Danney Goble stated, "No matter how inferior Grey's novels are from the perspective of literary style, their immense popularity suggests their close relationship to the intellectual and emotional needs of a vast number of Americans."⁴⁰⁹

Zane Grey's novels appealed to this wide group of people because they reflected the values and concerns of the large American middle class. At a time when America's values were threatened by world war, Grey continued to write with the optimistic attitude of an earlier era. Through his social commentary, the actions of his characters, and the outcome of his plots, Grey affirmed core American values and the idea that America was still a land of opportunity.⁴¹⁰ He wrote of a time and place where he and his audience believed that problems were simpler: good and evil were more distinct, women were women, and problems could be solved by one man. Also, his heroes most often are able to achieve the American Dream: they achieve personal happiness and social and

⁴⁰⁶ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," pp. 181-183.

⁴⁰⁷ Kant, *Arizona*, p. 81.

⁴⁰⁸ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 260.

⁴⁰⁹ Danney G. Goble, "Zane Grey's West: An Intellectual Appraisal," unpublished thesis, Norman, OK, University of Oklahoma, 1969, quoted in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 254

⁴¹⁰ Hamilton, p. 25.

financial success.⁴¹¹ Grey felt that he was popular because he spoke to the idealism of his audience. He wrote:

To my mind, romance is only another name for idealism; a glimpse through the painted windows of the dream of youth; the spirit, not the letter, of life. We all have in our hearts the kingdom of adventure. Somewhere in the depths of every soul is the inheritance of the primitive day. I speak to that.⁴¹²

Kimball agrees that Grey's novels have a dreamlike, albeit adolescent, appeal:

Grey offers a kind of dream experience with his western entertainment package. Some of this package features elements common to many westerns; like a number of other writers he provides wish fulfillments in terms of violence, erotic titillation and idyllic marriage, an escapist fantasy in a setting which offers romantic distance, adventure - some of it melodrama full of chase and pursuit, masked identities, and secret retreats - and shoot-outs, both man-to-man and large-scale eruptions.⁴¹³

Zane Grey novels are still in print today and Grey continues to be the most popular Western writer from his time period. While he was not a literary writer who produced great literature, he had an impact on the literature and culture of the United States. The staying power of Grey's novels was recognized at the time of his 1939 death. Journalist Paul Wellman wrote:

Although high-brow critics lif[t]ed their eyebrows at Zane Grey's writing, some of his novels are likely to last. 'The Heritage of the Desert,' 'To the Last Man,' . . . 'Riders of the Purple Sage,' and 'The Rainbow Trail' set a style and cadence to a whole school of writing which has placed its imprint for good or ill on American literature.⁴¹⁴

Part of Zane Grey's success and his legacy lie in his ability to play all the angles within the popular Western formula. He explored using different types of heroes, adding more melodrama, and adding more violence.⁴¹⁵ He also extended the timeframe and types of scenarios typically considered Western when he dealt with events in his own time such as the building of Boulder Dam. According to Nye:

Few popular novelists have possessed such a grasp of what the public wanted and few have developed Grey's skill at supplying it. . . . He combined adventure, action, violence, crisis, conflict, sentimentalism, and sex in an extremely shrewd

⁴¹¹ Hamilton, pp. 90-91.

⁴¹² "Zane Grey, 64, Dies Suddenly," 23 October 1939, Newspaper article, Unknown newspaper, "Zane Grey, Old Newspaper Clippings," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁴¹³ Kimball, p. 221.

⁴¹⁴ Paul I. Wellman, "Zane Grey Found Real Adventure and True Romance in His Life," *Kansas City Star*, 24 October 1939, quoted in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 252.

⁴¹⁵ Hamilton, pp. 80-81. Cawelti, *Adventure*, p. 234.

mixture, adding just enough history, scenery, and seriousness to give the unmistakable stamp of a Zane Grey story.⁴¹⁶

Another part of Zane Grey's legacy is keeping the myth of the Old West alive well into the twentieth century. While the cowboys and the cattle ranching days Grey often describes died out around the mid-1880s, Grey kept the image of the West as a rural area alive through his lifetime plus another forty years.⁴¹⁷ Some current Western writers still use the same formula, imagery, and myths that Grey employed to such advantage. Grey's mythic West is ruled by the Code of the West in which heroes fight villains and defend their friends and women.⁴¹⁸ Grey's West is a large, rural region in which civilization occurs only in pockets. And Grey's West is an area that possesses restorative powers. If one leaves the depravity of Eastern civilization behind, the West can renew one's physical and moral health. In addition, Grey's West is filled with economic opportunity including land, oil, animals, mineral deposits, and more.⁴¹⁹

According to geography scholar Kevin Blake, Grey's writings also played a large part in shaping the geographic image of the American West. While Grey's novels are set in a variety of Western locations, he does not treat each area as distinct, thus causing readers to consider the entire West as a homogenous entity. Grey did not consider coastal California a part of the West and many people still share this view today. Grey considered Arizona and southern Utah the heart of the West. Many still consider Grey's descriptions of the Colorado plateau as the epitome of the Western landscape.⁴²⁰

Grey's ideals regarding the West were only further spread and intensified by movies and television programs visually depicting his written images. It is no wonder that tourism to the West increased greatly during Grey's lifetime as transportation became increasingly accessible and people went West seeking renewal, wealth, and a glimpse of the landscape. While he could not stem the tide he had started, Grey was saddened by the overcrowding and despoliation of resources that ensued as more and more people moved and traveled West.⁴²¹

Two equally successful popular Western writers of Grey's time were Frederick Faust and Ernest Haycox. Neither man's reputation or work has fared as well over the course of the twentieth century, however.

Faust wrote under several pseudonyms including his most popular, Max Brand. He was the most prolific and most highly paid pulp fiction writer of all time. Faust was a classical poet who wrote popular Westerns to earn a living. He hated his involvement with popular literature and refused to have his real name or photograph appear on the magazines' editors' pages where readers expected to see a writer of his popularity.⁴²²

⁴¹⁶ Nye, p. 294.

⁴¹⁷ Milton, p. 15.

⁴¹⁸ James D. Hart, *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1950, 1963), quoted in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 49.

⁴¹⁹ Kevin S. Blake, "Zane Grey and Images of the American West," *Geographical Review* 85 (2): 210, 214-215 (April 1995). Hamilton, p. 84.

⁴²⁰ Blake, pp. 206, 209.

⁴²¹ Kant, *Arizona*, p. 19.

⁴²² Bold, pp. 91, 93.

Faust's highly repetitive stories were almost completely opposite of Grey's output. Faust wrote in a sparse, brisk style with no philosophical or social comment. His Westerns were located in the mountain desert, but he used it as an empty backdrop often without a date or name for the location. Faust focused instead on his male characters and worked in a mythic paradigm. He made many more allusions to figures from classical mythology, the Bible, and Renaissance literature than Grey did. He was also very concerned with his heroes' rights of passage. In his later works, Faust's characters were so much larger than life that they were virtually mythic figures themselves.⁴²³ Faust's female characters were never as important as Grey's. Grey solved his value conflicts by using women as symbols of civilization, while Faust's women had no such role and were rendered very minor characters. Another major difference between the two writers was in their values. Grey's values were very mainstream and were shared by Americans from various social classes. Faust favored the underdog and his values appealed most to people at the bottom of the ladder who wanted to justify their lack of success.⁴²⁴ The two men also differed in tone. Grey adopted an optimistic, idealistic tone that reflected his interest in his subject matter and affirmed that America was a good country filled with opportunity. Faust's tone ranged from aloof to ironic to disdainful. He lapsed into modes of self-parody and self-mockery.⁴²⁵ His attitude toward his profession (for unlike Grey he was not living his dream) seeped through to the final product, potentially spoiling it for the pleasure-seeking reader.

Ernest Haycox had similar aspirations as Zane Grey but was more aware of the difference between popular literature and elite literature. His barrier between the two was not so much talent as bravery. He, like Grey, enjoyed the financial security represented by the paychecks he earned writing popular Westerns. He wanted to develop as an author but was hesitant to move outside the Western formula. He made unimportant changes to the popular Western while at the same time feeling guilty for not experimenting with other kinds of writing. In an attempt to placate himself, he tried to find more meaning in his Western stories. Like Faust, Haycox's attitude toward the popular Western bled through to his writings. His characters repeatedly question the meaning behind the repeating pattern of the popular Western. Unlike Grey, in 1946 Haycox broke free from the popular Western and published three literary novels.⁴²⁶

By the 1940s and into the 1950s, the popular Western had changed from Zane Grey's time. There was a new restraint and subtlety in the writing. The plots were more complex and the settings, characters, and themes were richer.⁴²⁷ These stories did not just re-affirm values or resolve conflict but explored the tensions between old moral assumptions and the new uncertainties of experience. The authors expressed a sense of loss.⁴²⁸ Members of this next generation include Louis L'Amour and Jack Schaefer. L'Amour published his first Western, *Hondo*, in 1953 and continued to publish three books per year until his 1988 death.⁴²⁹ L'Amour was a very commercial writer and tried to create a new selling point for each book. To this end he included interesting facts

⁴²³ Bold, pp. 95-97.

⁴²⁴ Hamilton, p. 115.

⁴²⁵ Hamilton, p. 118.

⁴²⁶ Bold, pp. 114, 116, 118-119, 124.

⁴²⁷ Cawelti, *Adventure*, p. 242.

⁴²⁸ Cawelti, *Adventure*, p. 145.

⁴²⁹ Barry Veinotte, Information on Louis L'Amour available at veinotte.com/lamour/bio/htm, n.d.

about Native Americans, nature, and geography.⁴³⁰ Jack Schaefer published his most famous book, *Shane*, in 1949.⁴³¹ According to Bold, Schaefer wrote in the tradition of Owen Wister.⁴³² Despite this well-known book, the movie based on it, and many other fine short stories and novels, Schaefer is not well known today.⁴³³ Bold states that despite their working in an already overwritten field, L'Amour and Schaefer were able to achieve distinction, but that their efforts have exhausted the genre of the classic popular Western.⁴³⁴

Beginning in the 1960s, new types of popular Westerns appeared. Edward Abbey and Arthur Miller write about Western heroes occupying the same classic roles but finding their skills redundant. Larry McMurty uses the conventional attributes of the Western hero to describe the new and unheroic West.⁴³⁵

In the 1960s and into the 1970s authors wrote "anti-Western Westerns." These books are parodies of conventional popular Westerns making the clichés, stereotypes, and accumulated absurdities of the Western the main subject. For example, George Voss, in his 1975 *Man Who Believed in the Code of the West*, portrays a tenderfoot protagonist who attended Harvard and quotes Zane Grey. The anti-Western Westerns are the only books that manage to completely subvert the Western formula. But, in reality, these books are a new genre produced under different conditions with different literary intentions and for a different audience than the classic popular Western.⁴³⁶

An article aptly entitled "Writers of the Purple Sage" appeared in the *New York Times* in 1981 and profiled several current Western writers. These writers ranged from the aged popular writer Louis L'Amour to the prize-winning literary Western writer Wallace Stegner. All of the writers expressed a sense of frustration with the heritage of the Western novel and the lingering myth of the Old West.⁴³⁷ While a few writers like Stegner are able to rise above the Western myth, in general, contemporary writers have difficulty getting past it to deal with current issues. Edward Abbey felt that the Western myth kept critics from taking seriously any Western literature.⁴³⁸ Stegner recommended that contemporary writers ignore the myth and explore new territory:

The Western writer should go away and get his eyes opened, and then look back. . . . But not back into history. The West does not need to explore its myths much further; it has already relied on them for too long. It has no future in exploiting its setting either, for too consistently it has tried to substitute scenery for society. . . . The West is politically reactionary and exploitive: admit it. . . . The West as a whole is guilty of inexplicable crimes against the land: Admit that, too. The West is rootless, culturally half-baked. So be it.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁰ Bold, pp. 135, 154.

⁴³¹ *Aristos: A Journal on the Arts*, Information on Jack Schaefer available at aristos.org/schaefer/js-page.htm, 1998.

⁴³² Bold, p. 135.

⁴³³ *Aristos*, aristos.org/schaefer/js-page.htm.

⁴³⁴ Bold, p. 154.

⁴³⁵ Bold, p. 154.

⁴³⁶ Bold, pp. 156-158, 166.

⁴³⁷ Russel Martin, "Writers of the Purple Sage," *New York Times Magazine*, 27 December 1981:

20.

⁴³⁸ Martin, p. 21.

⁴³⁹ Martin, p. 22.

In other words, current Western writers must leave behind the myth and ideals of the West as conceived, written, and promoted by Zane Grey.

- Zane Grey and Twentieth-century Popular Culture

Zane Grey's vision of the West continues to be popular at the beginning of the twenty-first century because of his name recognition and his, and later Zane Grey Inc.'s, involvement in various popular culture media. Grey's fame started with and always circles back to his books and short stories. He wrote over 100 books which have appeared in a variety of formats including serials in early-twentieth-century pulp and slick magazines, full-length hardcover editions, serials in newspapers, full-length paperback editions, comic strips, comic books, condensed stories in mid-twentieth-century pulp magazines, anthologies, silent movies, "talkie" movies, and television programs.⁴⁴⁰ Grey's stories have been translated into many foreign languages.⁴⁴¹ During his lifetime Zane Grey endorsed products and lent his name to at least one venue. After his death his name has been attached to products, venues, magazines, and a television program. There is now a Zane Grey fan club complete with a newsletter, website, and "fanzines," magazines written by and for Zane Grey fans. In addition, there is a Grey-family-supported website of Zane Grey products. While the popular Western appears to be out of fashion with today's American youth, Zane Grey will likely not lose his fan base until the demise of the baby boomer generation. With any luck, Grey will gain a new fan base from a later generation of American children or from interest abroad.

Zane Grey's stories and books were heavily marketed during his lifetime. When a new Zane Grey serial appeared in a magazine it was touted on the front cover or on the editor's page.⁴⁴² Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River has a copy of a small advertising poster for *Field and Stream* magazine (UPDE 810). The poster states, "Beginning the March number and running each month Zane Grey will contribute a series of his big game fishing and hunting experiences - each complete. This famous novelist, - the most vivid and versatile writer of western fiction will thrill and delight you." Booksellers were encouraged to arrange whole window displays of Zane Grey books complete with portrait posters of the author.⁴⁴³ In 1918, when William Fox began to film Zane Grey movies, Fox collaborated in an advertising campaign with Harper & Brothers who published Grey's first-run hardcover books and Grosset & Dunlap who published his less expensive editions. This campaign focused on "miniature stage sets" which were to be placed in book store windows:

⁴⁴⁰ Current statistical information about Zane Grey's output was obtained by counting relevant entries on Zane Grey's West website, zangreysws.org.

⁴⁴¹ Zane Grey's work had already been translated into three or more foreign languages by circa 1930 ["Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of the Association of Zane Grey and Harper & Brothers, 1910-1930," Pamphlet, ca. 1930, Special Collections Department, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University]. Recent unsubstantiated claims place the number of foreign languages into which Grey's work have been translated as high as twenty or twenty-one [Farlekas, "Museum Offers Glimpse." Davis, "Museum and Home of the Author Zane Grey."]

⁴⁴² Bold, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁴³ "Display and Advertising for Zane Grey Books," Grosset & Dunlap Flier, ca. 1916, Series IV, Box 2, Folder 13, Grey Family Papers.

They have constructed a miniature stage setting like the models used by producing managers. Reproductions of the outside covering of the books are above the back drop, which represents the heart of the West, and on the small stage are grouped prominent characters in the stories in a camp fire scene.

'The Riders of the Purple Sage' will be the first of the William Fox series of Zane Grey stories featuring William Farnum and with its release these miniature stages will be placed in the show windows of book stores in every city and town where the feature is shown. It will thus prove a medium for the exhibitor and the publisher.⁴⁴⁴

Grey continued to appear fresh to readers with new publications into the 1970s when his final novel, *Reef Girl*, was published in 1977, almost forty years after his death.⁴⁴⁵ In 1950, the Walter J. Black Company started a book club of Zane Grey novels which readers could purchase in matching hardbound volumes. This club was revived or continued into at least the early 1970s. Around 1972 when one joined the "Zane Grey Library," the introductory offer included *Thundering Herd*, *Riders of the Purple Sage*, and Gruber's 1970 biography for one dollar. Additional volumes could be obtained for \$3.95 each.⁴⁴⁶ The paperback book first became a force in the publishing industry around 1939. Due to paper restrictions during the Second World War, the production of these inexpensive editions dipped but the medium took off after the War.⁴⁴⁷ Many of Zane Grey's books are still available from several publishers in a variety of formats including recent hardcover editions, paperback editions, audio books, CD-ROMs, and on-line downloads.⁴⁴⁸

In addition to full-length books, Grey's Western stories were also published in pulp magazines in the mid-twentieth century. The availability and popularity of television sets in the 1950s sounded the death knell for pulp magazines, but new pulps were produced into the 1970s.⁴⁴⁹ One such effort was New York publisher Leo Marguiles' *Zane Grey Western Magazine* which started in a digest format in the 1960s. It quickly switched to a standard magazine format and published true Western stories along

⁴⁴⁴ "To Exploit Fox Series Stories," *Morning Telegraph* [New York City], 12 May 1918. Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River has in its collection one of these book store window display "stage sets" (UPDE 690) and a photograph of one of the stage sets *in situ* (UPDE 813). The Park also has a recent calendar containing a photograph of Zane Grey posed next to one of his book displays (UPDE 527).

⁴⁴⁵ William J. Clark, "Zane Grey Chronological List," article from *New Zane Grey Collector*, n.d., "Zane Grey Duplicates for Seasonal Training," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. 7. *Reef Girl* was the last novel written wholly by Grey to be published. However, *George Washington Frontiersman*, largely written and completed by editor Carlton Jackson was published in 1994 [Moon, electronic communication, 5 June 2000. Borders.com].

⁴⁴⁶ Gruber, p. 243. "Zane Grey Library," Advertisement, Unknown source, ca. 1972, Zane Grey Collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University.

⁴⁴⁷ Gruber, p. 112.

⁴⁴⁸ A quick search on borders.com, amazon.com, and bn.com produced between fifty and sixty in-stock items. There were over 500 overall choices of Zane Grey publications including special order and hard-to-find items [Amazon.com, Information on the availability of Zane Grey publications available at amazon.com, 2000. Barnes & Noble Booksellers, Information on the availability of Zane Grey publications available at bn.com, 2000. Borders Books and Music, Information on the availability of Zane Grey publications available at borders.com, 2000].

⁴⁴⁹ Bold, p. 9.

with a Zane Grey story or novelette. When the magazine did not contain a Zane Grey story, the lead story was attributed to his son Romer Zane Grey although the stories were written by ghost writers such as Tom Curry. Zane Grey scholar and enthusiast G.M. Farley wrote a fact and fiction section for the magazine from 1970 until its last publication in 1974.⁴⁵⁰ Marguiles' desire to affiliate his Western magazine with Zane and Romer Zane Grey speaks to the continued popularity of the dead author's name in the popular Western genre.

Some failed attempts at capitalizing on Zane Grey's name were five plays which list Grey as a co-author. Wheeler feels Grey did not have a hand in writing these "third-rate melodramas," and Dolly Grey was dismayed that Grey's name was tied to the poor products. The scripts include the circa 1923 *"Hell Bent" Wade* by Frank McGlynn and Grey loosely based on *Mysterious Rider*; the circa 1927 *Three Tight Lines* by Millicent Smith and Grey which bears no resemblance to any of Grey's works; the circa 1929 *Amber's Mirage* by Smith and Grey based on the story of the same name; the 1930 *Port of Call* by Smith and Grey which is similar to *Reef Girl*; and *The Courting of Stephen* by Smith and Grey based on Grey's *Lost Pueblo*. There is no evidence that any of these plays were ever produced. There are other plays based on Grey's novels but are not otherwise associated with him or his name.⁴⁵¹

Zane Grey stories might not have appealed to later generations had it not been for their successful portrayal in visual media such as movies and television. These media brought Grey's stories to an even wider audience than his printed material. Kant believes that Zane Grey's Western romances were natural choices for the fledgling film industry because of their exotic settings, the compelling heroes and heroines, the predictable plots in which good triumphs over evil, and the celebration of American values.⁴⁵² Grey was involved with the movie industry from its early days in the 1910s. In 1918, Fox released the first two Zane Grey films, *Riders of the Purple Sage* and *Rainbow Trail*.⁴⁵³ In late 1918 Grey set up his own production company called Zane Grey Productions in partnership with Ben Hampton who actually made the films.⁴⁵⁴ In an early letter to Dolly Grey describing the possible deal, Grey understood that the company would "exploit my name" instead of those of the actors.⁴⁵⁵ Grey also wanted to control his own production company so that he could make a better profit on each movie, dictate the settings for the movies, and keep the popularity of "stars" in check. Grey's views on the film industry and hopes for his production company are evident in a 1919 letter to Hampton:

It has been difficult for me to wait until I have seen all of 'Desert Gold' scenes before writing you how delighted I am. Let me congratulate you upon the fact that you have put the spirit, the action, and the truth of 'Desert Gold' upon the screen. My ideas, wishes, even my hopes, have been fulfilled. This is something that I had despaired of ever seeing.

450 G.M. Farley, "The Story of the Zane Grey Western Magazine Part Two," *Zane Grey's West* 5: 36 (1989).

451 Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 238.

452 Kant, *Arizona*, p. 136.

453 Gruber, p. 247. Zane Grey's West Society, zanegreysws.org.

454 "Grey Films Now," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 28 September 1918.

455 Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 1916, Farley Collection, p. 81.

Your elimination of the star system is going to revolutionize the motion picture business. You are making a picture of a story to please and thrill the public -- not destroying the spirit and plot of a good book to cater to the whim and egotism of a star. . . . the public loves motion pictures. The secret of that instinct is as deep-seated as the instinct for everyone to play. It is love of a good story. It is desire to forget oneself. It is longing to live the ordeal of the hero or heroine. And that instinct is what makes audiences survive in spite of stars who mar the story and exploit only themselves -- in spite of the indecency and morbidity that producers imagine is what the public wants.

I am absolutely satisfied to leave the verdict to the public and know I will be vindicated b[y] the thousand who have written me praying that I bar my books unless filmed as they were written. How I would like to write them and all my readers that the impossible has been achieved -- and that I was there when it happened.⁴⁵⁶

Despite Grey's initial zeal, the partnership did not last. After making three or four films, Grey bought out Hampton and sold the company to Jesse Lasky who renamed it Paramount Pictures.⁴⁵⁷ Paramount continued to produce two to five Zane Grey films per year from 1921 until the introduction of sound films in 1927. After the introduction of sound, Paramount remade several of the earlier Grey movies and also produced many new ones.⁴⁵⁸

Zane Grey was very involved with the making of the early films based on his novels. The contract he had with Paramount in the 1920s stated that the setting for the movie had to match the setting described in the book.⁴⁵⁹ Grey helped producers choose exact locations for the shoots and he coached the actors on how to play his characters. In 1923 Grey wrote, "In September, I took Mr. Lasky and his staff to Arizona, to pick out locations for the motion picture, *The Vanishing American*. It was a hard pack-train trip from Kayenta to the Rainbow Bridge."⁴⁶⁰ In the mid-1920s Grey wrote of his involvement with two other Paramount movies:

When WILD HORSE MESA was filmed, I took the company to Red Lake to find the right location. Lucien Hubbard was directing and Billie Dove and Jack Holt were the leads. The Navajo Indians rounded up two thousand of their wild mustangs for this picture - and wild they were. On one occasion Miss Dove was nearly run down by the shaggy broom-tails. I remember sitting in the shade of the cedars with Miss Dove, and while she applied her make-up, holding forth to her on the character of Sue Melbourne, which she was to portray. A number of years earlier, when Bebe Daniels was cast for Mescal in *THE HERITAGE OF THE DESERT*, I had a similar discussion with her.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁶ Zane Grey to Mr. Hampton, 2 May 1919, Box 26, Thomas Nelson Page Papers, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.

⁴⁵⁷ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 52. Gruber, p. 205.

⁴⁵⁸ Gruber, p. 205.

⁴⁵⁹ Kant, *Arizona*, p. 139.

⁴⁶⁰ "1923 - The Year in Review," *The Zane Grey Review* 13 (1): 6 (December 1997).

⁴⁶¹ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," pp. 52-53.

Grey's involvement with the movies was advertised on movie posters. The poster for the 1923 release of *To the Last Man*, trumpets, "It was filmed under Zane Grey's personal supervision. In the rolling sheep and cattle country of Arizona - a background new to the screen." Zane Grey's name is larger than any other on the poster. Grey remained close to Paramount in the 1920s.⁴⁶² The studio's Zane Grey movies were of higher quality than those produced by others because it allowed a higher budget for the films and it had a unit that specialized in the making of Zane Grey films.⁴⁶³

During the silent film era, the medium of film was secondary to the story it portrayed. With the introduction of sound, films came into their own and the story became secondary.⁴⁶⁴ Movies based on Grey's novels resembled the original stories less and less as they were not filmed on location and the studios changed the plot lines. According to Kant:

Both Paramount and Fox studios accommodated Grey during the silent film era, and the resulting fidelity of movie to book was used as publicity, as was Grey's association with the production of the film. Beginning in the 1930s, however, the studios faced the challenge of making a profitable new movie out of stories that had already appeared on the screen once, and in some cases, more than once. To draw the audience, they varied the action and attractions, and sometimes the settings.⁴⁶⁵

Money troubles during the Great Depression also caused the studios to promote stars' names to fill seats in empty theaters.⁴⁶⁶ Despite Grey's loathing of stars' fame, the names of many of the actors who played in his films are still recognizable today including Gary Cooper, John Wayne, Cary Grant, Shirley Temple, Robert Mitchum, Barbara Stanwyk, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., and Roy Rogers.⁴⁶⁷

Grey was annoyed by the changes made to his stories and at the attention given to stars. He worked with the studios less and the discrepancies between his work and its portrayal in the movies increased.⁴⁶⁸ By the 1940s and 1950s, after Grey's death, movies based on Zane Grey novels bore little resemblance to the written originals. These later movies retained the names of the novels and the names of the characters, but the story lines were completely altered to appeal to the era's taste for more streamlined plots.⁴⁶⁹ In addition to new movies, Paramount also profited on its old Zane Grey movies when television sets became widely available. Paramount sold the rights for the movies to a television distributing company for \$250,000.⁴⁷⁰

Zane Grey's novels continue to be fodder for the market. Perhaps the most recent incarnation of a Zane Grey story was the 1996 TNT production of *Riders of the Purple*

⁴⁶² "To the Last Man," Movie Poster, 1923, Series III, Box 1, Folder 8, Zane Grey Inn and Museum Records.

⁴⁶³ Kant, *Arizona*, p. 139.

⁴⁶⁴ Kant, *Arizona*, p. 147.

⁴⁶⁵ Kant, *Arizona*, pp. 148-149.

⁴⁶⁶ Kant, *Arizona*, p. 149.

⁴⁶⁷ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 51.

⁴⁶⁸ Kant, *Arizona*, pp. 148, 153.

⁴⁶⁹ Kant, *Arizona*, p. 154.

⁴⁷⁰ Gruber, p. 211.

Sage.⁴⁷¹ In 1998, Bonnie Grey described her husband Loren filming introductory segments for new releases of old Zane Grey movies by Bridgestone, Inc.⁴⁷² Bridgestone Multimedia Group currently offers for sale two multi-movie volumes and twenty-three Zane Grey movies from the 1930s and 1940s.⁴⁷³

As with movies, popular Westerns were a natural match for early television. In 1956, Zane Grey's name was applied to a television program called *Zane Grey Theatre*. The program was hosted by Dick Powell and ran from 1956 to 1961 with 145 episodes.⁴⁷⁴ Westerns dominated primetime television in the 1950s.⁴⁷⁵ According to Nye, the Western had developed into three distinct types by the mid-1960s: the soap opera Western such as *Bonanza*, the classic Western such as *Gunsmoke*, and Westerns based on isolated heroes.⁴⁷⁶

While Grey was fully interested in having his stories translated into the medium of film which then led to television, he became involved with comic strips and comic books because he needed money in the 1930s. In the early 1930s Harpers was still publishing Grey's books, but the books were not earning the amount of money they had earlier. In order to fill the gap in his earnings Grey agreed to have two of his books, *Nevada* and *Desert Gold*, syndicated as black and white daily comic strips. Also in the 1930s Stephen Slesinger was looking for an author's name to attach to a comic strip he had developed entitled *Royal Canadian Mounted Police*. Grey reluctantly agreed to the use of his name and to write the story lines for a strip called *King of the Royal Mounted* set in Canada with Sergeant King as the main character. As it turned out, Grey wrote only the skeleton plots while his son Romer Zane Grey wrote the story lines. King Features Syndicate first started to run the strip as a Sunday-only feature in February of 1935; in 1936 they added a black and white daily strip. Grey made a fair amount of money from the comic strip. In 1936 Whitman publishing offered to publish the strip in a small hardbound format called a "Big Little Book" which would sell for fifteen cents per copy at inexpensive venues like five and dime stores. Romer Zane Grey oversaw the production of the Big Little Books, a medium his father could not bear to see. The Big Little Books sold well and were popular with readers. The *King of the Royal Mounted* comic strip continued to be published until March of 1955.⁴⁷⁷

In addition to his grudging involvement with the writing of comic strips, Grey has also been the subject of several comics as well. As early as 1910, his image appeared in *Field and Stream* magazine accompanying his story, "A Trout Fisherman's Inferno" The illustration shows a youthful Grey seated wearing waders and a creel. He reads a book entitled *The Baiture Faker* which has a fish on the cover wearing a top hat and drinking out of a bottle. Beside Grey is a bucket labeled "FOR TEARS." The caption for the

⁴⁷¹ Zane Grey's West Society, Zanegreysws.org.

⁴⁷² Bonnie Grey, "Following the Zane Grey Trail: Catalina, Oregon, and the Florida Keys," *The Zane Grey Review* 13 (2): 4 (February 1998).

⁴⁷³ Bridgestone Multimedia, Information on availability of Zane Grey videos available at bridgestonemultimedia.com, 1999.

⁴⁷⁴ Gruber, p. 4. Kant, *Arizona*, p. 154.

⁴⁷⁵ May, p. 156.

⁴⁷⁶ Nye, p. 410.

⁴⁷⁷ Larry L. Lowery, "King of the Mounted B[i]g L[it]tle B[ook]s," *The Zane Grey Review* 4 (6): 7 (October 1989). Gruber, p. 233.

illustration reads "CONDEMNED TO READ HIS OWN STORIES". (see ill. 12).⁴⁷⁸ A second cartoon entitled "The Last Trail" appeared in 1939 when Grey died (see ill. 13). This one depicts Grey on a horse, dressed in western garb riding among the clouds toward three mounted cowboys who are identified as "Riders of the Purple Sage."⁴⁷⁹ A third is an educational cartoon which appeared in a series called "Pennsylvania Profiles" (see ill. 14). Through a series of sketches and text Patrick Reynolds traces the biography of Grey. The sketches include Grey as a dentist, the west elevation of the Greys' Lackawaxen home, and an aged Grey writing in his Altadena study.⁴⁸⁰

Besides printed and performance media, Zane Grey endorsed or lent his name to products and venues during his lifetime and Zane Grey Inc. continued to do so after his death. In 1927 Zane Grey ate dinner at the Zane Grey Sporting Club. It is unclear where the club was, but Grey wrote to Dolly describing the public's mixed reaction to the name: "There is much feeling over the Z.G. Club. I offered to let them eliminate my name, but the directors refused. A few New Zealanders and Australians have taken violent exception to me, all same from Club. Funny! I don't care a d-."⁴⁸¹ In 1936 Grey wrote a brochure entitled "Fly Fishing" for Horrocks-Ibbotson Company, makers of fishing tackle, to promote the sport and endorse the company's products.⁴⁸² Considering Grey's views on the United States' involvement in foreign wars, the naming of the warship *SS Zane Grey* in January of 1943 was ironic.⁴⁸³ In 1948 Helen James Johnson asked Dolly Grey if she could name the inn she opened in the Big House after Zane Grey. Grey wrote back, "Of course you may call the place the Zane Grey Lodge and I know that in your hands the name will come to no ill use."⁴⁸⁴ The house continued to be called the Zane Grey Inn and Museum, and later simply the Zane Grey Museum, through 1989 when Helen James Davis sold the property to the National Park Service. In 1972, Marlin produced a numbered series of 10,000 rifles called "Zane Grey Century" to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the author's birth. The advertisement touts, "Zane Grey preferred the lever action rifle for hunting and he'd be proud to see his brand on this special version of the famed marlin 336 deer rifle." The rifle was adorned with "an inlaid, mint-struck portrait medallion inscribed 'Zane Grey 1872-1972.'"⁴⁸⁵

In order to commemorate Zane Grey's contribution to American literature, Zane Grey admirers wanted the United States Postal Service to issue a Zane Grey stamp. As early as 1966 Betty Zane Grosso and Helen James Johnson wrote about the possibility.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁷⁸ Zane Grey, "A Trout Fisherman's Inferno, *Field and Stream*, April 1910: 1118.

⁴⁷⁹ Vaughn Shoemaker, "The Last Trail," in Schneider, *Books Made the West Famous*, p. 29.

⁴⁸⁰ Patrick M. Reynolds, "Pennsylvania Profiles: A Boy Named Pearl," Comic strip, Unknown source, 1978, "Zane Grey Recent Clippings," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁴⁸¹ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 31 January 1931, Farley Collection, p. 308. Grey was unpopular among citizens of Australia and New Zealand after speaking out against what he considered their irresponsible fishing practices.

⁴⁸² Christian, p. 13.

⁴⁸³ Schneider, *Books Made the West Famous*, p. 25. Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River has two pictures depicting the launching of the *SS Zane Grey* (UPDE 463 and 1105).

⁴⁸⁴ Dolly Grey to Helen James Johnson, 3 May 1948, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers.

⁴⁸⁵ "Zane Grey Century," Advertisement, Unknown source, ca. 1972, Zane Grey Collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University.

⁴⁸⁶ Betty Zane Grosso to Helen James Johnson, 15 February 1966, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers.

G.M. Farley mounted an effort through *Zane Grey Collector* newsletters to have the author's likeness on a stamp for the centennial of his birthday in 1972. Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River has copies of the art work produced for the proposed 1972 Zane Grey stamp (see ill. 15).⁴⁸⁷ After this attempt failed, Farley and citizens in Pike County, Pennsylvania, made another attempt from 1988 to 1989. Farley, for one, was outraged that Jack London was on a stamp and not Zane Grey.⁴⁸⁸ Involved in the cause were the Upper Delaware Heritage Alliance, the Upper Delaware Citizen's Advisory Council, Pike County Commissioners, Congressman Joseph McDade of Pennsylvania, and the Zane Grey's West Society.⁴⁸⁹ Unfortunately, Zane Grey supporters' efforts again went unrewarded.

Today Zane Grey enthusiasts can visit three museums that address Zane Grey: the Zane Grey House at Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania; the National Road/ Zane Grey Museum in Norwich, Ohio; and the Rim County Museum of Northern Gila County Historical Society in Payson, Arizona (formerly the Zane Grey Museum/ Counsellor Art and Museum of the Forest). Lackawaxen, of course, has Zane Grey's first home where he wrote many of his early works. The Ohio site has many of Zane Grey's belongings and memorabilia from the Greys' Altadena house. The Payson, Arizona, site boasted Zane Grey's restored cabin until it burnt in 1990.

Zane Grey has also been the subject of several newsletters and "fanzines" produced by the founders of what is now Zane Grey's West Society. Zane Grey's West Society is an organization devoted to promoting interest in and knowledge of Zane Grey and his works; reviving interest in Zane Grey's works; and preserving the sites described in his writings.⁴⁹⁰ Defunct publications include *Zane Grey Collector*, *New Zane Grey Collector*, and *Zane Grey Reporter*. The current publications of the society are the bimonthly newsletter *Zane Grey Review* and the occasional fanzine *Zane Grey's West*. The Zane Grey's West Society also has a web page at www.zanegreyws.org which provides information regarding the society and Zane Grey's life and works. There are over 400 members of Zane Grey's West Society many of whom gather yearly for a convention at a location where one of Grey's novels took place.

A second website, "Zane Grey's New West" at www.zane-grey.com, is devoted to the memory and merchandising of Zane Grey. Although there is no reference to Zane Grey Inc. on the website, it is apparent that the two organizations are linked. The products are designed by Grey's granddaughters and daughter-in-law, Bonnie Grey. Granddaughter Susan Grey, daughter of Loren and Bonnie Grey, is the e-mail contact for the site. The product offerings include videos, rare and out-of-print books, T-shirts,

⁴⁸⁷ Postage Stamp Art Work, ca. 1972, Series II, Box 1, Folder 7, Zane Grey Inn and Museum Records.

⁴⁸⁸ G. M. Farley, "A Zane Grey Stamp. Is There a Possibility?" *The Zane Grey Review* 3 (2): 3 (January 1988).

⁴⁸⁹ Margaret Bolton to Hon. Willis J. Gilpin, 20 December 1988, "Zane Grey," Vertical File, Pike County Historical Society. Larue J. Elmore to Zane Grey Supporters, 21 August 1989, "Zane Grey," Vertical File, Pike County Historical Society. Bob Couture, "NPS Inks Agreement for Zane Grey House," Newspaper article, Unknown newspaper, 6 February 1989, "Zane Grey," Vertical File, Pike County Historical Society. Norman B. Lehde, "UDC Wants Zane Grey Stamp," *Pike County Dispatch*, 26 September 1989.

⁴⁹⁰ Zane Grey's West, zanegreyws.org.

mugs, posters, photographs, magnets, greeting cards by Bonnie Grey, Western theme pottery, commemorative plates, and computer screen savers. The videos and books offered do not duplicate any available from commercial retailers. Most of these products appear to be derived from the photographic and video collections of Zane Grey Inc.⁴⁹¹ Grey's descendents understand, as Grey did in his day, the power of his name and are not shy to continue his tradition of exploiting his name for profit. They have taken the next logical step in making Zane Grey's image and life a commodity for sale in the market of popular culture. Instead of Grey looking back at the nineteenth-century American cowboy with nostalgia, those of us in the early twenty-first century are now looking back at Grey and his exotic and dangerous early-twentieth-century exploits with nostalgia.

Lina "Dolly" Grey

Lina Elise Roth, the daughter of New York City doctor Julius Roth and his wife Lina, was born on 6 February 1883.⁴⁹² She had one brother named Julius. During a 1900 trip with her widowed mother to the Delaware House in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, Lina met Zane Grey. Grey called her "Dolly," a nickname she retained for the rest of her life. At the time, Dolly was a student at the Normal School of the City of New York, later Hunter College. Back in New York City, she continued to see Zane Grey socially and as a dental patient. During their courtship, Dolly loaned Grey the money he needed to publish *Betty Zane*.⁴⁹³

In 1905 Dolly's grandfather, a successful business man, passed away leaving her money. The same year Zane Grey closed his dental practice, the couple married, and they purchased property in Lackawaxen.⁴⁹⁴ On their 1906 honeymoon they traveled to the Grand Canyon and California.⁴⁹⁵

Dolly and Zane Grey had three children: Romer Zane in 1909, Betty Zane in 1912, and Loren in 1915. When the children were young, Dolly stayed home from Grey's long trips to care for them. She wrote in response to an invitation from Zane Grey, "It's nice of you to want to include me, but I don't think I could do it. In the first place, after being away from the kiddies so long, I'd be wild to get back to them."⁴⁹⁶ Dolly Grey was the more demonstrative of the two Greys toward the children. She picked them up and bought gifts for the Grey and Smith children.⁴⁹⁷ Despite her motherly role, Dolly got lonely in Lackawaxen. She wrote in 1914, "It is hellishly lonely here, especially evenings after the children are asleep. I'm glad Romer left me a dog. When I'm lonely I'm always frightened to death, & the dog is at least a protection, & a little company."⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹¹ Zane Grey's New West, Information on Zane Grey's New West available at zane-grey.com, 1999.

⁴⁹² Permit for Disposal of Human Remains, Lina Grey, 30 July 1957, Series II, Box 2, Folder 1, Grey Family Papers.

⁴⁹³ Gruber, pp. 41, 38, 43, 42, 46, 246.

⁴⁹⁴ Gruber, pp. 41, 246.

⁴⁹⁵ Dolly Grey Diary, 1 January 1906, Farley Collection, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁹⁶ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 23 February 1922, Farley Collection, p. 207.

⁴⁹⁷ Powell, p. 7.

⁴⁹⁸ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 30 July 1914, Farley Collection, p. 69.

Dolly was aided in her care for the children and the household by a few servants. Mrs. Koch served as nursemaid/governess for the children from 1912 to 1924 (see "Mrs. Koch" below).⁴⁹⁹ When Zane Grey was in Lackawaxen Mary Smith made meals for him. Dolly Grey also employed local women, most often Eva Quick who lived about a mile up the railroad tracks, to help with other household chores.⁵⁰⁰ Despite the Greys' relative prosperity, Dolly Grey did most of the family's cooking and cleaning herself. She was admittedly frugal: "I'll never be a spender. It's not in me. I can't pay \$25 for a hat to save me."⁵⁰¹ Mary Smith Nelson later stated that Zane Grey ate meals at her mother's house because Dolly Grey's table was so sparse.⁵⁰²

Dolly Grey's influence was essential through the early years of Zane Grey's writing career. Most important and most difficult to quantify was Dolly's encouragement of Grey in his early, struggling years. Dolly Grey wrote to him early in his career:

With you, though the task may be great, the means are *not* inadequate. They merely lack development, and that is what makes the task great. I know you will keep in until you conquer, for you have the power, and the will, and you have youth, strength and health. What matter i[f] it takes five - ten years. Some of the greatest men have not attained their rank until late in life. But you will not have to wait so long, because well, I don't know why exactly, but I feel it. Your improvement in the time I have known you has been very great, and if you keep on, as I know you will, I don't know what can stop you. But you must go on making yourself better and better, broadening your ideas and opinions, learning the humility of true wisdom, and yet keeping the knowledge of your own power. You must also learn your limitations and keep within them. Don't let this discourage you for every man, no matter how great he may be has limitations. But you are still very far from yours, so far that neither you nor I can yet see them.⁵⁰³

Dolly Grey believed early on that Zane Grey was capable of writing great novels instead of the popular novels that became his mainstay: "I suppose you will have to write something of this order [popular novels] for a start, but I'm not going to let you stop there. Tolstoi or Victor Hugo - you'll have to be in their class after a while or you're not what I think you are."⁵⁰⁴ It appears that when Grey never achieved her vision of greatness, she began to blame his personal shortcomings with women. Zane Grey whined in 1918, "When I appeal to you in an agony, I am told that my friendship for girls inhibits my power and prevents my success."⁵⁰⁵

⁴⁹⁹ Grosso interview, p. 7.

⁵⁰⁰ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 31. Extant Grey family financial records show that Eva Quick received periodic checks from the Greys from at least fall of 1912 to at least the summer of 1917 [Checkbook, 18 August 1912 to 21 April 1913, Series III, Box 2, Folder 4, Grey Family Papers. Check to Eva Quick, 3 August 1917, Series III, Box 3, Folder 3, Grey Family Papers].

⁵⁰¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 28 April 1922, quoted in "Family - Lina E. Roth - Dolly Grey," p. 15.

⁵⁰² Powell, p. 7.

⁵⁰³ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, pre-1910, Farley Collection, pp. 33-34.

⁵⁰⁴ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1 May 1905, Farley Collection, p. 37.

⁵⁰⁵ "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 130.

Besides moral support, Dolly Grey also offered technical and financial support. She recommended books for him to read and helped him with his poor grammar. Almost single-handedly Dolly assisted Grey with the technical aspects of writing so that he could fulfill his urge to write. Not only did she finance the printing of his first book, but she also financed his trip to Arizona with Buffalo Jones.⁵⁰⁶

After achieving success, Zane Grey would at times chafe at Dolly's management of his career and aspirations for him. He once wrote:

Your [Dolly Grey's] brains are too much for me. You see through me and my poor little dreams. You make me see that I am only a dog, a cur, when I could go on dreaming if my frailties were not so relentlessly pointed out. You have made me lose faith in myself. I think I might have made some kind of a real success in life if I had been allowed to go in my own way.

All the bitterness I feel is for the fact that I *know* I could do well, and do a little good in the world, if I had been let alone. But whatever I had of spiritual growth seems suddenly stunted.⁵⁰⁷

Despite his occasional griping, Dolly's praise remained important to Grey. In January 1919 he wrote in his diary, "Dolly read the first chapter [of *Wanderer of the Wasteland*], and her praise made me exultant and happy, and full of inspiration."⁵⁰⁸

The Greys' partnership continued through Zane's lifetime and beyond. Dolly managed both his household and his writing career. She dealt with the publishers and production companies asking top dollar for novels, serials, and movies.⁵⁰⁹ In 1913, when she was still fairly new at the game, Dolly Grey boasted to Zane about her dealings with Ripley Hitchcock of Harpers for the rights to dramatize *Riders of the Purple Sage*: "*He didn't get the best of your wife. I got what you wanted.*"⁵¹⁰ Occasionally, she had to extricate Grey from an unwise deal he had negotiated without her knowledge. In 1932 she wrote after Zane Grey's latest contracting debacle:

And if you ever make a contract again, God help you. You've done it to your sorrow & confusion several times. Look beyond the end of your nose - or your infatuation. Don't put anything in writing. I think we'd better have a regular partnership agreement that no contract you sign regarding your literary output is valid unless I sign it. Not that it will do me any good but it may protect you.⁵¹¹

Dolly Grey played a major role in the running of Zane Grey Inc., a corporation the Greys established in 1932. She told Grey the corporation was necessary for tax purposes, but in actuality, it allowed her to keep a lid on his spending. Through the corporation Grey was paid a salary and was unable to spend his whole income.⁵¹² She also had the difficult task

⁵⁰⁶ Gruber, pp. 46, 246.

⁵⁰⁷ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 28 August 1916, Farley Collection, pp. 104-105.

⁵⁰⁸ Zane Grey Diary, 26 January 1919, quoted in Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 174.

⁵⁰⁹ Karr, p. 55. Gruber, p. 224.

⁵¹⁰ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 18 February 1913, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 120.

⁵¹¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 9 June 1932, quoted in "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 160.

⁵¹² "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 162.

of keeping the family's finances in order while Grey went on extended vacations, purchased yachts, and got robbed by his hired help on trips.

In addition to financial savvy, Dolly Grey brought her language skills to the partnership. In the early days of Grey's career she edited and copied his manuscripts before they were sent to the publisher.⁵¹³ Even after Grey had hired secretaries, Dolly still served as an editor and advisor. In fact, the one manuscript Zane Grey sent to the publisher without Dolly's input (she was in Europe at the time), "Thundering Herd," was returned for revisions.⁵¹⁴ Dolly Grey later explained in a 1952 interview, "He just wouldn't edit. After he'd finished a first draft, he'd turn the manuscript over to me. I'm still doing his editing."⁵¹⁵ However, Zane Grey occasionally grew angry when Dolly Grey or another party over-edited his manuscripts or changed the name of a character or title of a book.⁵¹⁶

While the Greys remained partners for life, there were times when Dolly Grey's patience with her husband's infidelity wore thin. During these times the letters they exchanged were full of venom and threatened to dissolve the union. Zane Grey wrote in 1916:

As for me, I'd rather go to hell than stand your scorn and bitterness and discontent any longer. If I must continue to be made to feel as you have made me feel lately, I do not want your love, or you as a wife, or as anything.⁵¹⁷

According to an article in the *Missouri Review*:

Dolly had long ago gotten his number regarding the 'girls' he liked to travel with, partly because he couldn't resist telling her certain details. It led to crises during which they were either barely communicating or communicating by means of furious letters. At first angry with her husband's behavior (almost to the point of breaking with him), over time Dolly accepted his style of living. . . . [F]inally she was even cooperating and helping him manage some of the seamier details. She came to the conclusion that he was incapable of being her husband in the standard sense. At times she even professed to admire his independence.⁵¹⁸

By 1926, Dolly had matured to the point of seeing beyond the daily challenges of living with her husband. She wrote to Zane Grey:

Sometimes I have thought circumstances or people could force us apart, but when I have come to consider that seriously, it has always become ridiculous. You and I have grown one through the years in a respect that nothing can ever violate. Everything is extraneous to this relation, no matter what happens.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹³ Gruber, pp. 46, 182.

⁵¹⁴ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 179.

⁵¹⁵ Dolly Grey, Interview, n.d., quoted in G.M. Farley, "Dolly: The Woman Behind Zane Grey," *The Zane Grey Reporter* 1 (2): 5 (June 1986).

⁵¹⁶ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 196.

⁵¹⁷ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 21 September 1916, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 127.

⁵¹⁸ "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 117.

⁵¹⁹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 25 November 1926, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 142.

Dolly Grey did not exist only to serve Zane Grey and her three children. She also embarked on projects to satisfy herself. After her marriage to Zane Grey she earned a master's degree at Columbia University, she wrote short stories and plays (which she never sent to publishers because she felt one writer in the family was enough), and learned how to drive late in life.⁵²⁰ When their creative roles were reversed in 1918, Zane Grey wrote, "I am tickled that you are writing a play. Keep at it. I'll tear the stuffings out of it."⁵²¹ Perhaps her largest project was the founding of the Altadena National Bank in the 1920s. Unfortunately, the bank failed during the Great Depression and Dolly paid some depositors with her own money.⁵²²

After the family moved to California, Dolly continued to travel east to Lackawaxen and New York City once or twice a year, often traveling in a large touring car. Of the family members, she kept in best touch with the Smith and James families on the Greys' Lackawaxen property. Sometimes she traveled to Europe from New York City. A major component of her trips to New York and Europe was keeping in contact with Zane Grey's American and European publishers.⁵²³

After Zane Grey's 1939 death, Dolly continued her involvement with Zane Grey Inc. including the editing and publishing of his posthumous works. She also began to sell their property.⁵²⁴ In 1946 Dolly Grey sold their Lackawaxen house, its contents, and adjacent property to Helen James Johnson.⁵²⁵ She approved its future use as an inn bearing Zane Grey's name.⁵²⁶ In 1952, Dolly Grey bequeathed the collection of Zane Grey objects in Altadena to the town of Zanesville, Ohio. The collection did not reach Zanesville, however, until Romer Zane Grey sold the Altadena, California, house in the early 1970s.⁵²⁷

Dolly Grey died in July 1957. Their daughter Betty Zane Grosso found a letter of Zane Grey's stating that he wanted the two of them buried in Lackawaxen because it was where they met. Grosso arranged for their 1959 burial in a cemetery near the Greys' former Lackawaxen property.⁵²⁸

Romer Zane Grey

Romer Zane Grey, Zane and Dolly Grey's first child, was born in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, in 1909.⁵²⁹ He attended the area Williamson School with neighbor Mary Smith.⁵³⁰ Romer was considered a bright but wild boy who lacked concentration and was

⁵²⁰ Christian, p. 4. Farley, "Dolly: The Woman," p. 5.

⁵²¹ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 8 August 1918, Farley Collection, p. 219.

⁵²² "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 161.

⁵²³ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 9.

⁵²⁴ O'Donnell, p. 11.

⁵²⁵ Lina Elise Grey, Article of agreement with Helen Johnson, 1946, *Deed Book* 105, pp. 517-518, Pike County Registry of Deeds, Administrative Building, Milford, PA.

⁵²⁶ Dolly Grey to Helen James, 3 May 1948, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers.

⁵²⁷ Norris F. Schneider, "Biography of Zane Grey is Authorized by Family," *Times Recorder* [Zanesville, OH], 12 April 1970. "Dolly: The Woman," p. 5.

⁵²⁸ Grosso interview, p. 10.

⁵²⁹ Gruber, p. 129.

⁵³⁰ Christian, p. 11.

perpetually getting himself and others into trouble.⁵³¹ Dolly Grey described Romer to Zane Grey in 1913: "He's the most wonderful child that ever was. It's useless to try to tell you all the bright & funny things he says because he says them all the time."⁵³² Mary Smith Nelson later recalled some of the shenanigans that Romer perpetrated including stealing Red Cross donations, cutting the head off her sister's doll, sneaking snacks, making cakes out of lime, and unwrapping hidden Christmas gifts.⁵³³ In 1920, Dolly Grey shared her husband's frustration over Romer: "I am happy that Romer is improving and I hope you're feeling better about him. He is a wonder, but also a trial. *I know*. He used to drive me to hysterics when he'd come home from school."⁵³⁴ As the eldest son and fellow lover of the outdoors, Romer accompanied his father on about a dozen of his trips.

Inspired by the carpenters working on the additions to the Big House in the mid-1910s, Romer's early career goal was to become a carpenter.⁵³⁵ However, by the early 1920s, Romer was attempting to follow in his writer-father's footsteps. In 1923 he received twenty-five dollars for a story he had written inspiring classmates and his sister Betty to make money by writing.⁵³⁶ Zane Grey described Romer's aspirations and working style to Dolly Grey in 1925:

Well, he [son Romer] has definitely decided to follow a literary career. I argued with him, put forward what a wonderful lawyer he might make, etc. etc. But nix! He intends to succeed as a writer of fiction, and outdoor stories. You see my career has obsessed him. So there is nothing we can do but help him all that is possible.

If he will work! And he has spells of work. Romer has the most unbounded enthusiasm for future things. But he doesn't stick! We must make him be a finisher, like his Dad.⁵³⁷

By 1926, Romer had sold two stories, one to *The American Boy* and the other to *Outdoor Life*.⁵³⁸ By the late 1920s, Romer was also pursuing an interest in photography. Zane Grey would complain of Romer's expenditures on equipment and the photographs Grey paid Romer to take but never received in return.⁵³⁹

Keeping his wild boy image alive, in 1930 Romer eloped with Dorothy Wrigley while Zane Grey was in Tahiti. The two had a son named Romer but separated by

⁵³¹ Nelson, pp. 15, 20. Zane Grey to Alvah James, 2 October 1936, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers.

⁵³² Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 11 April 1913, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 122.

⁵³³ Nelson, 1 February 1990, pp. 7-8, 20.

⁵³⁴ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 26 October 1920, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 133.

⁵³⁵ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 5 September 1916, Farley Collection, p. 109.

⁵³⁶ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 6 May 1923, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 137.

⁵³⁷ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 1 October 1925, Farley Collection, p. 265.

⁵³⁸ Dolly Grey to Mary Smith, 31 December 1926, "Zane Grey Duplicates," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁵³⁹ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 28 December 1928, Farley Collection, n.p. Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 14 October 1929, Farley Collection, p. 348.

1932.⁵⁴⁰ Romer would later marry a woman named Bea who left him several times for eccentric behavior.⁵⁴¹

In the 1930s Romer was involved with several projects related to his father's writing. During the Great Depression, in an effort to raise money, Zane Grey agreed to write a serial comic entitled *King of the Royal Mounted*, a project in which he was never interested. Zane Grey outlined the serial's plots and Romer wrote the text.⁵⁴² Romer was also involved with the Paramount Pictures unit devoted to Zane Grey movies. In 1935 he was assistant producer for the unit and in 1936 he was writing scenarios for the movies.⁵⁴³ Zane Grey wrote to Alvah James of Romer's interest in the movie industry: "Romer has definitely gone in for pictures. He might go far if he could work, and not fritter his time away."⁵⁴⁴

Romer Zane Grey also wanted to be more heavily involved with the running of Zane Grey Inc., an enterprise run at the time by his mother and former building contractor Ed Bowen. Dolly's apprehension about Romer's business acumen was fueled by his linking a movie enterprise with Zane Grey Inc. and his charging personal expenses to the company.⁵⁴⁵ Dolly Grey wrote to Zane Grey in 1933:

Romer gets his wild streaks and is likely to wreck us if we don't tie him down. He organized that Romer Grey Pictures so that he could do almost anything, and as it is affiliated with ours, he could do things and spend money so that we would be involved. So now we are changing some of these things. Romer is pretty sore about it but there is nothing for him to do but agree. It is a pity that Romer cannot always be at his best, for then he is really wonderful, but when he gets these spells, he is devil incarnate. Everything is warped in his mind, and he puts the most impossible construction on things. It is at such times that he drives me almost insane. Loren protects me from him at times like those. Then Romer repents and gets very mild and sweet and says he'll do everything I want him to.⁵⁴⁶

For a time Romer lived on the Greys' ranch in Riverside County, California, raising cattle. Following Zane Grey's death, Romer helped his mother edit the unpublished manuscripts.⁵⁴⁷ He also served as editorial advisor for *Zane Grey's Western Magazine*.⁵⁴⁸ When the lead story was not a Zane Grey adaptation, Romer Zane Grey's

⁵⁴⁰ Dorothy Wrigley was a member of the Wrigley family from Chicago, Illinois. The Wrigleys were neighbors of the Greys on Catalina Island [Moon, electronic communication, 5 June 2000]. Gruber, p. 225. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1932, Farley Collection, p. 395. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 13 March 1933, Farley Collection, p. 414.

⁵⁴¹ Bonnie Grey, p. 6.

⁵⁴² Farley, *Book Checklist*, p. 27.

⁵⁴³ Zane Grey to Alvah James, 22 March 1935, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers.
Dolly Grey to Alvah James, 12 June 1936, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers.

⁵⁴⁴ Zane Grey to Alvah James, 2 October 1936, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers.

⁵⁴⁵ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 5 to 10 June 1936, Farley Collection, p. 469.

⁵⁴⁶ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 13 March 1933, Farley Collection, p. 411.

⁵⁴⁷ Gruber, p. 240.

⁵⁴⁸ Karr, pp. 213-214.

name was used to mask ghost writers such as Tom Curry. These stories were later published in paperback editions under Romer Zane Grey's name.⁵⁴⁹

After his mother's 1957 death Romer Zane Grey became the president of Zane Grey Inc. and lived in the family's Altadena, California, house.⁵⁵⁰ In the early 1970s, Romer's health began to fail, he sold the Altadena house, and he gave a lot of the Zane Grey-related objects to the National Road/ Zane Grey Museum in Norwich, Ohio.⁵⁵¹ Romer Zane Grey passed away in the 1970s.

Elizabeth "Betty" Zane Grey

Betty Zane Grey, named for Zane Grey's distant relative and first heroine, was born in New York, New York, in 1912 and lived in Lackawaxen for the first several years of her life.⁵⁵² Helen James Davis described her as "down-to-earth" and sensible.⁵⁵³ She and her childhood friend Mary Smith shared a common love of horses, a love they both carried through life.⁵⁵⁴ As a child, Betty attended a Montessori school in New York and later went to boarding school where she had her own horse. In 1926, Zane Grey gave Betty his aged black horse Night (one of the horses appearing in his 1912 *Riders of the Purple Sage* and which lived in Lackawaxen) as a gift. Like her brothers, Betty accompanied Zane Grey on trips to Tahiti, Oregon, and Arizona. Unlike the boys, she did not enjoy fishing.⁵⁵⁵ She also accompanied Dolly Grey on trips back to Lackawaxen.⁵⁵⁶

In 1930 Betty was accepted at the University of Wisconsin, but stayed for no more than a year because she married Robert Carney, a professional photographer working for Technicolor and close friend of her brother Romer, in 1931.⁵⁵⁷ The Carneys spent their honeymoon with Zane Grey aboard *Fisherman II* and in Tahiti.⁵⁵⁸ In 1932 they had a daughter named Michele who was followed by a second daughter, Carol, in 1934.⁵⁵⁹ By 1939 Robert Carney had died in a swimming accident. Betty lived in southern California until her second marriage to George Grosso, a banker and horse breeder, from northern California.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁴⁹ Farley, "Western Magazine," p. 36.

⁵⁵⁰ Gruber, pp. 240, 242.

⁵⁵¹ Eleanora Evans, "Memories of Twenty Years as Secretary to the Zane Grey Family," *The Zane Grey Reporter* 2 (1): 4 (March 1987). Betty Zane Grosso to Helen James Johnson, 12 January 1971, "Zane Grey Duplicates," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁵⁵² Zane Grey Diary, 4 December 1917, Farley Collection, p. 168.

⁵⁵³ Albert and Helen Davis, Oral History Interview with Mary Curtis, UDSRR Oral History Project: Zane Grey, 11 April 1989, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River Oral History Project, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA, p. 37.

⁵⁵⁴ Nelson, p. 4. Grosso interview, p. 2.

⁵⁵⁵ Grosso interview, pp. 10, 12, 2, 13.

⁵⁵⁶ Grosso interview, p. 9. Gruber, p. 173.

⁵⁵⁷ Gruber, p. 203. Wedding Announcement, Betty Zane Grey to Robert W. Carney, 16 February 1931, Series IV, Box 2, Folder 13, Grey Family Papers. Grosso interview, p. 15.

⁵⁵⁸ Grosso interview, p. 13.

⁵⁵⁹ Dolly Grey to Allie and Alvah James, 17 September 1934, Series III, Box 1, Folder 3, James Family Papers.

⁵⁶⁰ Gruber, p. 240.

Betty Zane Grosso visited the Zane Grey Inn and Museum when she buried her parents in Lackawaxen in 1959.⁵⁶¹ The year before she had sent Helen James Johnson magazines containing Zane Grey articles and a jacket that had belonged to him.⁵⁶² Also in the late 1950s, Betty Zane Grosso requested that Frank Gruber write a biography of her father. Gruber did not begin the project immediately, but had completed the book by the late 1960s. Due to publishing delays, *Zane Grey: A Biography* did not reach the public until 1970 after Gruber had died of a heart attack.⁵⁶³ At least as early as 1961, Betty Zane Grosso was the treasurer of Zane Grey Inc.⁵⁶⁴ By 1975, she was a vice president in the corporation.⁵⁶⁵ Currently Grosso lives in Santa Rosa, California.

Loren Grey

Zane and Dolly Grey's youngest child, Loren, was born in Middletown, New York, in 1915 and lived in Lackawaxen for the next several years.⁵⁶⁶ His parents originally intended to name him "Zane Grey II," but changed their minds. He would later express displeasure at not having the name "Zane" like the other children.⁵⁶⁷ He was still quite young when the family moved to California in 1918.

Unlike his wild brother Romer, Loren had a temperament like his father's. He was quiet, "dreamy," and able to concentrate on projects for hours.⁵⁶⁸ In 1924, Dolly Grey wrote to Zane Grey telling him that "He's always planning for the future, like his Dad, but I think he has more sense of responsibility."⁵⁶⁹ Several years later she wrote of Loren's direct imitation of his father's writing set up: "I'm writing this and Loren is writing a story with a big writing board across his lap, a la Daddy."⁵⁷⁰ Also like his father, Loren Grey could tend toward emotional instability, a trait Dolly Grey attributed to his being a writer. Dolly Grey wrote to Zane Grey, "I told him that he could not expect to be a writer and have all the feelings that he does, especially to produce poetry and still at the same time be normal and stable."⁵⁷¹

Loren Grey shared Zane and Romer Zane Grey's zeal for the outdoors and fishing. He first accompanied his father on a trip to Oregon at the age of nine.⁵⁷² He would later go with his father on his many fishing and other outdoor adventures. Loren also accompanied Dolly Grey on trips to Lackawaxen.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶¹ Grosso interview, p. 10.

⁵⁶² Betty Grosso to Helen James, 24 July 1958, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers.
Betty Grosso to Helen James, 16 May 1959, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers.

⁵⁶³ Schneider, "Biography of Zane Grey is Authorized."

⁵⁶⁴ Betty Zane Grosso to Helen James Johnson, 6 February 1961, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers.

⁵⁶⁵ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 370.

⁵⁶⁶ Betty Zane Grosso to Helen Johnson, post 1958, "Zane Grey Duplicates," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁵⁶⁷ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 5 to 10 June 1936, Farley Collection, p. 463.

⁵⁶⁸ Gruber, p. 199. Dolly Grey to Alvah James, 12 June 1936, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers.

⁵⁶⁹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 18 January 1924, Farley Collection, p. 223.

⁵⁷⁰ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 23 December 1928, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 150.

⁵⁷¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 20 April 1936, Farley Collection, p. 455.

⁵⁷² Gruber, p. 222.

⁵⁷³ Gruber, p. 173.

In 1933 Loren graduated from high school.⁵⁷⁴ At that time he was writing and doing photographic work to earn spending money.⁵⁷⁵ He went on to study English at the University of Southern California. He earned money in the summers running a charter fishing service.⁵⁷⁶ Like Zane Grey, he started his career by writing articles for fishing magazines and then moved on to fiction.⁵⁷⁷ In 1939 he enlisted in the Navy. He served in the South Pacific during World War II and ended his military career as a lieutenant.⁵⁷⁸

After the war, Loren went back to his alma mater and got a Ph.D. in educational psychology. He was a professor of psychology at San Fernando State College until his retirement in 1984. He wrote or co-wrote four books on child-rearing including *Logical Consequences: A New Approach to Discipline*.⁵⁷⁹

Loren Grey has a wife named Bonnie and at least three daughters: Susan, Jo Louise, and Jerilyn. In 1989, Loren, Bonnie, and Jerilyn visited the Zane Grey Museum shortly after the National Park Service acquired it.⁵⁸⁰

Loren participated with Dolly and Romer Zane Grey in the editing and publication of Zane Grey's posthumous novels.⁵⁸¹ In the 1930s when his brother Romer Zane Grey was challenging Dolly Grey's management of Zane Grey Inc., Loren acted as a buffer between the two.⁵⁸² Loren later became vice president of Zane Grey Inc.⁵⁸³ In the mid-1980s Grey revived one of his father's most famous characters, Lassiter, in a series of his own novels: *Lassiter* (1985), *Ambush for Lassiter* (1985), *Lassiter Gold* (1986), and *Lassiter Luck* (1987).⁵⁸⁴ In the late 1990s, Bridgestone Multimedia Group, a distributor of old Zane Grey films, filmed segments of Loren Grey discussing his father as introductions to the films.⁵⁸⁵ Loren Grey is currently president of Zane Grey Inc. and lives in Woodland Hills, California.

Mrs. Koch

Mrs. Koch, called "Cookie" by the elder Greys, joined the Grey household as a nursemaid/governess when Betty Zane Grey was born in 1912.⁵⁸⁶ Her help was needed as the Grey brood grew and as Dolly Grey's responsibilities for editing Zane Grey's work increased. Mrs. Koch was originally from Prussia and had at least one grown daughter by the time she went to work for the Greys.⁵⁸⁷ When the Greys moved to the Big House,

⁵⁷⁴ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 29 June 1933, Farley Collection, p. 420.

⁵⁷⁵ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 27 January 1933, Farley Collection, p. 398.

⁵⁷⁶ "A Place for the Son," *The Delta of Sigma Nu* 111 (1): 14 (spring).

⁵⁷⁷ Dolly Grey to Alvah James, 12 June 1936, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Family Papers.

⁵⁷⁸ Gruber, pp. 240-241.

⁵⁷⁹ "A Place for the Son," pp. 14-15.

⁵⁸⁰ Bill Close, "Agreement Reached," *The Zane Grey Review* 1 (3): 3 (December 1985).

⁵⁸¹ "A Place for the Son," p. 14.

⁵⁸² Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 13 March 1933, Farley Collection, p. 411.

⁵⁸³ Dougherty, Edward P. "Zane Grey Organized His Own Film Company," Newspaper article, Unknown newspaper, 1970s, Series II, Box 1, Folder 8, Zane Grey Inn and Museum Records.

⁵⁸⁴ Don Warren, "Let's Talk About It. . ." *The Zane Grey Review* 1 (4): 2 (February 1986). Don Warren, "Let's Talk About It. . ." *The Zane Grey Review* 2 (4): 2 (February 1987).

⁵⁸⁵ Bonnie Grey, p. 4.

⁵⁸⁶ Grosso interview, p. 7.

⁵⁸⁷ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1916[?], Farley Collection, p. 88.

Mrs. Koch lived on the third floor.⁵⁸⁸ She also moved to New York with them during the winter months.⁵⁸⁹

Mrs. Koch was responsible for the behavior and exercise of the Grey children. She also often cared for the Smith girls who spent a great deal of time in the Greys' company. Mary Smith Nelson recalled Mrs. Koch walking her and Romer to school. Nelson's daughter Cecilia Powell reports that Mrs. Koch also required the children to take long walks for their health. At times she also spent time in the Smith kitchen talking with Mary Smith.⁵⁹⁰ In 1916, Mrs. Koch delivered a stillborn baby while a local midwife hurried to another birth.⁵⁹¹ The same year, the Greys considered having Mrs. Koch purchase property from their neighbor Gottlieb Kuhn for a lower price than he would have charged them.⁵⁹²

By all counts Mrs. Koch was a tough disciplinarian.⁵⁹³ According to Mary Smith Nelson, Mrs. Koch and Romer Zane Grey constantly "locked horns" and Loren Grey later blamed Mrs. Koch for some of his emotional problems. Both Nelson and Betty Zane Grosso felt that Dolly and Zane Grey were unaware of the treatment the children received.⁵⁹⁴ One extreme example of Mrs. Koch and Romer locking horns occurred when the children broke into the tennis equipment shed:

One day, Romer got in that building [the tennis equipment shed] and he got us [the other Grey children and the Smith girls] in trouble too, because he decided to make little cakes out of the lime. He had a pail of water and we'd put our hands in the water and try to make little cakes out of the lime that was being used for the tennis courts. And who appeared on the scene but Mrs. Koch. When she saw what we were into, she got so angry, she grabbed the pail of lime water and threw it in Romer's face. And it blinded him really. He went out and got ahold of the lawn mower and I can see him running around . . . [in text] He was going to kill her.⁵⁹⁵

Despite her treatment of the children, Mrs. Koch moved with the Greys to California in 1918 and remained in their employ until Betty was twelve years old in 1924.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁸⁸ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, pre-9 February 1918, Farley Collection, p. 178.

⁵⁹⁰ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 33. Grosso interview, pp. 7-8. Powell, p. 5.

⁵⁹¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 9 March 1913, Farley Collection, p. 63.

⁵⁹² Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 28 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 106.

⁵⁹³ Grosso interview, p. 7.

⁵⁹⁴ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 7. Grosso interview, p. 7.

⁵⁹⁵ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 19.

⁵⁹⁶ Grosso interview, p. 7.

Activities

Indoor

▪ Writing

Zane Grey likely started writing in the Big House around 1915 when the first addition including first-floor office space was added to the north side of the house. This office space increased the following year with the second addition. Grey wrote his manuscripts in pencil on yellow legal pads. Betty Zane Grosso recalled his keeping a box of sharpened pencils by his side to facilitate the writing process. He sat in a Morris-type chair with a wooden lapboard resting on the arms in front of him like a desk.⁵⁹⁷

Grey sometimes experienced difficulties settling into work after a long break. In those instances, he could inspire himself by reading some of his old work. In 1917 he wrote in his diary:

I am beginning to feel a strong impetus to work and at the same time a drag on my spirit. It is bigger work that I have to do, the beginning of ten years of literary climbing. Strange to tell I always feel a tendency to begin writing after I have read some of my own work. That inspires me. It brings back the emotion that created the story, and the sensations are thrilling and poignant.⁵⁹⁸

When he was writing he preferred not to be disturbed. The children played outside and no one entered the room except Dolly to bring an occasional glass of milk. At times Grey would work long hours without breaks for meals in order to finish a project when he was on a roll. In his January 1910 diary he described the frenzied months he spent writing *Heritage of the Desert*:

Yesterday I finished THE HERITAGE OF THE DESERT, after working with few interruptions since Nov. 1. 508 pages of foolscap. I averaged 7 hours straight a day at first. In the last four or five chapters, I worked from 8:30 till 5, then from 6:30 to eleven. I was a little nervous, very much strained, and in the grip of emotion. I could scarcely control the sense of impelling hurry, I had no time for meals.⁵⁹⁹

Grey would later write in 1929 to Hamlin Garland regarding the amount of time he spent writing each year: "You ask how I find time to write so much. Well, it's not so wonderful. Years ago I used to write three months a year and loaf the rest. Currie

⁵⁹⁷ Grosso interview, p. 18. According to a photograph in Gruber's biography of Grey, [Gruber between 146 and 147] Grey wrote on a lapboard even when he was living outdoors on a trip. This photograph shows him seated in front of a tent, possibly on a stool, with the lapboard lying across his legs [see ill. 16].

⁵⁹⁸ Zane Grey Diary, 24 October 1917, Farley Collection, p. 159.

⁵⁹⁹ Zane Grey Diary, 23 January 1910, quoted in Wheeler, "Dawn and Dusk," p. 39.

persuaded me to double the output. Now I write practically nine months a year and am better, and assuredly happier for it."⁶⁰⁰

Grey generally wrote only first drafts of his work and relied on Dolly to edit them.⁶⁰¹ A 1918 invoice from R.H. Macy & Co. in New York lists supplies likely related to the later phases of work on Grey's novels: a typewriter, carbon paper, envelopes, pens, an ink well, ink, and paper.⁶⁰² Dolly and the secretaries likely used these items to prepare Grey's manuscripts for book and magazine publishers.

In addition to editing and refining Zane Grey's work, Dolly Grey wrote numerous letters to her husband while he was on his extended trips. It is unclear whether she worked and wrote in his first-floor study, or if she wrote elsewhere in the house.

▪ Painting

There are several signed paintings in the collection of Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River that indicate that Dolly Grey painted in both watercolor and oil paint prior to her marriage to Zane Grey (UPDE 862-868, 1057, 1125, 1132, 1136, 1138, 1139). All of these paintings are signed with some form of the name "Lina Elise Roth" indicating that they were executed prior to her 1905 marriage and move to Lackawaxen. However, there is one portrait (UPDE 1122) of a girl signed "L.E.R./ 08" suggesting that she completed the painting in 1908 and may have continued to use her maiden initials.⁶⁰³ Other objects in the Park's collection possibly related to Dolly Grey's previous or continued painting hobby are a drawing board (UPDE 1123) and a metal artist's box (UPDE 1136). It is unclear whether a later letter from Zane to Dolly Grey refers to recreational painting or house painting: "I went into the attic. And there you might have been yesterday. . . . And a lot of paint brushes, cans, etc. that you placed so & so."⁶⁰⁴

▪ Sewing

The fact that someone sewed while the Greys lived in the Big House is evident only in the invoices from R.H. Macy & Co. Dolly Grey mentions sewing once in her 1906 diary while she was at the seashore.⁶⁰⁵ Despite a lack of discussion of sewing, the items the Greys purchased which were likely used in sewing projects include patterns, needles, safety pins, a pincushion, a shuttle, cotton, wool, muslin, satin, silk, voile, veiling, lace, tassels, cord, and ribbon.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁰ Zane Grey to Hamlin Garland, 9 December 1929, Hamlin Garland Collection, University of Southern California.

⁶⁰¹ Farley, "Dolly: The Woman," p. 5.

⁶⁰² Invoice, R.H. Macy & Co., 30 March 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁶⁰³ A second painting (UPDE 1121) of a girl emerging from an Easter egg is also signed and dated 1908.

⁶⁰⁴ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 18 March 1928[?], Farley Collection, p. 245.

⁶⁰⁵ Dolly Grey Diary, 24 January 1906, quoted in Gruber, p. 60.

⁶⁰⁶ Invoices, R.H. Macy & Co., 27 November 1917, 28 February 1918, 30 March 1918, 31 August 1918, 18 September 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

▪ Meals

As noted above, Dolly Grey did not employ a cook but cooked a majority of the family's meals herself.⁶⁰⁷ The Greys' diet consisted of a combination of foods produced on their Lackawaxen property, game the men caught or shot in the area, foods they could buy locally, and foods they had shipped from New York. The Greys' cultivated gardens provided grapes, strawberries, corn, asparagus, cabbage, and other vegetables. The orchard provided apples and pears. The Smith's cow supplied both families with some cheese, milk, cream, butter, and cottage cheese.⁶⁰⁸ In addition, Dolly Grey told Zane Grey about picking dewberries for a pie while walking and "putting up" thirty-two quarts of beans.⁶⁰⁹ The Greys seem to have also brought food with them from Middletown, New York, when they moved to Lackawaxen in the spring. In April 1914, Dolly described the process of packing for their move to Lackawaxen including shipping fish, canning cherries, and making cherry pies and strawberry shortcake.⁶¹⁰ Zane Grey, Romer Carl Grey, and Charles Smith frequently went fishing and hunting (see "Hunting" and "Fishing" below). According to Mary Smith Nelson, the families ate all the game the men brought home. She particularly enjoyed the grouse.⁶¹¹

The Greys' financial records contain a number of references to purchasing foods from local producers and retailers. They bought meat from Mrs. Markers, milk from Mrs. Philips, butter from Jason Cortright, groceries from N.B. Cortright, and Jello from John H. Smith.⁶¹² These purchases of dairy products from local sources, as well as their 1906 purchase of thirteen bottles of fluid milk from Borden Condensed Milk, predate the Smiths living on the property and keeping a cow.⁶¹³

Several invoices from R.H. Macy & Co. of New York indicate the types of items the Greys purchased and had shipped to them in Pennsylvania. In general, they are the types of items the Greys could not grow or purchase from farmers in the immediate area. Breakfast foods include corn flakes, puffed rice, shredded wheat, Farina, pearl hominy, and Wheatena. Dessert and/or snack foods include tapioca, raspberry jelly, stuffed dates, graham crackers, Zweibach, and marshmallows. Supplementary fruits and vegetables include corn, string beans, lima beans, pea beans, canned tomatoes, spinach, white asparagus, peas, prunes, peaches, and pineapple. Baking needs include flour, rye flour, powdered sugar, cornstarch, Ballard bran, rolled oats, cocoa, molasses, Wesson oil, vinegar, baking powder, yeast cakes, Crisco, evaporated milk, and yellow corn meal. Supplementary meats include salmon, tuna fish, fish flakes, and sardines. Other foods include salt, rice, spaghetti, soups, biscuits, peanut butter, and salad dressing.⁶¹⁴

⁶⁰⁷ Powell, p. 7.

⁶⁰⁸ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. [4].

⁶⁰⁹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1916[?], Farley Collection, pp. 85-86.

⁶¹⁰ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 29 April 1914, Farley Collection, p. 70.

⁶¹¹ Nelson, 4 June 1990, pp. 38-39.

⁶¹² Checkbook, 18 August 1912 to 21 April 1913, Series III, Box 2, Folder 4, Grey Family Papers.

⁶¹³ Invoice, Borden Condensed Milk, 2 September 1906, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey

Family Papers.

⁶¹⁴ Invoices, R.H. Macy & Co., 27 November 1917, 6 December 1917, 31 January 1917, 28 February 1918, 30 March 1918, 5 June 1918, 18 September 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

Despite the myriad of foodstuffs purchased, Mary Smith Nelson remembered Romer Zane Grey being hungry between meals:

I remember one day, she [Mary Smith] had baked a rice pudding and she used to put it in our pantry here. . . . They [Mary Smith and Mrs. Koch] were so busy talking they didn't know what happened to Romer. When they looked up, however he did it, he had finished the rice pudding. But it was a case of his not having *anything* between meals. He used to go into the place where we kept food for animals and one time she caught him just shoveling it in with his hands. He was absolutely . . . [in text] He was such a growing and husky boy, you know.⁶¹⁵

It is unclear whether his hunger was the result of parsimony or discipline.

- Reading

In addition to the volumes of manuscript pages churned out by Zane Grey, the Grey household also read books and magazines. When Grey was first living on the Lackawaxen property before his marriage to Dolly, his usual activity was to spend the afternoons reading.⁶¹⁶ Extant R.H. Macy & Co. receipts from 1918 indicate the purchase of fifteen books one of which was James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*.⁶¹⁷ Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River currently owns many books with Grey family inscriptions inside.

The Greys' financial records and extant magazines in the Park's collection indicate the magazines to which the family subscribed. Some may have been subscriptions prompted by Grey's writing while others may have been purchased purely for leisure purposes. Potentially work-related subscriptions include *Vanity Fair*, *Country Gentleman* (UPDE 799), *Harper's Bazaar*, *Harper's Magazine* (UPDE 782), *Field & Stream* (UPDE 780), and *Outdoor Life* (UPDE 789). Those purchased for leisure and/or informational value include *American Angler* (UPDE 772), *International Studio* (UPDE 487), *The Craftsman* (UPDE 543-545, 759), *Home Needlework Magazine* (UPDE 784), *The Delineator* (UPDE 797), *Life* (UPDE 785), *New York World*, *Good Housekeeping* (UPDE 972), and *House Beautiful* (UPDE 802).⁶¹⁸

The Greys' financial records also indicate that they donated to or were affiliated with a variety of societies and clubs which may have generated newsletters, magazines, and other literature that would have reached the Grey household. These affiliations

⁶¹⁵ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 8.

⁶¹⁶ Zane Grey to Lina Roth[?], ca. 1905, Zane Grey Collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University.

⁶¹⁷ Invoices, R.H. Macy & Co., 30 March 1918, 31 May 1918, 18 September 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁶¹⁸ Checks to *Vanity Fair*, 22 April and 4 November 1916, Series III, Box 3, Folder 2, Grey Family Papers. Check to *Country Gentleman*, 18 May 1916, Series III, Box 3, Folder 2, Grey Family Papers. Check to *Harper's Bazaar*, 31 July 1917, Series III, Box 3, Folder 3, Grey Family Papers. Check to *New York World*, 5 August 1917, Series III, Box 3, Folder 3, Grey Family Papers. Check to *Good Housekeeping Magazine*, 24 September 1915, Series III, Box 3, Folder 1, Grey Family Papers. Check to *House Beautiful*, 1 March 1916, Series III, Box 3, Folder 2, Grey Family Papers.

include the Luther Burbank Society, National Geographic Society, Jewish Aid Society, Red Cross, and Authors League of America.⁶¹⁹ Zane Grey was also involved with Sigma Nu fraternity, the Authors Club of New York, and the Camp Fire Club.⁶²⁰

▪ Music

Documentary records and extant sheet music in the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River collection indicate the Greys studied and entertained with music. In May 1906, Dolly Grey purchased a piano for \$165.⁶²¹ Upper Delaware has over 300 pieces of softbound sheet music and three volumes of hardbound sheets dating from the late nineteenth century to 1919. A small portion of the sheet music is inscribed with Dolly's name. Ten pieces, including one hardbound volume, are inscribed with variations on the name "Lina Elise Roth" and a couple also include her New York City address. Six others are labeled either "Lina Elise Grey," or, in one case, "Mrs. Zane Grey." Several pieces bearing the Grey name are dated 1906, the same year she purchased the piano.⁶²² Clearly, Dolly Grey learned how to play the piano as a girl in New York City and then continued playing when she moved to Lackawaxen. The fact that dates on the sheet music continue until right around the time she moved to California indicate that she continued to play the piano during the duration of her stay in Lackawaxen and that no one kept up the practice after she left. In April 1913 Dolly Grey wrote to Zane Grey about turning in her old "player piano" and getting a new one. She planned to pay extra for "records" for the new piano.⁶²³

The first evidence that the Greys purchased a phonograph is a November 1917 receipt from R.H. Macy & Co.⁶²⁴ Two months later the family bought a second phonograph and a case for it. In August 1918, they purchased records for either the player piano or the phonograph.⁶²⁵ In 1928, Dolly Grey described to Zane Grey a Christmas song playing on the radio: "They're playing [on the radio] that Xmas music now that we had on that old record that we used to play in Middletown & Lackawaxen and down the years."⁶²⁶

⁶¹⁹ Checks to Luther Burbank Society, 5 December 1913, 17 March 1914, 11 May 1914, 7 June 1914, Series III, Box 3, Folder 1, Grey Family Papers. Check to National Geographic Society, 9 May 1914, Series III, Box 3, Folder 1, Grey Family Papers. Check to Jewish Aid Society, 23 August 1915, Series III, Box 3, Folder 1, Grey Family Papers. Check to William McAdoo, Red Cross, Series III, Box 3, Folder 3, Grey Family Papers. Checks (2) to American Red Cross, 27 August 1917, Series III, Box 3, Folder 3, Grey Family Papers. Check to Authors League, 2 August 1917, Series III, Box 3, Folder 3, Grey Family Papers.

⁶²⁰ "Zane Grey, 64, Dies Suddenly."

⁶²¹ Dolly Grey Diary, 10 May 1906, quoted in Gruber, pp. 62-63.

⁶²² Janice Hodson et al, *Finding Aid for Archives in the Zane Grey Museum* (Charlestown, MA: Northeast Museum Services Center, National Park Service, 1999), pp. 49-57.

⁶²³ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 11 April 1913, "Letters of Dolly and Zane," p. 121.

⁶²⁴ Invoices, R.H. Macy & Co., 30 November 1917, 31 January 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁶²⁵ Invoice, R.H. Macy & Co., 31 August 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁶²⁶ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 23 December 1928, Farley Collection, n.p.

- Games

While the Greys spent a great deal of their free time engaged in outdoor activities, there is also evidence that they played a few games inside. According to Mary Smith Nelson, Zane Grey enjoyed playing checkers, especially with her father Charles Smith. From her recollections, it appears checkers games most often took place in the Smith house and that they could continue all night long. While the men mainly played checkers, they also played cards but not in the company of women. The women played the card game Euchre amongst themselves.⁶²⁷ The only other evidence of indoor games are invoices for a die and "parlor golf."⁶²⁸

- Toys

Mary Smith Nelson recalls that the Grey children had many toys.⁶²⁹ However, it is difficult to document exactly what kinds of toys they were. A very few toys are listed in the invoices from R.H. Macy including a bell toy, "father bear," "chummy chuck," and a doll. Items that may have been educational toys include an easel chalkboard and slate.⁶³⁰ Because the Grey children most often played outside the Big House, it made sense that they had toys elsewhere on the property. Nelson remembered the playhouse shelves as "loaded" with toys, although she was unable to specify what kinds.⁶³¹ Perhaps the skates the Greys purchased from R.H. Macy & Co. were kept in the play house.⁶³² The children also had a box of toys to play with at the Cottage where Zane Grey's secretaries lived.⁶³³

The Park has several toys in its collection. The researcher is fairly comfortable attributing these toys to the former ownership of the Grey children based on the fact that they were the only children to live in the house besides Helen James Davis' own son. Because she would have known her own child's toys, it is safe to assume that other old toys found in the house belonged to the Grey children. Several of the toys are handmade. The toys in the Park's collection include a wooden game (UPDE 548), wooden blocks (UPDE 594), a game with drawers and cutouts (UPDE 595), a handmade baby rattle (UPDE 1251), a wooden box with blocks (UPDE 492), and a wooden peg toy (UPDE 1056).

Outdoor/ On Grey Property

Activities that took place in the Big House and on the Greys' property were particularly important to Dolly Grey and the children in the summer of 1916 because of the infantile paralysis scare. Because she feared the infection and doctors did not know

⁶²⁷ Nelson, 4 June 1990, pp. 39-40.

⁶²⁸ Invoices, R.H. Macy & Co., 30 November 1917, 30 March 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁶²⁹ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. 2.

⁶³⁰ Invoices, R.H. Macy & Co., 30 November 1917, 5 June 1918, 31 August 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁶³¹ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. 2.

⁶³² Invoice, R.H. Macy & Co., 30 March 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁶³³ Powell, p. 4.

what caused it, Dolly Grey kept everyone under her charge on the property. Zane Grey and his entourage were out West and Dolly begged them not to send the children postcards because she feared any disease they may carry. She also wrote to Grey telling him how people in the area were so frightened that they were dismissing their servants in order to decrease their exposure to possible germs.⁶³⁴

▪ Tennis

The Greys' red clay tennis court had two locations during their tenure on the property. The second court was placed between the Big House and the Smith House. Mary Smith Nelson could remember watching the Greys play with one another and their guests.⁶³⁵ When the adults were not on the court, the children tried to play.⁶³⁶ Many family members and staff members enjoyed playing tennis including Zane, Romer Carl, Dolly, Dolly's brother Julius, and several of the secretaries. Zane Grey said later that tennis was his "favorite game."⁶³⁷ The only family member who admitted to disliking tennis was Betty Zane Grey.⁶³⁸

As with any other competitive activity, tennis could bring out Zane Grey's competitive spirit and, at times, his bad temper. According to Lindsley Smith (no relation to the Smith family who lived on the Greys' property):

He and Romer, Sr. [Zane and Romer Carl Grey] were playing tennis. Well, Zane missed a nice easy shot. It was too bad, just such a clear miss. With this violent temper of his, he took his tennis racquet . . . [in text] He said, 'You son of a bitch,' and he threw that tennis racquet all the way over the fence around the court.⁶³⁹

Dolly Grey wrote to Zane Grey repeatedly of playing tennis with her brother and the secretaries. At times she would play tennis and then go swimming. Or she would eat dinner and then play tennis in the evening until dark.⁶⁴⁰ She confessed to wearing an extraordinary outfit to play one night: "My costume consists of a nightgown, a big apron, & tennis slippers. It looks more respectable than it sounds. It's impossible to wear more." Another night after playing tennis Dolly went swimming in her "nightie."⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁴ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 16 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 90. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1916, Farley Collection, p. 91. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 95. Joe Wheeler to Superintendent John Hutzky, 15 August 1988, "Keynote Address, Zane Grey's West," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁶³⁵ Nelson, 1 February 1990, pp. 19-20.

⁶³⁶ Powell, p. 5.

⁶³⁷ "1923 - The Year in Review."

⁶³⁸ Grosso interview, p. 215.

⁶³⁹ Lindsley Smith, p. 11.

⁶⁴⁰ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 16 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 90. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1916, Farley Collection, p. 91. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, pp. 95-97. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 12 September 1916, Farley Collection, p. 114.

⁶⁴¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 97.

▪ Other Lawn Leisure

After tennis, the next most often-mentioned outdoor game was croquet. Adults and children played croquet together.⁶⁴² The Greys also purchased "outdoor games" from R.H. Macy Co.⁶⁴³ A slide was for the children alone. In 1916 Dolly Grey wrote to Zane Grey, "I bought them [the children] one of those sliding arrangements but they've had ten times its worth [\$12.98] in pleasure out of it. . . . Fat Betty goes sailing down like a breeze, best of them all. They spend many happy hours on it right in the back yard."⁶⁴⁴

While idle in the yard, it appears the Greys had several pieces of lawn furniture upon which they could lie. According to spring 1915 shipping records, the Greys received three iron couches, a hammock, and three couch hammocks.⁶⁴⁵ Shipping records indicate that they also had a "lawn swing."⁶⁴⁶

▪ Parties

There is little evidence of many parties that the Greys may have had on their Lackawaxen property. Lindsley Smith recalled a party that the Greys threw when Harpers offered to publish *Heritage of the Desert*. The party consisted of family and publishing "dignitaries," but the local people were not invited. Smith went to the Greys' to deliver a telegram and found a big "lawn party" going on. There was so much commotion, that Smith delivered the telegram and never got paid.⁶⁴⁷

Another party was Betty Zane Grey's fifth birthday party in April 1917. Zane Grey wrote his observations of the party in his diary:

My little girl Betty has come home from her uncle's. She was fine yesterday, a beautiful blond, blue-eyed child, sweet and proud. We had a birthday party for her, and I watched her and her friends. Watched with amused yet sad eyes.

They ate, and then they played, and quarreled and played. They rolled on the grass, shouted, ran wild, and never tired.⁶⁴⁸

▪ Pets

Zane Grey loved animals and the Greys kept several as pets. Their earliest pets were likely the inhabitants of the cat house which was built in 1906. Betty Zane Grosso recalled Dolly Grey telling her there were nineteen Persian cats on the property at one

⁶⁴² Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 16 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 90. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 17 September 1916, Farley Collection, p. 120. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 5 September 1916, Farley Collection, pp. 111-112.

⁶⁴³ Invoice, R.H. Macy & Co., 5 June 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁶⁴⁴ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 100.

⁶⁴⁵ Freight Bills, 26 April 1915, 30 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁶⁴⁶ Freight Bill, 8 May 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁶⁴⁷ Lindsley Smith, pp. [4-5].

⁶⁴⁸ Zane Grey Diary, 23 April 1917, Farley Collection, p. 140.

time.⁶⁴⁹ There is an extant picture of Zane Grey standing in front of the Lodge playing with two cats.⁶⁵⁰

As early as his 1907 trip to Arizona with Buffalo Jones, Zane Grey began to consider getting a dog to take on his hunting trips.⁶⁵¹ It is unclear whether or not he acquired a dog at this early date. In 1914 Dolly Grey wrote to Zane Grey of the comfort and protection the dog Romer Carl Grey had left for her afforded.⁶⁵² In 1915 the Greys purchased dog biscuits either for Romer Carl's dog or a new dog Zane Grey brought home.⁶⁵³ Dolly Grey was much less comforted by the dog, Don, that the Greys had in 1916. In a letter to Grey she complained about the dog being around the children and stealing food even though he was fed. She describes his being located in the shade on a "trolley," apparently a moving leash system. Dolly warned Zane Grey that he had better not bring home any more animals for her to care for because "If you do I'll chloroform them."⁶⁵⁴ Her threat did not hold true, though, because in the tax assessments for 1918 and 1919 Zane Grey was taxed for two male dogs and one female dog.⁶⁵⁵ An extant photograph in Gruber's biography of Grey depicts a young Zane Grey standing in a doorway while a dog walks over the threshold.⁶⁵⁶

Starting in 1917 Zane Grey was taxed for three horses. He shipped three Western horses from Arizona to the property and kept them in the old D & H barn and adjoining corral.⁶⁵⁷ The horses were named Night, Black Star, and Sol. The two black horses, Night and Black Star, were named after the "superhorses" in Grey's 1912 *Riders of the Purple Sage*. In 1916, Dolly Grey went horseback riding with Elena and her son Romer. Romer fell off his horse, bruising his back and head.⁶⁵⁸ Cecilia Powell did not believe the children rode the horses very often because they were "temperamental."⁶⁵⁹ An extant photograph in the Mary Smith Nelson collection and currently in the possession of Cecilia Powell depicts Mary Smith as a girl beside Grey's horse Night. In April 1917, Zane Grey reveled in taking his first ride of the spring on Night.⁶⁶⁰ In August of 1918, Zane Grey discussed getting rid of the horses if they cost too much to keep.⁶⁶¹ He must have kept them however, because according to Betty Zane Grosso, Black Star eventually broke his leg and the other two horses were shipped West to the Greys. She received the aged Night as a birthday gift in 1926.⁶⁶²

⁶⁴⁹ Dolly Grey Diary, 4 April 1906, quoted in Gruber, p. 62.

⁶⁵⁰ LANDSCAPES, p. 13, fig. 8.

⁶⁵¹ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 8 April 1907, Farley Collection, p. 51.

⁶⁵² Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 30 July 1914, Farley Collection, p. 69.

⁶⁵³ Freight Bill, 29 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁶⁵⁴ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, pp. 100-101.

⁶⁵⁵ Assessment of Seated Property, 1918-1919.

⁶⁵⁶ Gruber, illustration between pp. 146-147.

⁶⁵⁷ Betty Zane Grosso to Helen James Johnson, post 1958, "Zane Grey Duplicates," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River. Assessment of Seated Property, 1917-1919.

⁶⁵⁸ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1916[?], Farley Collection, p. 85.

⁶⁵⁹ Powell, p. 5.

⁶⁶⁰ Zane Grey Diary, 14 April 1917, Farley Collection, p. 138.

⁶⁶¹ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 18 August 1918, Farley Collection, p. 194.

⁶⁶² Grosso interview, p. 2. O'Donnell, p. 35.

Outdoor/ Beyond Grey Property

▪ Walking

In Lackawaxen, the Greys walked for exercise and transportation. On the property there was a bluestone walkway that led to a footpath along the railway embankment.⁶⁶³ This footpath led to the railroad depot and town. The Greys would walk this route to conduct business in town or to depart to New York. In 1913, perhaps along a well-traveled route like this, Dolly went for a walk with young Romer and baby Betty:

This afternoon I took Romer and Betty out for a walk, it being a glorious day, after some very cold disagreeable weather. I had Romer tied to the carriage. There were loads of people out & presently a young girl with a long braid of hair was walking in front of Romer. Suddenly he reached up & gave her hair an awful pull. I almost died.⁶⁶⁴

Mrs. Koch, Romer Zane, and Mary Smith walked to the area school.⁶⁶⁵ Zane Grey also occasionally walked Romer to school: "Several times I have gone with Romer on his way to attend the country school here. He wears a boy scout suit and hat, carries books and lunch-bucket, and makes a sturdy, manly little figure as he marches along."⁶⁶⁶ Despite their walk to school, the children were also required to take long walks with Mrs. Koch for additional exercise.⁶⁶⁷

For exercise or leisure, the Greys could walk on paths through the woods. During one walk in the rain with the "girls" Dolly picked dewberries for a pie.⁶⁶⁸ In fall of 1916, in addition to her usual morning walk, Dolly Grey and others also climbed to "Prospect Rock."⁶⁶⁹ On one family walk Zane Grey had hoped to help the children study nature: "I took Dolly, Romer, & Betty up the Holbert trail to study birds and gather flowers. The children were out for fun and could not be kept quiet. We saw a few birds."⁶⁷⁰

▪ Beelining

"Beelining" was a group activity like hunting, and, as in that activity, Charles Smith usually led Zane and Romer Carl Grey. Mary Smith Nelson describes beelining:

They'd have a little box with anise in it and there was a little sliding glass top and then they'd open it a little bit and . . . the bee would come and then after the bee had gotten some of the anise, he'd go and they'd watch the bee as far as they could and then they'd follow the bee and there they'd stop again[,] catch him again. He'd come and get more of the anise and they'd keep going until they got to the

⁶⁶³ Foster, p. 74.

⁶⁶⁴ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 9 March 1913, Farley Collection, p. 63.

⁶⁶⁵ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 7.

⁶⁶⁶ Zane Grey Diary, 20 November 1917, Farley Collection, p. 165.

⁶⁶⁷ Powell, p. 5.

⁶⁶⁸ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 1916[?], Farley Collection, p. 85.

⁶⁶⁹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 17 September 1916, Farley Collection, p. 120.

⁶⁷⁰ Zane Grey Diary, 3 June 1917, Farley Collection, p. 145.

bee tree. And very often, the bee tree was a big hollow tree and they put their names on it, at that time, and then one night . . . [in text] I can remember waiting for them to come back. You'd see them coming back with a ten-quart pail of honey.⁶⁷¹

- Hunting

Mary Smith Nelson remembered Zane Grey, Romer Carl Grey, and her father Charles Smith going hunting often.⁶⁷² Smith, though friend and competitor, was also a local guide for the other two men. It is believed that the 446 acres of land the Greys purchased on the New York side of the Delaware River was, in part, to support the men's love of hunting and fishing.⁶⁷³ The full range of game the men hunted is unclear, but Mary Smith Nelson recalls their bringing home grouse.⁶⁷⁴ Lindsley Smith termed the hunting in the area during the Greys' occupancy "unbelievably good."⁶⁷⁵ The clay pigeons shipped to the Greys in 1915 were likely intended for the men's target practice.⁶⁷⁶

Although Zane Grey enjoyed hunting, he did not condone needless killing. He did not approve of hunting for trophies or the joy of killing. His interest came from the chase. As early as 1907, he wrote articles urging hunters to spare the lives of animals. When he realized that lassoing lions in the manner of Buffalo Jones held its own dangers, he dispensed with that practice as well. Later in life, he stopped hunting and turned to photographing animals instead.⁶⁷⁷

- Boating

Based on shipping records and written accounts, it appears the Greys kept both canoes and rowboats at their Lackawaxen property. In 1915 alone they shipped four canoes, two row boats, and a case of oars to Lackawaxen from New York.⁶⁷⁸ Mary Smith Nelson remembered the Greys keeping cork canoes under a porch, possibly the porch of the Cottage. She thought these were probably carried away in a later flood.⁶⁷⁹

In the mid-1910s, Dolly Grey was very active with the boats. In 1915, Zane Grey warned her to "Stay out of that dinky boat."⁶⁸⁰ In 1916, Dolly Grey invited a friend to take a moonlight canoe ride and told Zane Grey that she canoed quite a bit in order to get out of the house.⁶⁸¹ Seeing a bass jump during one ride roused Dolly's "fishing fever."⁶⁸²

⁶⁷¹ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 40.

⁶⁷² Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 12.

⁶⁷³ O'Donnell, p. 2.

⁶⁷⁴ Nelson, 4 June 1990, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁷⁵ Lindsley Smith, p. 10.

⁶⁷⁶ Freight Bill, 29 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁶⁷⁷ Farley, *Book Checklist*, p. 62. Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," pp. 341-342.

⁶⁷⁸ Freight Bills, 3 May 1915, 5 May 1915, 12 May 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁶⁷⁹ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 36.

⁶⁸⁰ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 3 August 1915, Farley Collection, p. 76.

⁶⁸¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 12 September 1916, Farley Collection, p. 113. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 17 September 1916, Farley Collection, p. 120.

⁶⁸² Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 12 September 1916, Farley Collection, p. 116.

- Fishing

As with hunting, Zane Grey, Romer Carl Grey, and Charles Smith often fished together. Smith again acted the role of guide. The men were equally as competitive in their fishing as they were in their hunting. In the Lackawaxen area the men could fish among a rich supply of bass and trout.⁶⁸³ At the turn of the twentieth century, right around the time Zane Grey started fishing in the area, the fish population was changing. Shad, the largest member of the herring family, had been abundant in the area until pollution in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania/ Camden, New Jersey, area depleted the oxygen concentration in the Delaware River. This pollution block prevented shad from reaching the upper Delaware River.⁶⁸⁴

According to Lindsley Smith, Zane Grey had very "fancy" fishing tackle in his study including minnows and fine fishing rods.⁶⁸⁵ Mary Smith Nelson remembered that the men did not buy bait but were able to obtain their own bait in the area. She recalled their using hellgrammite, lamprey eels, and crickets.⁶⁸⁶

Zane Grey also practiced big-game fishing on the high seas and fly fishing.⁶⁸⁷ During his lifetime he held ten unofficial big-game fishing records.⁶⁸⁸ As with hunting, as Grey aged, he became wary of taking the fish's lives and began to release his catches.⁶⁸⁹

- Swimming

Although the Greys' property bordered both the Lackawaxen and Delaware Rivers, they preferred to take a boat ride to the Delaware House where the water was cooler.⁶⁹⁰ Swimming in the "ice cold" river was especially welcome after a hot game of tennis on a summer night.⁶⁹¹ Twice Dolly mentions swimming in her clothes: once in a "nightie" after a tennis match and once fully dressed after being caught in the rain.⁶⁹²

- James Family Occupancy

Members of the Alvah James family lived on Zane Grey's Lackawaxen property from 1933 until Helen James Davis' death in 1996.⁶⁹³ There are conflicting stories of how the James family came to live on the Lackawaxen property. According to Helen

⁶⁸³ Grosso interview, p. 6.

⁶⁸⁴ Michael Kauffman of Pennsylvania Fish and Boat Commission, electronic communication with author, 13 June 2000. Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River has two mounted smallmouth bass in its collection (UPDE 1156-1157).

⁶⁸⁵ Lindsley Smith, p. 6.

⁶⁸⁶ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 39.

⁶⁸⁷ Ron Harris, "Zane Grey Rediscovered," *Fly Rod & Reel*, January/February 1992: 74.

⁶⁸⁸ List of Zane Grey's Unofficial Fishing Records, ca. 1969, "Zane Grey Articles," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁶⁸⁹ Wheeler, "Zane Grey's Impact," p. 341.

⁶⁹⁰ LANDSCAPES, p. 39. Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 95.

⁶⁹¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 12 September 1916, Farley Collection, p. 114.

⁶⁹² Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, Farley Collection, p. 97.

⁶⁹³ Dot Moon facsimile to Janice Hodson, 8 September 1999.

James Davis, Alvah wrote to Zane Grey about his troubles and Grey offered the Big House to them.⁶⁹⁴ Mary Smith Nelson remembered James asking Grey if his family could stay on the property. According to Nelson, the Jameses first lived in the Cottage. When the weather turned cold, at Allie's request Grey agreed to let them move into the vacant Big House.⁶⁹⁵

Living with Alvah and Allie James in Lackawaxen were their two sons, Julian and Stuart.⁶⁹⁶ Later, Alvah's parents lived, and eventually died, there as well.⁶⁹⁷ Their daughters Alice and Helen lived and worked in New York City. Little information is available about Alice except that her married name was Alice Hendershot.⁶⁹⁸

The Jameses served as caretakers for Grey's Lackawaxen property from 1933 until 1946 when Helen James Johnson purchased the house from Dolly Grey.⁶⁹⁹ It appears that the James family maintained the house, but did not make substantial changes until after Helen purchased it in 1946.

Alvah James

Alvah James was the patriarch of the James family and a long-time friend of Zane Grey. Alvah Dorsey James spent his childhood in Whitestone, Virginia.⁷⁰⁰ He was an only child with a tremendous appetite for learning and exploring. In his youth he studied at Johns Hopkins University.⁷⁰¹ He also sailed with a friend from Virginia to New Brunswick and back in a rowboat with a makeshift sail.⁷⁰²

James was a combination "newspaper man and adventurer." He wrote for a variety of newspapers as he moved about the country including the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. He also wrote series of adventure articles for *Field & Stream* including the 1903 "Field & Stream Expedition Across South America: Over the Andes and Down the Amazon" and contemporary "10,000 Miles with a Paddle." His adult adventures included hiking across the Isthmus of Panama, sailing across Peru, climbing the Andes, and floating down the Amazon on a raft.⁷⁰³ To connect with other adventurers, James belonged to the Campfire Club, a group devoted to big game hunting. It was at one of the club's meetings in New York that James introduced Zane Grey to Buffalo Jones, one of the inspirations for Grey's literary career.⁷⁰⁴ It is unclear how well James and Grey knew each other at this time, but they became friends and regular correspondents, a relationship that lasted until Grey's 1939 death.⁷⁰⁵

Alvah James was described as a "fascinating" and "colorful" man. Daughter Helen James Davis remembered his always telling stories to entertain company.⁷⁰⁶ He

⁶⁹⁴ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 2

⁶⁹⁵ Nelson, 1 February 1990, pp. 17-18.

⁶⁹⁶ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 4.

⁶⁹⁷ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 18.

⁶⁹⁸ "Alvah James, 79, Adventurer, Dies," *New York Times*, 23 September 1958.

⁶⁹⁹ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 3.

⁷⁰⁰ "Alvah James, 79."

⁷⁰¹ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 18.

⁷⁰² "Alvah James, 79."

⁷⁰³ "Alvah James, 79."

⁷⁰⁴ Gruber, p. 65.

⁷⁰⁵ James Family Papers, Series I.

⁷⁰⁶ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 5. "Alvah James, 79."

was also a highly intellectual man who often held learned conversations in the house.⁷⁰⁷ Zane Grey responded to the sting of James' intellectual snobbery when he wrote to him in 1936, "I have always realized that you held it [Grey's fiction] rather cheaply - that is to say, you entertained much the same critical attitude the reviewers had. Well, I was never hurt by that. Only surprised. Millions of my books have been sold."⁷⁰⁸

Alvah James married Allie, a woman two years his senior from New York. As described by their daughter Helen, the James family led a peripatetic existence. Helen was born in Pennsylvania, but a polio scare forced the family to move to Maryland. From there the family moved to Orlando, Florida, where James' father was a fruit broker.⁷⁰⁹ According to Mary Smith Nelson, the Jameses were periodically dependent on Alvah's parents.⁷¹⁰ The family then moved to Shelby, North Carolina, where Helen spent her mid to late teens.⁷¹¹

In 1933, in the midst of the Great Depression, Alvah James lost his newspaper job and his parents' business in Florida failed.⁷¹² At that time the James family moved to the Greys' property in Lackawaxen. Alvah James never worked once he arrived in Lackawaxen at the age of fifty-three. He was offered a newspaper job in Narrowsburg, New York, but turned it down. The family instead survived on the earnings of the James children.⁷¹³ Alvah and Allie James died within hours of each other in 1958.⁷¹⁴

Allie James

Allie James, Alvah James' wife, was two years older than Alvah and originally from New York. She had four children named Julian, Alice, Helen, and Stuart.⁷¹⁵ She moved with her family following Alvah James' career and search for support. At Allie's request the James family moved into the Big House on Zane Grey's property in 1933. Allie James had a stroke and became an invalid living solely on the second floor of the house around 1948.⁷¹⁶ Alvah and Allie James died within hours of each other in 1958.

Julian James

The James' older son, Julian, lived with his parents until he married Eileen Farnbach (spelling from oral history interview uncertain) and moved elsewhere in the area. During World War II Julian James served as a foot soldier in the army. He was wounded and returned to the Lackawaxen area to work for the railroad.⁷¹⁷

⁷⁰⁷ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 18.

⁷⁰⁸ Zane Grey to Alvah James, 26 October 1936, quoted in "Visit to Zane Grey's Home," p. 6.

⁷⁰⁹ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, pp. 2, 6.

⁷¹⁰ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 18.

⁷¹¹ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 2.

⁷¹² Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 17.

⁷¹³ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 6.

⁷¹⁴ "Alvah James, 79."

⁷¹⁵ "Alvah James, 79."

⁷¹⁶ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 13.

⁷¹⁷ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, pp. 4-5.

Stuart James

The James' younger son, Stuart, was drafted into the U.S. Army Air Force. He served five years in World War II and returned to the Lackawaxen area to work for the railroad.⁷¹⁸ After completing college, Stuart ultimately became an English professor.⁷¹⁹

Helen James Davis Ownership/ The Zane Grey Inn and Museum

In 1946 Dolly Grey made an agreement with Helen James Johnson regarding the Big House, its contents, and the surrounding land. For \$1,500 Grey sold the property to Johnson. Johnson paid Grey \$500 at the time of the agreement and agreed to pay the remaining balance in yearly installments of \$200 plus four percent interest.⁷²⁰ Dolly Grey continued to visit her former Lackawaxen home once or twice a year until her death. Upon her purchase Helen began a campaign of alterations to convert the house into an inn. These alterations included removing a wall to enlarge the kitchen and overhauling the electrical, plumbing, and heating systems. She also added a first-floor bathroom and updated the second-floor bathrooms. Aesthetic changes included painting the interior walls and woodwork white (previously the walls had been papered and the wood trim was natural) and painting the previously dark green exterior with white trim entirely white.⁷²¹

Alvah and Allie James continued to live in the Big House until their 1958 deaths. An ex-railroad employee named Buell Burdick or Burdik worked for Helen James Johnson as a handyman and lived in the Big House starting around 1948.⁷²²

The first influx of boarders to the Zane Grey Inn came as the result of a large "train wreck" in 1948 which brought numerous railroad officials to the area. The next big boost to the inn's income was when the shad resumed "running" in the area in 1964. The inn could accommodate ten to twelve people comfortably and twenty at capacity.⁷²³ In addition to cooking meals for guests (a practice that did not last the life of the inn), Helen also cooked lunches for elementary school children as a "satellite kitchen" for a time. One of the most memorable meals at the inn was the sixty-person dinner hosted by the Outdoor Writers Association of Pennsylvania with the governor of the state in attendance.⁷²⁴ Helen continued to run the Zane Grey Inn until Al Davis convinced her to focus on the museum aspect of the operation in 1973.⁷²⁵

In addition to room and board, curious lodgers and passers-by could enjoy browsing through two "museum" rooms of Grey family belongings and Zane Grey memorabilia.⁷²⁶ After the inn closed, the museum was open to visitors each year from 15

⁷¹⁸ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, pp. 4-5.

⁷¹⁹ Moon to Hodson.

⁷²⁰ Lina Elise Grey, Article of agreement with Helen Johnson, 1946, *Deed Book* 105, pp. 517-518, Pike County Registry of Deeds, Administrative Building, Milford, PA.

⁷²¹ HABS, p. 11.

⁷²² Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 13.

⁷²³ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, pp. 8, 14.

⁷²⁴ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, pp. 14, 35. Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 14.

⁷²⁵ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 12.

⁷²⁶ Short and Ford Architects, *The Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania: Historic Structures Report* (Philadelphia: for Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1992), p. IV-138.

April to September or October from 10:00 AM to 4:00 PM. In 1983, the Davises estimated that about 3,000 people visited the museum each season.⁷²⁷ Items of interest included furniture, books, photographs, correspondence, fishing gear, dental instruments, and advertising posters.⁷²⁸ Helen also offered guided tours of the collection focusing on Zane Grey's life and writing career.⁷²⁹

At least as early as 1958, Helen was in contact with Zane Grey's children soliciting items to display in the museum. In 1959, Betty Zane Grosso visited the museum.⁷³⁰ Grosso gave Johnson a leather and sheepskin jacket that had belonged to Grey, bank checks signed by Grey, and reproductions of Lillian Wilhelm paintings. She also donated boxes of old magazines containing stories by Zane Grey for display or sale at the museum.⁷³¹ In 1966, Grosso offered to give Johnson even more items for the museum:

Also, I do have some remnants of bridles etc. and some fishing tackle - also in storage. The jacket I sent you some time ago I just (borrowed?) [in text] from the study, but I don't know why not. Enough other people have walked off with enough stuff for three museums, and probably sold [it] too. . . . Actually, the things you have, aside from the huge furniture etc., which wouldn't fit your house (in the study I mean) are really more to me of Dad than a lot of that stuff that Ohio wants - but they didn't see it like it was when Dad was alive. . . . In any case I can send some photo's. Do you have any fishing pictures? I have forgotten - I could also send you some letters addressed to Lackawaxen, but if my brothers ever turn up there just tell them mother gave them to you.⁷³²

Starting as early as the oil crisis in 1973, the Davises had financial problems running the inn and museum. Money became alarmingly tight in the early 1980s. Money was so tight that they began to seek a buyer that would purchase and care for the house and its contents together. They initially contacted Whitney Seymour North Jr., a New York attorney with an interest in American authors. North contacted the National Park Service who sent a representative to visit the site in 1983. The same year, the National Park Service rented as office space a second-floor portion of the Zane Grey House.⁷³³ In

⁷²⁷ "A Visit to Zane Grey's Home," p. 6. Davis, "Museum and Home of the Author Zane Grey." Bruce D. Stutz, "Zane Grey's Beloved River," *New York Times*, 18 December 1983.

⁷²⁸ Ron Terry, "Historic Furnishings Report: Zane Grey House, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River New York/Pennsylvania," Unpublished report, 1991, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA, p. 9.

⁷²⁹ HABS, p. 12.

⁷³⁰ Betty Grosso to Helen James Johnson, 24 July 1958, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers. Betty Grosso to Helen James Johnson, 16 May 1959, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers. Grosso interview, p. 10.

⁷³¹ Betty Grosso to Helen James Johnson, 24 July 1958, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers. Betty Zane Grosso to Helen James Johnson, post 1958, "Zane Grey Duplicates," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁷³² Betty Zane Grosso to Helen James Johnson, 15 February 1966, Series IV, Box 1, Folder 5, James Family Papers.

⁷³³ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, pp. 21, 23, 25.

1989, the National Park Service purchased the house, contents, and adjacent property from the Davises.⁷³⁴

- Helen James (later Helen James Johnson, later Helen James Davis)

Helen James, daughter of Alvah and Allie James, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She moved from place to place with her family, finally graduating from high school in Shelby, North Carolina. In 1933, around the same time her family moved to Zane Grey's Lackawaxen property, she followed her sister Alice to live and work in New York City. There the women took odd jobs and lived with relatives or in girls' clubs. Among Helen's jobs were elevator operator at Gimble's and messenger. The women visited their family in Lackawaxen on weekends.⁷³⁵

Helen met her first husband Dick Johnson in the Lackawaxen area. They married, moved to New York City, and had a son named Dick. They later divorced and Helen lived with her great uncle until his death in 1948. At that time she moved to Lackawaxen to the recently purchased and renovated Zane Grey Inn.⁷³⁶

Helen's second marriage to Henry Lautenschlager lasted from 1970 until his 1972 death.⁷³⁷

Helen married Albert Davis in 1974.⁷³⁸ They married and divorced twice within ten years.⁷³⁹ In 1983 Al moved to Hawley, Pennsylvania.⁷⁴⁰ Despite their marital differences, the Davises continued to curate the Zane Grey Museum until 1989.

Helen James Davis continued to live as a life tenant in a small apartment on the first floor of the house until her 1995 death.⁷⁴¹

- Buell Burdic (or Burdik)

Buell Burdic (or Burdik) worked for the railroad and was planning to retire around the time that Helen James Johnson started the Zane Grey Inn. He apparently decided the Inn was a good retirement project because he moved in and started to work there shortly after it opened. He worked hard and performed whatever duties were necessary including waiting tables, cooking food, repairing mechanical devices, and renting boats. Burdic also attracted the upper echelons of railroad personnel whom he knew from his former days as an automobile driver for the railroad.⁷⁴² Burdic lived to be eighty-seven years old, dying in the mid-1960s. He is now buried in Cornwall, New York.⁷⁴³

⁷³⁴ "Zane Grey Museum: Home of the 'Father of the Western Novel'," p. 2.

⁷³⁵ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, pp. 2-4.

⁷³⁶ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, pp. 4, 7. The inn renovations were carried out while Helen was living in New York.

⁷³⁷ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 17.

⁷³⁸ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 8.

⁷³⁹ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 20.

⁷⁴⁰ "Albert Davis was an Artist, Author," *Weekly Almanac*, 5 January 1994.

⁷⁴¹ Untitled article. *Zane Grey Review* 10 (5): 13 (August 1995).

⁷⁴² Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, pp. 14-15. Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 13.

⁷⁴³ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 13.

- Henry Lautenschlager

Henry Lautenschlager married Helen James Johnson in 1970. He was a retired postal employee who had formerly lived in Allentown, Pennsylvania. Lautenschlager had met Helen while fishing in the Lackawaxen area. He was ill at the time of their marriage and died shortly thereafter in 1972.⁷⁴⁴

- Albert Davis

Albert Davis was an art director in Philadelphia until 1959 when he moved to Milford, Pennsylvania, to "get away from the city." There he built a two-room house in the woods and developed a community art center. Helen met Davis when she attended one of his art classes at the center in the early 1960s. She invited him to the inn one evening, but they did not meet again until the early 1970s. At that time Helen invited Davis to rent a room and studio at the inn. By 1973, they closed the inn and focused on the Zane Grey Museum.⁷⁴⁵

Helen and Al Davis were married in 1974. Shortly thereafter, Al decided to rearrange Helen's formerly hodgepodge display into a more formal exhibition. In his own words Davis recalled this project:

I took everything off the walls, everything around the rooms and put them all in the center of the floor. And in my mind I had already mapped out how I was going to put this back together in some kind of formal design and chronological order, considering I had windows and breakages and all. The idea was to get some kind of order with what limited space and the many, many things.⁷⁴⁶

Along with the Zane Grey Museum, Al opened a gallery of contemporary art which visitors could view but not purchase.⁷⁴⁷

Helen and Al married and divorced twice within ten years.⁷⁴⁸ In 1983 Al moved to Hawley, Pennsylvania, and in 1984 he married Brenda Tek.⁷⁴⁹ Despite their marital differences, Helen and Al Davis continued to curate the Zane Grey Museum until 1989. Al Davis died at the age of seventy-one at his home in Hawley.⁷⁵⁰

- National Park Service

In 1983, the National Park Service announced its desire to rent a portion of the second floor of the Big House. In May of that year the Zane Grey House was recognized for its national significance and placed on the National Register of Historic Places. In

⁷⁴⁴ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, pp. 16-17.

⁷⁴⁵ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, pp. 2-4, 6, 12.

⁷⁴⁶ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 9.

⁷⁴⁷ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 18.

⁷⁴⁸ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 20.

⁷⁴⁹ "Albert Davis was an Artist."

⁷⁵⁰ "Albert Davis was an Artist."

mid-June the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River planning division started to move into the Big House.⁷⁵¹

Over the next several years the Davises were unsure of the fate of the Big House. They knew that the National Park Service rental arrangement was only a temporary solution. The Davises with the help of Congressman Joseph McDade and local organizations including the Upper Delaware Heritage Alliance, the Citizens Advisory Council, and the Upper Delaware Council supported the United States government's acquisition of the Zane Grey House as part of Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River. In 1988, prior to the house's transfer to the National Park Service the contents of the house were inventoried and appraised. The process took three weeks and the inventory included about 2,000 objects.

National Park Service Ownership

The National Park Service officially assumed operation of the Zane Grey House in March of 1989 and opened it to the public in April.⁷⁵² In October of 1989, the State of Pennsylvania dedicated a historical marker at the house.⁷⁵³ The Zane Grey House would have three functions during the first several years of National Park Service ownership. The second floor served as office space for Park staff members. On the first floor, the two large front rooms and the northwest study were opened as a museum. Helen James Davis occupied the remaining first-floor rooms as a life tenant until her death in 1995.

In the museum rooms, the southeast room served as an orientation area containing a temporary exhibition of pictures, a timeline of Zane Grey's life, a schematic drawing of the property, a slide orientation program, and books for sale. The other two rooms, Grey's former study and library, contained objects related to the Grey family and Zane Grey memorabilia. The National Park Service had removed some of the more vulnerable objects to a storage area, thus reducing the number of objects on display. These rooms, then as now, were available to the public on a fifteen-to-twenty-minute, ranger-led tour. The exhibitions and tour were intended as interim measures.⁷⁵⁴ This historic furnishings report is a preliminary step in the development of a new permanent exhibition at the Zane Grey House.

In 1994, the Park made changes to further ensure the care and safety of the museum objects. The Park created a full-time curatorial position in place of the former part-time park ranger with collateral duty responsibility for the collections. Also, in the building, a fire suppression system was installed necessitating the removal of portions of

⁷⁵¹ "Zane Grey Inn Gets New Lease on Life Thru NPS Office Deal," *News Eagle* [Hawley, PA], 29 June 1983.

⁷⁵² Mary E. Curtis, "The Spirit of Zane Grey Alive along the Delaware," Magazine article, Unknown magazine, 1989, "Keynote Address Zane Grey West," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. 101.

⁷⁵³ Invitation, Dedication of Zane Grey Historical Marker, 1989, "Zane Grey," Vertical File, Pike County Historical Society.

⁷⁵⁴ Terry, pp. [1-2]. Memorandum to Zane Grey House Turn Key Committee from Chief, Planning and Support, October 1988, "Zane Grey House, Interpretation," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. [1].

the Lillian Wilhelm friezes from the northeast and northwest rooms.⁷⁵⁵ After 1995, a majority of Davis' former apartment was converted into a curatorial office and work space.⁷⁵⁶ The southwest room was converted into additional gallery space for the museum.

The Zane Grey Museum is currently open for tours 10:00 AM to 5:00 PM Thursday through Sunday from Memorial Day through Labor Day. The last tour starts at 4:30 PM. In September and October the museum is open from 10:00 to 5:00 PM on weekends. The museum is available to groups by appointment from November to April. The museum is also open to celebrate Zane Grey's birthday two days each year in late January from 12:00 to 4:00 PM.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵⁵ Superintendent, Upper Delaware to Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region, 1 September 1994, William Jedlick, Former regional curator's files, Northeast Museum Services Center, Charlestown Navy Yard, Charlestown, MA.

⁷⁵⁶ The Park plans to move this function to the second floor in the near future.

⁷⁵⁷ Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, National Park Service, Information on the Zane Grey Museum is available at nps.gov/upde/zgmuseum.htm, 2000.

EVIDENCE OF ROOM USE AND FURNISHINGS

General

The house Romer Carl and Reba Grey constructed in 1906 contained natural woodwork, the plastered walls were papered with oatmeal wallpaper of a "plain pattern," the floors were pine, and heat was produced by a coal-burning furnace.⁷⁵⁸ Light was provided by metal gas wall- and ceiling-mounted fixtures.⁷⁵⁹

The 1914-1915 and 1916 additions made by Zane and Dolly Grey contained natural woodwork, had beaverboard walls, and the floors were maple.⁷⁶⁰ According to 1915 invoices, the Greys ordered large quantities of copper cupboard catches and drawer pulls to operate the many built-in cabinets and drawers they constructed.⁷⁶¹ To hang objects, they bought six dozen clothes hooks.⁷⁶² To brighten newly constructed areas they purchased many containers of white paint, two quarts of yellow, and three quarts of blue.⁷⁶³ To cover their windows they purchased window screens and window shades.⁷⁶⁴ Apparently there were problems with the shades because Zane Grey wrote to Dolly:

I wrote you a cross letter about the shades. I'm sorry, but I'm mad, too about that.

Mr. Kuhn & I were very careful about the measurements. None of the big shades came, and these that came had to be made. We put up what we could. Downstairs in the cottage, and upstairs here. I guess I'll have to leave the rest of that till you come.⁷⁶⁵

To illuminate their rooms the Greys bought lamps and lamp shades.⁷⁶⁶ Metal light fixtures from this or the earlier 1906 period still remain in the southeast room, northeast room, southwest chamber, west chamber, northwest chamber, northeast chamber, and east chamber. The extant fixtures in the two first-floor rooms are pendant fixtures with opaque white glass diffusers suspended by four metal chains. Many of the single- or double-armed fixtures on the second floor are missing bulbs and shades, however, the one in the west chamber has a bell-shaped opaque white glass shade.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁵⁸ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 23. Terry, pp. [5-7].

⁷⁵⁹ Nancy Carrs Roach, National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form - Zane Grey House, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 15 October 1982, section 7, p. 1.

⁷⁶⁰ Roach, section 7, cont. sheet 1. Terry, p. [5].

⁷⁶¹ Invoice, Martin Hermann, 14 December 1916, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁶² Invoice, John H. Smith, 1 April 1915, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.
Invoice, John H. Smith, 19 April 1915, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁶³ Invoices, John H. Smith, 8 November 1914 to 2 June 1915, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁶⁴ Freight Bills, 9 April 1915, 23 April 1915, 10 May 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁶⁵ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 23 April 1915, Farley Collection, p. 74.

⁷⁶⁶ Freight Bill, 29 March 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁶⁷ Short and Ford, pp. IV-50, 77, 91, 100, 105, 115, 122. There are extant lamps and shades in the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River collection (UPDE 1220 is a lot of one fixture, five shades, and one wall bracket; UPDE 1221 is a pendant light fixture).

Perhaps to increase the effectiveness of the light provided by their light fixtures, the Greys purchased many mirrors. In April 1915 at least one case and two crates of mirrors were shipped to the Greys. These shipments may or may not have included the two large (eighteen inches by seventy-two inches and eighteen inches by sixty inches), beveled glass mirrors in heavy oak frames purchased from Martin Hermann in April 1915.⁷⁶⁸ One of these mirrors may be the large beveled mirror that still hangs over the mantel in the northeast room.

Extant invoices, freight bills, and correspondence from 1914 to 1918 indicate a portion of the furnishings the Greys purchased for the Big House. Unfortunately, records of these objects' locations do not survive. Seating furniture purchased or shipped during this period includes a chair, three couches, and seventeen rockers.⁷⁶⁹ Furnishings for the bedroom include beds, bed side rails, and bedstead tollers.⁷⁷⁰ The case furniture includes two commodes, three dressers, two crates of dressers, and a wooden dresser top.⁷⁷¹ The Greys also purchased tables.⁷⁷² The textiles the family purchased include pillows and a coyote blanket.⁷⁷³ They purchased or shipped eight calendars, possibly for the walls; a bear rug and a bale of rugs for the floors; and a canvas curtain to hang in a window or doorway.⁷⁷⁴ To assist in heating the house they purchased a coal scuttle, a fire shovel, and two stove zincs.⁷⁷⁵ As part of their cleaning supplies, the Greys purchased two brooms, a pail, and a mop stick.⁷⁷⁶ For musical entertainment, they purchased two phonographs and records to go with them.⁷⁷⁷

One of the few changes made to the Big House after the Jameses arrived in 1933 was the re-wallpapering of the southeast room and southwest room.⁷⁷⁸ When Helen James Johnson purchased the house from Dolly Grey to convert it into an inn, she painted the woodwork white. While the Historic American Building Survey states that Johnson painted over the wallpaper at this time, wallpaper was still visible in the southeast room

⁷⁶⁸ Freight Bill, 30 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers. Invoice, 1 April 1915, Martin Hermann, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁶⁹ Receipt, Wells Fargo & Co. Express, 1 May 1915, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers. Freight Bills, 26 April 1915, 14 May 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁷⁰ Freight Bill, 5 May 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers. Invoice, John H. Smith, 10 May 1915, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁷¹ Freight Bills, 15 May 1915, 30 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers. Order, Martin Hermann, 3 January 1917, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁷² Freight Bill, 30 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁷³ Freight Bill, 30 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers. Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 28 February 1918, Farley Collection, p. 185.

⁷⁷⁴ Invoice, R.H. Macy & Co., 6 December 1917, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers. Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 28 February 1918, Farley Collection, p. 185. Freight Bill, 24 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers. Receipt, Wells Fargo & Co. Express, 21[?] April 1915, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁷⁵ Invoice, John H. Smith, 4 May 1915, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁷⁶ Invoice, John H. Smith, 19 April 1915, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers. Freight Bill, 24 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁷⁷ Invoices, R.H. Macy & Co., 30 November 1917, 31 January 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁷⁸ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 24.

as late as 1966.⁷⁷⁹ Johnson also purchased new window coverings including long, sheer, white curtains in the southeast room and southwest room.⁷⁸⁰ The windows in the two museum rooms were covered with bamboo blinds.

In 1971, Helen James Johnson installed an oil-burning furnace.⁷⁸¹ Also during the 1970s, Al Davis made some changes including painting over some early wallpaper. It is unclear whether he painted over all of the wallpaper at that time or just the wallpaper in the southeast room. He also painted some of the beaverboard walls in the museum rooms cream color.

001-004 Basement

The basement of the Big House is composed of four distinct sections. Two rooms were built under the original 1906 house, a crawl space was built under the 1914-1915 addition, and a large, paved room was built under the 1916 addition. The basement rooms were and are used primarily for storage and mechanical systems. An early mechanical system whose location is not evident in architectural reports is a Delco system. This system ran on large car batteries and supplied electricity for lighting in the house.⁷⁸²

Most of the items known to have been stored in the cellar were discarded architectural elements and furnishings. Many of the architectural elements likely resulted from the Zane Greys' renovations of the north elevation of the 1906 house. The furnishings could have been put in the basement by the Greys, or, more likely, the Jameses. Discarded architectural elements include the "north door" (presumably the door on the north elevation of the 1906 house prior to the Zane Greys' additions), "old windows," "old lintels," window screens, and additional doors. Furnishings include the screen for the fireplace in Zane Grey's study (107), a twentieth-century sideboard in very poor condition, broken furniture, broken appliances, and an old cast iron stove (likely the old wood-burning cook stove that was originally in the kitchen [103]).⁷⁸³

The southeast basement room (001) is accessible via a stairwell from the kitchen. In 1992, the room contained an oil-burning furnace, a water heater, wooden doors, and window screens with wooden frames. While most of the floor is earthen, the areas around the stairway and furnace are paved with bluestone.⁷⁸⁴ The furnace is likely the same one Helen James Johnson installed in 1971 to replace the original coal-burning

⁷⁷⁹ HABS, p. 11. Photograph #193, July 1966, Box 1, Folder 8, Zane Grey Collection. MSSP-85, Photographic Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

⁷⁸⁰ Terry, p. [5].

⁷⁸¹ Notes from Helen Davis, Oral History Interview, 13 June 1988, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. 2. Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, pp. 10, 19.

⁷⁸² Christian, p. 7. The Delco system was an isolated plant based on storage batteries. A generator, likely a small gas engine, created the power that was stored in the batteries. Often generators were run during the day to store the energy that fueled electric lights at night. During times of high demand both generator and batteries supplied electrical power [Hay, conversation with author, 7 July 2000].

⁷⁸³ Notes from Helen Davis, Oral History Interview, 13 June 1988, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. [4]. Short and Ford, pp. IV-35, 44. HABS, p. 17.

⁷⁸⁴ Short and Ford, pp. IV-32, 35.

furnace.⁷⁸⁵ The window screens may have been among those shipped in crates to the Greys in 1915.⁷⁸⁶

The most prominent feature of the southwest basement room (002) is the northeast corner which is sectioned off nearly to the ceiling with wooden partition walls. The bluestone flooring and the remnants of a coal pile indicate this area was a coal bin. Coal was likely dumped into the bin through a nearby window. Now two fuel oil tanks occupy the southwest corner of the bin. The room also houses a water heater and, in 1992, two doors were stored there.⁷⁸⁷

The northwest basement room (003) was constructed under the 1916 addition. Dolly Grey watched the construction of the addition and reported on its progress to her absent husband. She wrote of this room, "The cellar is going to be fine - as light as a room, almost. It takes mother to plan things right."⁷⁸⁸ In light of this comment and the fact that this cellar room is the only one fully paved in bluestone, it appears the Greys had an unknown purpose in mind for the northwest basement room. In 1992, the room was being used as a workshop, there was a pile of coal on the floor to the north, and there was a pile of broken furniture, broken appliances, and a cast iron stove. It is possible that the Greys also used the northwest basement room as a workshop.⁷⁸⁹

The 1914-1915 crawl space (004) is unexcavated with the exception of the southwest corner which allows for the communication between the southeast basement room and the northwest basement room.⁷⁹⁰

101 Southeast Room (Parlor)

The southeast room was a part of the original 1906 house. Romer Carl and Reba Grey used the room as a parlor. A dominant feature of the room is an unglazed terra cotta brick fireplace with terra cotta egg-and-dart trim.

Zane and Dolly Grey continued to use the room as a parlor during their tenure. Mary Smith Nelson recalled that while the Zane Greys lived in the house, the parlor contained several pieces of white reed furniture including chairs and a table. The chairs were padded with soft, bright, floral cushions.⁷⁹¹ The Greys had a propensity for light wicker furniture because there was also light wicker furniture in the library of their Altadena home.⁷⁹² The walls were papered with a beige oatmeal wallpaper in a "plain" pattern.⁷⁹³ It is possible that Dolly Grey kept a piano in the parlor. According to Karr, the Greys kept a grand piano in the living room of their Altadena home.⁷⁹⁴ Dolly Grey bought one piano in 1906. In 1913, it appears that she sold this piano and purchased a player piano and records (see "Activities - Music" section above).

⁷⁸⁵ Notes from Helen Davis, Oral History Interview, 13 June 1988, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. 2.

⁷⁸⁶ Freight Bills, 9 April 1915, 10 May 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁷⁸⁷ Short and Ford, pp. IV-38, 40.

⁷⁸⁸ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, in Kant to Spiegel.

⁷⁸⁹ Short and Ford, pp. IV-40, 44.

⁷⁹⁰ Short and Ford, p. IV-44.

⁷⁹¹ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 22.

⁷⁹² Karr, p. 167.

⁷⁹³ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 23.

⁷⁹⁴ Karr, p. 167.

The James family likely continued to use the southeast room as a family living area until the house was converted into an inn in 1948. At that time the southeast room continued to serve as a living area but was common to both the family and inn guests. A photograph dated July 1966 indicates that the furnishings in the southeast room reflected those the Greys kept there including two white wicker chairs and a round, white wicker table (see ill. 17). The seat cushions in the chairs are solid colored. One throw pillow is decorated with a linear foliate motif. The walls are covered with a scenic wallpaper. Above the picture rails the walls are painted white. The floor is covered with an oriental rug. Other furnishings in the photograph include a clock and vases on the mantel; a white Morris-type adjustable chair; a small end (possibly sewing) table; and a dark wooden chest of drawers with a shaded lamp on it in the background. Also visible on the wall of the stair landing in the background is a montage of newspaper clippings.⁷⁹⁵

By the time the Historic American Building Survey took pictures of the room in 1988, the southeast room was sparsely furnished and appears to have been an extension of the museum rooms. With the exception of the floor and stair treads, all wood and plaster surfaces were painted a light color. The southeast room was likely the room Al Davis had earlier used as an art gallery. In 1988, a marble-topped dresser with a large mirror (UPDE 1250) stood below the stairs; a montage of newspaper articles decorated the stair landing; and a wicker hamper stood beside the door to the northeast room. Various photographs hung above the fireplace and on the closet door in the west wall. In the southwest corner were paintings and a rectangular, light-colored, wicker shelving unit.⁷⁹⁶

In 1989, the southeast room became the orientation and sales area for the National Park Service.

102 Southwest Room (Dining Room)

The southwest room was part of the original 1906 house. Romer Carl and Reba Grey used it as a dining room. Zane and Dolly Grey continued to use the room as a dining room during their tenure. Mary Smith Nelson recalled a china cabinet on the west wall, a wooden dining table, and wooden dining chairs in the room.⁷⁹⁷

The James family likely continued to use the southwest room as a family dining room until the house was converted into an inn in 1948. At that time the southwest room continued to serve as a dining area but was common to both family and inn guests. Food service was discontinued at the inn prior to 1973 and at that time the room likely became a private dining room again.⁷⁹⁸ By 1988, the room contained light-colored wicker chairs

⁷⁹⁵ Photograph #193, July 1966, Box 1, Folder 8, Zane Grey Collection. MSSP-85, Photographic Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

⁷⁹⁶ HABS, photographs HABS-PA-5371-9 and 10.

⁷⁹⁷ Nelson, 4 June 1990, pp. 23-25. There is disagreement between the accounts of Mary Smith Nelson and Helen James Davis as to which large table was the Greys' dining table. Nelson felt it was Abbot appraisal number FF22 (uncatalogued). Davis felt it was UPDE 508.

⁷⁹⁸ Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River has a photograph of a set dining table (UPDE 1238) in its collection. There is a four-paned window in the background at the short end of the table. According to the *Historic Structures Report*, the windows in both the southwest and southeast rooms are one-over-one sash windows dating from 1906. Therefore, it appears that photograph UPDE 1238 was not taken in either of those two rooms.

(not the same ones that were in the southeast room earlier), a tall case clock with a broken-scrolled pediment, and a box fan. Long, light-colored tab curtains covered at least one window.⁷⁹⁹

In 1989, the southwest room became the living room of the life tenant apartment created for Helen James Davis. After her 1995 death, the room became gallery space for the National Park Service.

103 Kitchen (Former Butler's Pantry and Kitchen)

In the original 1906 house, the later kitchen was actually two rooms. The butler's pantry was a storage area to the south of the, then smaller, kitchen. The butler's pantry contained a series of shelves and cabinets in which most of the kitchenwares and dining wares were stored.⁸⁰⁰ The case and two boxes of glassware shipped to the Greys in 1915 may have been kept in the butler's pantry. The lunch set the Greys purchased from R.H. Macy & Co. in 1918 also may have been stored in the butler's pantry.⁸⁰¹ Mary Smith Nelson later recalled that the butler's pantry contained dishes, pots, and pans.⁸⁰²

The kitchen was a work space housing a sink, copper water tank, stove, and icebox.⁸⁰³ The kitchen may also have contained the ice cream freezer shipped to the Greys in 1915.⁸⁰⁴

The butler's pantry continued to be a storage space until the house was converted into an inn in 1948. At that time the wall between the two rooms was eliminated to create one larger room to accommodate the food service function of the inn.⁸⁰⁵ In a 1988 photograph, there was a large cast iron stove on the east wall, open shelves on the south wall, cabinets and a sink on the west wall, and a table and seating furniture in the center of the room.⁸⁰⁶ The kitchen continued to be used as such until Helen James Davis' 1995 death. At that time the kitchen became a work space for Park staff members.

104 Pantry

The pantry was added to the house in 1916. The pantry was a food preparation area containing a work table and storage bins for flour and sugar. Mary Smith Nelson recalled Dolly Grey making pie crusts in the room.⁸⁰⁷ It is unclear whether the pantry continued to be used as a food preparation area throughout the James family's tenure. In

⁷⁹⁹ HABS, photograph HABS-PA-5371-10.

⁸⁰⁰ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 24.

⁸⁰¹ Freight Bill, 24 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers. Invoice, R.H. Macy & Co., 28 February 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁸⁰² Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 24.

⁸⁰³ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 45. The old kitchen stove was made by the Early Foundry Company of Dickson City, PA [Notes from Helen Davis, Oral History Interview, 13 June 1988, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. 1].

⁸⁰⁴ Freight Bill, 24 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁸⁰⁵ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 10.

⁸⁰⁶ HABS, photograph HABS-PA-5371-16.

⁸⁰⁷ Notes from Helen Davis, Oral History Interview, 13 June 1988, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. 1. Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 24.

1989, the pantry became the bedroom of the life tenant apartment created for Helen James Davis. After Davis' 1995 death, the room became a curatorial office.⁸⁰⁸

105 Filing Room

The filing room was added to the house in 1916. It originally was only accessible from the northeast room. The walls were lined with built-in storage cabinets in which the Greys filed documents and publications related to Zane Grey's work.⁸⁰⁹ Zane Grey also had a filing room in the addition to the family's Altadena house. This larger room also had built-in cupboards to house notes, pictures, and books.⁸¹⁰

In 1948 Helen James Johnson converted the room into a first-floor bathroom. At some time during or after its conversion, two doors were added facilitating access to the room.⁸¹¹ In 1989, the room became a part of the life tenant apartment created for Helen James Davis. After her 1995 death the bathroom fixtures were removed. The room now serves as a combination passage and curatorial work space.⁸¹²

106 Northwest Room (Library)

The northwest room was added to the house in 1916 to increase Zane Grey's working space in the northeast room. The room is often called the "library." It has built-in book shelves and a window seat along the north wall. The upper portions of the walls were adorned with a frieze depicting Hopi kachinas painted by Dolly Grey's cousin Lillian Wilhelm in 1916 (UPDE 1234).

The Hawley Public Library in Hawley, Pennsylvania, owns the "Hensel Collection" which contains three undated glass plate negatives depicting the Zane Grey House. One of the negatives is a view into the northwest room from the northeast room (see ill. 18). Though the negatives are undated, the researcher strongly believes they date to the post-1916 Grey family occupancy based on the completed northwest room and Wilhelm frieze paintings; the quality and quantity of Native American objects; the domestic nature of the rooms; and the good condition of the interior and furnishings. The photographs likely depict the house prior to the Greys' 1918 move to California. While Mary Smith Nelson states that the family left many things and likely planned to return to Lackawaxen, only one object in the photographs, Zane Grey's Morris-type arm chair (UPDE 556), is identifiable in the Park's collection today. Though the Park owns sixteen Navajo rugs, none of them appear in the early photographs. This indicates the Greys packed and moved the vast majority of their belongings in the northwest and northeast rooms. The interior and furnishings in the photographs look new and/or well cared for. These rooms appear to receive regular use; they do not appear to have suffered years of disuse and decay as a photograph taken ten years later might show. Also, the array of

⁸⁰⁸ The Park plans to move this function to the second floor in the near future.

⁸⁰⁹ Notes from Helen Davis, Oral History Interview, 13 June 1988, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. [5].

⁸¹⁰ Karr, p. 168.

⁸¹¹ Helen Davis, 9 August 1989, p. 10. Notes from Helen Davis, Oral History Interview, 13 June 1988, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. [5].

⁸¹² The Park plans to move this function to the second floor in the near future.

objects look out of character for the financially-challenged James family who moved into the Big House in 1933.

The photograph of the northwest room shows the southwest corner and portions of the south and west walls. The Wilhelm frieze with its alternating kachina figures and stylized symbols appears at the top of the walls. Flat, round Native American coiled baskets with varying motifs are hung in the visible centers and corner of the frieze. Just below the picture rail hang what appear to be framed and glazed photographs of varying sizes. The windows are covered with light, possibly white sheer, curtains which are drawn closed. Dark wooden bookcases (possibly two side by side) stand at the center of each wall. In the southwest corner is a bench or other low, armless piece of furniture covered with a large Navajo rug or blanket. On the bench are three to four pillows which appear to be made from small Navajo rugs or Native American textile saddle bags. Beside the bench stand a tall Native American basket and a Morris-type chair with dark cushions. The northwest corner of the room appears to be filled with a desk whose corner is visible in the photograph. On the desk is a lamp with a glass chimney and round, dark shade.⁸¹³ The other items on the corner of the desk cannot be identified. Objects in the foreground in front of the desk include a large, high-shouldered, small-mouthed Native American jar with a shiny glaze; a tall Native American basket; and a wicker rocking chair. The ceramic jar sits atop a narrow piece of furniture, possibly a high stool, covered with a folded, striped blanket or rug. The floor of the room is all but covered with Navajo rugs. A long runner is estimated to extend from the corner of the fireplace in the northeast room to the bookcase on the west wall of the northwest room. Three rugs are arranged along the length of the southern portion of the room. One other rug runs diagonally from under the wicker chair, presumably into the northeast corner of the room (not visible).

Mary Smith Nelson recalls that the library was sparsely furnished, but did contain a desk.⁸¹⁴ According to Dolly Grey's diary, she purchased a desk for \$10.96 in May of 1906.⁸¹⁵ A 1915 freight bill records the shipment of another desk to Lackawaxen.⁸¹⁶ A photograph (UPDE 871) shows Zane Grey seated in a wooden Morris-type chair beside a large wooden desk in his earlier office at the Cottage. The appearance of the desk in this photograph was (and still is) partially duplicated at the Zane Grey House. Chief among the items on the desk (UPDE 1185) are a double lamp with green glass shades (UPDE 1149), a pyramidal paperweight (UPDE 1143), and a photograph of Dolly Grey (UPDE 1140). The coal stove (UPDE 1178) in the southeast corner appears to have heated the library.⁸¹⁷ Despite Zane Grey's lack of interest in technological advances, based on extant numbers written on the west wall it is believed that there was a telephone in the library.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹³ This lamp appears to stand on a base that sits on the desk below. The lamp in the Park's current exhibit (UPDE 1149) has two arms that extend outward from a central base.

⁸¹⁴ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 26. The early photographs verify the desk but do not depict a sparsely furnished room to a present-day viewer.

⁸¹⁵ Dolly Grey Diary, 10 May 1906, quoted in Gruber, pp. 62-63.

⁸¹⁶ Freight Bill, 30 April 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁸¹⁷ This stove is not visible in the early photograph but may be hidden by the wall.

⁸¹⁸ Moon, conversation with author, 9 August 1999, Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA.

An oral history interview with Mary Smith Nelson indicates other objects that may have been in the northwest and/or northeast rooms. Nelson spoke generally about the kinds of objects Zane Grey kept in his work space including Native American pottery, Navajo rugs, conch shells, starfish, and other items he brought home from the seashore.⁸¹⁹ In a 1920s letter to Dolly Grey, Zane Grey mentioned asking Charles Smith to ship some objects from Lackawaxen to Altadena so Grey could use them in his new study. These objects include fish (presumably stuffed specimens) and pictures.⁸²⁰

There is no indication that the James family made active use of the northwest room in any way other than as a museum room. Inn guests were invited to explore the museum rooms and Helen James Johnson added objects she found elsewhere in the house. She augmented these objects with acquisitions from Betty Zane Grosso and other sources. In 1973, with the closing of the inn, Helen and Al Davis focused solely on running the museum portion of the house. Around that time Al Davis rearranged the former display in the museum rooms. The most prominent objects in the library museum room were the desk; a wicker baby carriage (UPDE 1213); a coal stove (UPDE 1178); movie posters; a phonograph; and Zane Grey's dental instruments. The Davises continued to manage the museum until the National Park Service purchased the house and its contents in 1989. The library is currently a part of the ranger-led tour offered by the National Park Service.

107 Northeast Room (Study)

The northeast room was added to the house in 1914-1915 to serve as a writing study for Zane Grey. Like the northwest room, the study has built-in book shelves and a window seat along the north wall. On the west wall is a large red-brick fireplace with a large, beveled mirror over the mantel. The upper portions of the walls in the study are adorned with a frieze depicting stylized ferrets and figures based on Navajo sandpainting motifs. Dolly Grey's cousin Lillian Wilhelm executed the paintings in 1915 (UPDE 1234).⁸²¹

The Hawley Public Library owns the "Hensel Collection" which contains three undated glass plate negatives depicting the Zane Grey House. Two of the negatives depict the northeast room (see ills. 18-19). Though the negatives are undated, the researcher strongly believes they date to the post-1916 Grey family occupancy (see discussion in above section "106 Northwest Room [Library]"). One photograph was taken from the southern end of the room and depicts the room from the door to the filing room (105) northward (see ill. 19). A second photograph was taken from the northern end of the northeast room and depicts a portion of the northeast wall. The Wilhelm frieze in this room portrays stylized ferrets and sandpainting figures. The overmantel mirror is flanked by two tall foliate motifs (possibly corn shocks). Like in the northwest room, round, coiled Native American baskets hang between the frieze motifs. Ten baskets are visible in this photograph. Also like the northwest room, below the picture rail hang what appear to be framed and glazed photographs of varying sizes. In some cases, small

⁸¹⁹ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 27.

⁸²⁰ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 1928, Farley Collection, p. 343.

⁸²¹ Terry, p. [6].

pictures are double hung. The windows are covered with light, possibly white sheer, curtains which are drawn closed.

At the corner formed by the fireplace and west wall stand as many as three fishing rods. The fireplace is filled with mid-sized logs. The smoke marks on the fireplace's interior and on the bricks above the fireplace opening indicate it was used regularly. The fireplace brick stops roughly halfway up the wall and gives way to wallboard. Thus, there is a mantel one-brick wide at the junction. Small, unidentifiable objects sit on all three sides of the mantel. There is an overmantel mirror. One or two objects hang below a large round coiled basket and in front of the mirror. Furniture in the room includes two Morris-type chairs; what appears to be a Bar-Harbor-style wicker arm chair; and a simple square wooden table with thin square legs and a narrow apron. The three chairs face the fireplace; the table appears to be centered in front of the fireplace and between the two Morris-type chairs. On the table are several books and a wide, baluster-shaped lamp topped with a dark lamp shade decorated with a foliate or floral motif. The built-in book shelves at the far end of the room are filled with books. The window seat is covered with at least one rug or blanket. There is a throw pillow decorated with a Native American motif, possibly a dark phoenix on a light ground. Like the northwest room, the northeast room floor is covered with Navajo rugs. One rug is barely visible in the foreground. A second rug is centered in front of the fireplace. A long runner runs along the east wall. Two mid-sized and a third small rug appear in the northern half of the room.

Other sources confirm or expand on the types of items shown in the Hensel photographs. Mary Smith Nelson recalled Grey writing in a Morris-type chair with a board laid over the arms as a desk. She also recalled that there were other similar chairs in the room around and facing the fireplace.⁸²² According to Lindsley Smith, Zane Grey kept fishing tackle and rods in the study.⁸²³ An oral history interview with Mary Smith Nelson indicates other objects that may have been in the northwest and/or northeast rooms. She spoke generally about the kinds of objects Zane Grey kept in his work space including Native American pottery, Navajo rugs, conch shells, starfish, and other items he brought home from the seashore.⁸²⁴ In a 1920s letter to Dolly Grey, Zane Grey mentioned asking Charles Smith to ship some objects from Lackawaxen to Altadena so Grey could use them in his new study. These objects include fish (presumably stuffed specimens) and pictures.⁸²⁵

The addition the Greys made to their later Altadena home supported (on a larger scale) much the same functions as Grey's 1910s Lackawaxen study and filing room. In planning the new study Zane Grey wrote to Dolly, "The study should be a peach, and have everything. But as far as taste goes you can use your judgement, if it comes to a pinch. Ed [Bowen] knows what I think I would like in this study about size, windows, jogs, safe, fireplace, windowseats, book-cases, cabinets, lights, etc."⁸²⁶ The completed wing contained two floors of two rooms each. The first floor boasted a room with shelves to hold trophies, souvenirs, and wildlife specimens. The second first-floor room

⁸²² Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 26.

⁸²³ Lindsley Smith, p. 6.

⁸²⁴ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 27.

⁸²⁵ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 1928, Farley Collection, p. 343.

⁸²⁶ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 17 September 1928, Farley Collection, p. 329. The Park owns the safe (UPDE 1184) Zane Grey used during his tenure in the Big House. Helen James Davis found this item in the northwest chamber (208).

contained fishing tackle, fishing rods, and enlarged photographs primarily of fishing. The second-floor filing room contained cupboards for notes, pictures, and books but was also large enough to house trophies, mementos, and Native American blankets and rugs. Grey's study contained still more Native American items, a fireplace decorated with Native American motifs, and a Morris-type chair with leather cushions.⁸²⁷ A photograph of Grey in this study depicts him seated beside a window in a Morris-type chair with leather cushions (see ill. 20). To one side is a window seat loaded with books. Shelves behind him are also filled with books. Native American motifs adorn the wall, lamp shade, and baskets.⁸²⁸

There is no indication that the James family made active use of the northeast room in any way other than as a museum room. Inn guests were invited to explore the museum rooms and Helen James Johnson added objects she found elsewhere in the house. She augmented these objects with acquisitions from Betty Zane Grosso and other sources. Some of the most prominent objects in the northeast museum room were Zane Grey's Morris-type chair with lapboard (UPDE 554); Navajo rugs; a jacket (UPDE 686); book cover art; and a bookstore window display (UPDE 690). In 1973, with the closing of the inn, Helen and Al Davis focused solely on the running of the museum portion of the house. Around that time Al Davis rearranged the former display in the museum rooms. The Davises continued to manage the museum until the National Park Service purchased the house and its contents in 1989. The study is currently a part of the ranger-led tour offered by the National Park Service.

108 East Porch

There is little information regarding the early use of the east porch. Mary Smith Nelson recalls that the Greys spent a great deal of time outside and sitting outside. They likely used the east porch as an outdoor sitting room from which they could view the river. According to Karr, the Greys' sunporch in Altadena boasted chairs, tables, and magazines.⁸²⁹

The Jameses and Zane Grey Inn guests likely continued to use the east porch as such until the Jameses removed it in the 1970s or earlier.⁸³⁰ Cecilia Powell recalls inn guests sitting in "wonderful old wicker furniture" on the porch. She also recalls the southern section of the east porch being screened to foil insects.⁸³¹ The National Park Service rebuilt the east porch after 1990. When complete, the southern end of the porch became the public entry for the Zane Grey House.⁸³²

109 West Porch

There is little information regarding the early use of the west porch. Mary Smith Nelson recalls that the Greys spent a great deal of time outside and sitting outside.⁸³³

⁸²⁷ Karr, pp. 168-169.

⁸²⁸ Karr, frontispiece.

⁸²⁹ Karr, p. 167.

⁸³⁰ Moon, electronic communication, 5 June 2000.

⁸³¹ Powell, p. 14.

⁸³² Moon, electronic communication, 5 June 2000.

⁸³³ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 26.

They may have used the west porch as an outdoor sitting room. Or, they may have used the west porch as an outdoor dining room. Cecilia Powell recalls Zane Grey Inn guests eating on the west porch.⁸³⁴ A large dining table remained on the porch until 1989 when the National Park Service assumed management of the house.⁸³⁵ From 1989 to 1995 the west porch served as the entry for the life tenant apartment created for Helen James Davis. The west porch currently serves as the staff entrance for the National Park Service offices in the building.

201 South Stair Hall

The south stair hall was part of the original 1906 house. The room was designed as and continues to be used as a passageway giving access to several second-floor rooms and the attic stairs. There are two small closets, possibly once used as linen closets, that open off the hall.

202 Southeast Chamber

The southeast chamber was part of the original 1906 house. It is believed that the Romer Carl Greys used the room as a bedroom.⁸³⁶ The large size, walk-in closet and view of the river would support this use. However, it is unclear whether one or both of them occupied the room. At that time the southeast chamber communicated with both the southwest and northeast chambers suggesting these three rooms may have formed a suite. The Zane Greys likely continued to use the southeast chamber as a bedroom. The occupants of the bedroom likely changed as the family grew and the house expanded. The James family likely also continued to use the southeast room as a bedroom.

When the house was converted into an inn in 1948, the doors to the two adjoining chambers were covered and the walk-in closet was divided in half in order to serve as two closets.⁸³⁷ The room was used either as a bedroom for a James family member or as an inn room until 1973. At that time it served as either a bedroom or a storage space. When the National Park Service assumed management of the house in 1989 the room became office and/or storage space.

203 Southwest Chamber (Reba Grey's Room)

The southwest chamber was part of the original 1906 house. In the northeast corner of the room is an angled fireplace. The wooden mantel is supported by colonettes. The remainder of the fireplace is faced with green and brown ceramic tiles. There was a coal-burning stove in the fireplace. The southwest chamber is thought to have been used by Reba Grey, but it is unclear whether she used the room as a sitting room or a bedroom.⁸³⁸ On a recent map with notations made according to an interview or

⁸³⁴ Powell, p. 16.

⁸³⁵ Abbot Group Ltd., *Appraisal for United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service of the Contents of The Zane Grey Museum in Lackawaxen, PA* (New York, NY: for Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1988), photograph FF22.

⁸³⁶ Short and Ford, p. IV-85.

⁸³⁷ Short and Ford, p. IV-85.

⁸³⁸ HABS, p. 16.

conversation with Helen James Davis, the room is called "Reba Grey's Sitting Room." Mary Smith Nelson also states that this room was used as a sitting room.⁸³⁹ The dressing table and chest of drawers in the room are attributed to Reba Grey's ownership (Abbot appraisal numbers FF03-FF05).⁸⁴⁰

Dolly Grey may have used the room as a bedroom early in her tenure because when the 1916 addition was underway, she asked Zane Grey if she could have his "long room" (211) because it connected with the children's room (213).⁸⁴¹ This would suggest that she occupied a room not adjoining the children's room, most likely the southwest chamber with its decorative fireplace. Dolly's request was granted and it is unknown how the southwest chamber was used after she moved to her new quarters.

According to Cecelia Powell, Alvah and Allie James used the southwest chamber as a bedroom.⁸⁴² After their 1958 deaths the room was either used by another family member or as a guest room until 1973. After that time it served as either a bedroom or a storage space. When the National Park Service assumed management of the house in 1989 the room became office and/or storage space.

204 Southwest Sleeping Porch

The sleeping porch was added to the west side of the house at the same time the 1914-1915 addition was added to the north side.⁸⁴³ If Dolly Grey used the southwest chamber as a sitting room or bedroom, the porch to the west was likely her sleeping porch. This sleeping porch corresponds to the porch at the northeast which Zane Grey used as his sleeping porch before the 1916 addition.

It is unknown how the southwest sleeping porch was used by the James family. It may have been a sleeping porch or a sitting area for Alvah and Allie James who inhabited the southwest chamber from 1933 to 1958. After that time it may have served as a sitting area for inn guests staying in the southwest chamber. After 1973, the southwest sleeping porch may have served as a sitting, sleeping, or storage area. When the National Park Service assumed management of the house in 1989 the room became storage space.

205 South Bathroom

The south bathroom was the original bathroom in the 1906 house. The south bathroom continued to be used as such by the Zane Greys, the Jameses, inn guests, and later the National Park Service. In 1992, the *Historic Structures Report* stated that the

⁸³⁹ Nelson, p. 27, 4 June 1990, p. 27.

⁸⁴⁰ Map of Second Floor of Zane Grey House, Marked with Notes from Interview with Helen Davis, ca. 1989, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River. According to the Historic American Building Survey, "Rebecca Grey's simple early-twentieth-century bedroom set has never left the southwest bedroom where it was used before Zane Grey purchased the house" [HABS, p. 17.]. The source of this information is unclear and unsubstantiated by any other known source.

⁸⁴¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, in Kant to Spiegel.

⁸⁴² Powell, p. 16.

⁸⁴³ Short and Ford, p. IV-92.

toilet and bathtub were replacement fixtures while "The sink is older, with a very high-edged splashback and an oval basin."⁸⁴⁴

It is possible that the Zane Greys updated the bathroom as early as spring of 1915. Invoices from that time indicate the Greys purchased a bathtub, lavatory, and a porcelain sink from Swinton & Co.⁸⁴⁵ Erie Railroad freight bills indicate they received a water closet and a "splasher," possibly a sink backsplash.⁸⁴⁶ However, these bathroom fixtures may have been installed in another structure such as the Cottage. Other items that may have been used in the south bathroom are the bathmats the Greys purchased in 1917 and 1918 from R.H. Macy & Co.⁸⁴⁷

Helen James Johnson updated the bathroom and plumbing in the Big House in 1948. It is unknown whether further updating occurred after that time.

206 West Chamber

The west chamber was built as part of the original 1906 house. It is not connected to the other three second floor chambers but has its own closet. The room may have functioned as a guest bedroom for Romer Carl and Reba Grey. The Zane Greys may have used the room in the same way or it may have been a family bedroom.

The Jameses likely continued to use the room as a bedroom. Between 1948 and 1973 the room was available as an inn guest room. After 1973, the room may have been a bedroom, sitting room, or storage space. After the National Park Service assumed management of the house in 1989, the room served as office or storage space.

207 North Bathroom

The Zane Greys added the north bathroom as part of the 1916 addition. Dolly Grey wrote to Zane Grey in September 1916, "The new addition will be fine. I'm going to have a laundry chute in it and a swell bathroom."⁸⁴⁸ However, according to Helen James Davis, the room remained empty until Davis installed bathroom fixtures around 1948.⁸⁴⁹

Since the time of the bathroom fixtures' installation, the room has served as a bathroom for the James family, inn guests, and the National Park Service. According to the *Historic Structures Report*, the toilet and bathtub are recent additions. "The oldest piece is the corner sink, which has been replumbed and painted red on the underside, but is still a valuable item."⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁴ Short and Ford, p. IV-98.

⁸⁴⁵ Invoice, Swinton & Co., 22 March 1915, Series III, Box 2, Folder 8, Grey Family Papers.

⁸⁴⁶ Freight Bills, 26 March 1915, 15 May 1915, Erie Railroad Company, Series III, Box 2, Folder 9, Grey Family Papers.

⁸⁴⁷ Invoices, R.H. Macy & Co., 27 November 1917, 30 March 1918, Series III, Box 2, Folder 11, Grey Family Papers.

⁸⁴⁸ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 12 September 1916, in Kant to Spiegel.

⁸⁴⁹ Helen Davis, Oral History Interview, ca. 1989, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. [7]. Map of Second Floor of Zane Grey House, Marked with Notes from Interview with Helen Davis, ca. 1989, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁸⁵⁰ Short and Ford, p. IV-104.

208 Northwest Chamber (Zane Grey's Sitting Room)

The Zane Greys added the northwest chamber as part of the 1916 addition. Because Dolly Grey wanted the rooms to the east for herself, the northwest chamber became one of Zane Grey's private second-floor rooms. According to Mary Smith Nelson, Zane Grey used the northwest chamber as a sitting room and slept on the northwest sleeping porch.⁸⁵¹ According to a later floor plan, Helen James Davis found Zane Grey's safe (UPDE 1184) in the northwest chamber.⁸⁵² According to a former *Historic Furnishings Report*, Helen James Davis reported that the Greys each had a small "caboose stove" in their sitting rooms.⁸⁵³

When the James family moved into the Big House in 1933, they may have used the northwest chamber as a bedroom or sitting room. The room was likely used as an inn guest room between 1948 and 1973. After the Davises ceased operation of the inn, the northwest chamber was likely little used. In the early 1970s, Helen James Johnson had described the second-floor of the northern half of the house as "empty."⁸⁵⁴

In 1983 the National Park Service began to rent the second-story northern rooms of the Zane Grey House.⁸⁵⁵ The northwest and northeast chambers served as office space. The room is currently used by the National Park Service as a resource and conference room.

209 Northwest Sleeping Porch

The Zane Greys added the northwest sleeping porch as part of the 1916 addition. Because Dolly Grey wanted the rooms to the east for herself, the northwest sleeping porch became Zane Grey's sleeping area. Mary Smith Nelson later recalled that the sleeping porches had sliding glass windows with screens.⁸⁵⁶ Cecilia Powell described her mother's perception of the sleeping porches when she was a girl, "They [the Greys' sleeping porches] were of particular interest. I know my Mother used to think they were absolutely fantastic. While they were sweltering up in their bedrooms, that down there [at the Big House] on a hot summer night they were sleeping."⁸⁵⁷ In October 1917, Zane Grey described a stormy night on the sleeping porch:

Sometime after midnight the wind came up and blew so hard through the sleeping porch that I was awakened. It felt cold and damp, and it moaned and whine[d] like November winds. Then rain began to fall. My bed felt warm and comfortable, and somehow it was a great pleasure to be there and listen to the steady patter, and the drip, drip, drip, and then the furious gusts roared against the window panes. By and by I dropped to sleep again.⁸⁵⁸

⁸⁵¹ Nelson, 4 June 1990, pp. 27-28.

⁸⁵² Map of Second Floor of Zane Grey House, Marked with Notes from Interview with Helen Davis, ca. 1989, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁸⁵³ Terry, p. [7].

⁸⁵⁴ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 6.

⁸⁵⁵ Mike Behan, "Zane Grey Home gets Rescued from the Block," *Sunday Times*, 24 June 1983.

⁸⁵⁶ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 28.

⁸⁵⁷ Powell, p. 9.

⁸⁵⁸ Zane Grey Diary, 24 October 1917, Farley Collection, p. 159.

Zane Grey was apparently fond of sleeping porches, because the Greys had a sleeping porch on their Altadena home. In describing an addition to that house in 1928, Grey referred to "our sleeping porch."⁸⁵⁹

It is unknown how the James family later used the northeast sleeping porch. They may have continued to use the room as a sleeping porch or used it as a sitting area. Between 1948 and 1973, the room may have served as a sitting area for guests staying in the northwest chamber. After the Davises ceased operation of the inn, the northwest sleeping porch was likely little used. In the early 1970s, Helen James Johnson had described the second-floor of the northern half of the house as "empty."⁸⁶⁰

In 1983 the National Park Service began to rent the second-story northern rooms of the Zane Grey House. At that time the northeast sleeping porch was used as either office or storage space. The room is currently used as National Park Service office space.

210 Northeast Sleeping Porch

The northeast sleeping porch was added to the house as part of the 1914-1915 addition. Access to the northeast sleeping porch is through the northeast chamber. Until the completion of the 1916 addition to the west, the northeast chamber and the northeast sleeping porch were Zane Grey's second-floor private rooms. The northeast chamber likely served as a sitting room and the porch was a sleeping porch.

In August 1916, with the new addition to the northwest underway, Dolly Grey wrote to Zane, "I want you to let me have this old side of the house; that is, your long room and present sleeping porch because it connects with the children's room & will be much more convenient for you, too."⁸⁶¹ This transfer of rooms took place and the northeast sleeping porch became Dolly Grey's sleeping area.

It is unknown how the James family later used the northeast sleeping porch. They may have continued to use the room as a sleeping porch or used it as a sitting area. Between 1948 and the early 1970s, the room may have served as a sitting area for guests staying in the northeast chamber. In the early 1970s, when Al Davis took up residence at the Zane Grey Inn, he first inhabited the northeast chamber and the northeast sleeping porch. He used the sleeping porch as an artist's studio. He later recounted his first impression of the space that would become his studio:

Facing the river on the second floor. In that corner, all those beautiful glass windows, you can see the river, you can see the sky and you have a 180 degree view of the mountains and there I stood with Helen, in the empty room, the nice shiny floor. It was real cozy. . . . This is going to be my studio.⁸⁶²

Davis may have moved to another bedroom after his 1974 marriage to Helen James Johnson. It is unclear whether he retained the northeast sleeping porch as his studio after that time.

⁸⁵⁹ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 17 September 1928, Farley Collection, p. 329.

⁸⁶⁰ Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 6.

⁸⁶¹ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, in Kant to Spiegel.

⁸⁶² Albert and Helen Davis, 11 April 1989, p. 29.

In 1983 the National Park Service began to rent the second-story northern rooms of the Zane Grey House. At that time the northeast sleeping porch was used as either office or storage space. The room is currently used as National Park Service office space.

211 Northeast Chamber (Dolly Grey's Sitting Room)

The Zane Greys added the northeast chamber as part of the 1914-1915 addition to the house. When complete, the room was one of Zane Grey's private second-floor rooms. While the northeast sleeping porch served as his sleeping quarters, he may have used the northeast chamber as a sitting room. When the 1916 addition to the northwest of the house was underway, Dolly Grey requested that she be allowed to have Zane Grey's "long room" and sleeping porch. Her request was granted and, according to Mary Smith Nelson, she kept a sitting room in the northeast chamber. Nelson recalled that Dolly Grey kept her dresser in the sitting room. Nelson also recalled that Dolly Grey would "buy her Christmas gifts ahead of time and have them all wrapped and in a trunk in her sitting room upstairs."⁸⁶³ According to a former *Historic Furnishings Report*, Helen James Davis reported that the Greys each had a small "caboose stove" in their sitting rooms.⁸⁶⁴

It is unknown how the James family used the northeast chamber. They may have used it as a bedroom or sitting room. Between 1948 and the early 1970s, the room was an inn guest room. In the early 1970s, Al Davis began to inhabit the room. At the time of his 1974 marriage to Helen James Johnson, he may have changed his sleeping quarters in the house. If so, it is unclear whether he may have continued to use the northeast chamber as a personal room or not.

In 1983 the National Park Service began to rent the second-story northern rooms of the Zane Grey House. The northeast and northwest chambers served as office space. The National Park Service continues to use the room as office space.

212 North Stair Hall

The north stair hall was added to the house in 1916. The room was designed as and continues to be used as a passageway giving access to several second-floor rooms. The hall has one built-in storage unit which has a hinged drawer/door leading to a laundry chute. The chute terminates in the pantry (104). Dolly Grey mentioned the chute to her husband in 1916: "I'm going to have a laundry chute in it [the 1916 addition]."⁸⁶⁵

213 East Chamber

The east chamber was built as part of the original 1906 house. It was connected to the southeast chamber by a doorway. It seems to have formed a suite with the southeast chamber and the southwest chamber. It is unclear whether the east chamber was a bedroom or a sitting room for either Romer Carl or Reba Grey.

⁸⁶³ Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 8.

⁸⁶⁴ Terry, p. [7].

⁸⁶⁵ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 12 September, in Kant to Spiegel.

When the Zane Greys moved into the house, the east chamber was used as a bedroom for one or more of the children. Dolly Grey refers to the room next to Zane Grey's "long room," the northeast chamber, as the "children's room."⁸⁶⁶ According to a recent map with notes made based on an interview with Helen James Davis, there was a light fixture, part of the early Delco system, on the west wall of the room to the north of the door.⁸⁶⁷

The Jameses likely continued to use the room as a bedroom. Between 1948 and 1973 the room was available as an inn guest room. In 1948, when the house was renovated into an inn, a plywood panel was placed between the southeast and east chambers for privacy between guest rooms. The east chamber also gained a small closet when the walk-in closet in the southeast chamber was divided in half to serve the two rooms. After 1973, the room may have been a bedroom, sitting room, or storage space. After the National Park Service assumed management of the house in 1989, the room served as office or storage space. The room currently serves the National Park Service as a lunch room.

Attic (301-305)

The attic can be divided into five distinct areas of varying usefulness. During the history of the house two of the spaces were finished as living spaces, while the other areas have always served as storage. The finished spaces were first used by Romer Carl and Reba Greys' servants.⁸⁶⁸ Later the Zane Greys' governess Mrs. Koch occupied one of the rooms.⁸⁶⁹ When Helen James Johnson rented the rooms on the second floor to boarders, she further refined the third-floor rooms as bedrooms for her family.⁸⁷⁰ These rooms likely fell into disuse and became storage areas when the Zane Grey Inn ceased operation in 1973.

The Zane Grey family used portions of the attic as storage space. Zane Grey visited the house alone in the 1920s and wrote to Dolly of how things appeared to be untouched: "I went into the attic. And there you might have been yesterday. I saw a rubber off your corsets. And a lot of paint brushes, cans, etc. that you placed so & so."⁸⁷¹ The attic was also the source of many of the Grey-family items that later made their way into the Zane Grey Museum. In the early 1980s when the Davises were trying to sell the house and its contents to a sympathetic party, several newspaper articles described how Helen James Davis discovered objects of interest in the attic. One such article reads:

One day shortly after she moved to Lackawaxen, Mrs. Davis came upon a weird contraption in the attic. It had a fly wheel, a foot pedal and a jointed arm on a metal stand.

⁸⁶⁶ Dolly Grey to Zane Grey, 21 August 1916, in Kant to Spiegel.

⁸⁶⁷ Map of Second Floor of Zane Grey House, Marked with Notes from Interview with Helen Davis, ca. 1989, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁸⁶⁸ HABS, p. 5.

⁸⁶⁹ Nelson, 16 June 1988, p. 2.

⁸⁷⁰ HABS, p. 15.

⁸⁷¹ Zane Grey to Dolly Grey, 18 March 1928[?], Farley Collection, p. 245.

She hauled it out, dusted it off and realized that it was Zane Grey's old foot-driven dentist's drill. That, she says, was the beginning of the museum, which she subsequently put together piece by piece over several years.

The drill was only the first of the treasures found in the attic and in forgotten closets and rooms in the rambling house. In fact, Mrs. Davis says, the house and its 'junk' - from Victorian dental tools to top hats - told the story of the writer's rise from obscurity to fame.⁸⁷²

One mechanical feature that is now missing from the attic that was likely installed during one of the Zane Greys' mid-1910s building campaigns is a large water cistern. This cistern was filled from the river using a hand pump and then supplied water for bathing, laundry, and toilets (drinking water was supplied by an artesian well). During her tenure, Helen James Davis had the cistern removed with the help of three men.⁸⁷³

The attic hall (301) is an unfinished open space which is accessed via a stairway from the south stair hall. It provides access to the other spaces in the attic and likely has always been used as a passageway and storage space.

The north attic (302) is a large, unfinished space that was built in two phases coinciding with the construction of the Zane Greys' 1910s additions. As a result, the space is interrupted in the middle by the still-extant rafters from the 1914-1915 addition. There is a free-standing storage closet in the northwest corner of the space. The National Park Service continues to use the north attic for storage purposes.

The southeast attic room (303) was from the beginning a finished space used by Grey family servants. Helen James Johnson further refined the room as family living space sometime after 1948 by adding beaverboard to cover the exposed roof framing. There is a small closet at the northwest corner of the room. By 1973 at the latest, the room likely again became storage space. The National Park Service continues to use the room for storage purposes.

The south attic room (304) was from the beginning a finished space used by Grey family servants. Helen James Johnson further refined the room as family living space sometime after 1948 by adding beaverboard to cover the exposed roof framing. There is a small closet at the northwest corner of the room. By 1973 at the latest, the room likely again became storage space. The National Park Service continues to use the room for storage purposes.

The southwest attic (305) is a small, unfinished space accessible via a door on its north wall. According to the *Historic Structures Report*, the north wall is constructed of newer materials than the others suggesting it was partitioned off from the attic hall as a specialized storage area.⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁷² Michael E. Ruane, "For Sale: House's Devoted Curators Give Up Wild West Legacy," Newspaper article, Unknown newspaper, 1983, "Zane Grey House Recent Newspaper Clippings," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River.

⁸⁷³ Nelson, 4 June 1990, p. 31. Nelson, 1 February 1990, p. 7. Helen Davis, Oral History Interview, ca. 1989, Unlabeled Folder, Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, p. [1].

⁸⁷⁴ Short and Ford, p. IV-135.

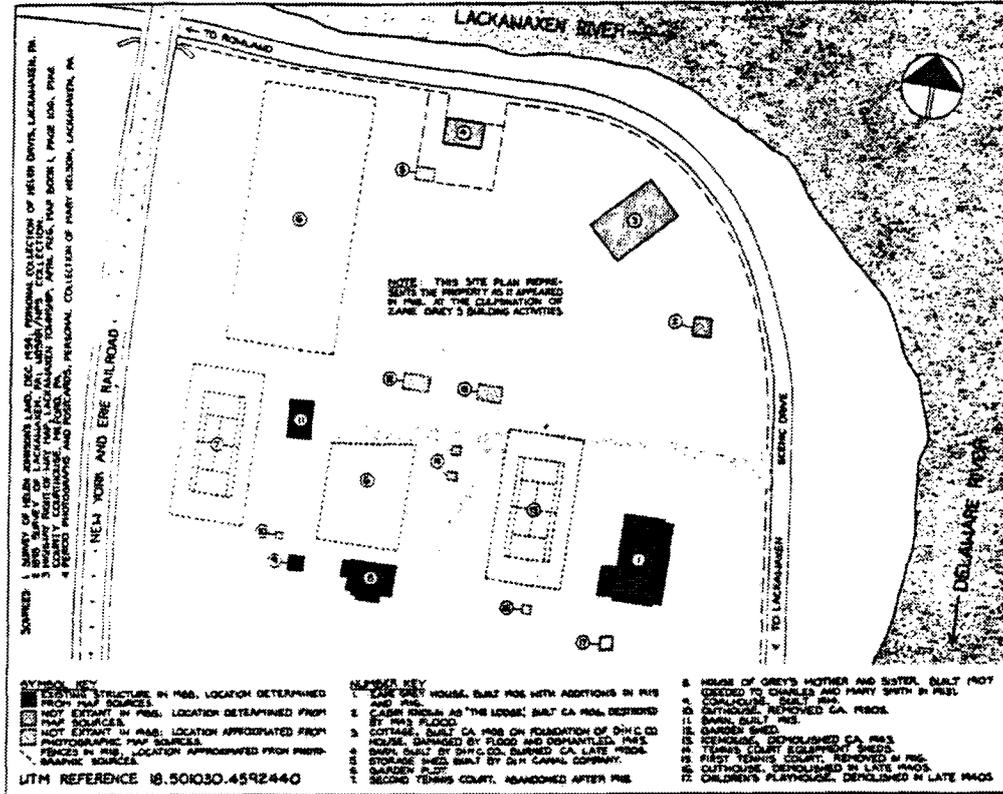




Illustrations

1. Site Plan, Zane Grey House, 1988. Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). "Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, Pike County, Pennsylvania, HABS No. PA-5371." Washington, DC: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1988.

ZANE GREY HOUSE 1906, 1915, CA. 1916 LACKAWAXEN, PENNSYLVANIA



SITE PLAN SCALE: 1" = 40' 0 FEET 50 100 150 200 0 METRES 25 50 75

THE ZANE GREY HOUSE IS SIGNIFICANT FOR ITS ASSOCIATION WITH ZANE GREY (1872-1939), A NOTED FISHERMAN AND AUTHOR OF WESTERN NOVELS. GREY BEGAN HIS PROFESSIONAL WRITING CAREER IN LACKAWAXEN, WHERE HE LIVED FROM 1905 UNTIL 1918. ACCORDING TO THE AUTHOR, THESE YEARS "REPRESENTED MORE, PERHAPS, THAN A STRUGGLE TO BECOME INDEPENDENT THROUGH EXPRESSING MYSELF IN WRITING. HERE I GAINED MY FIRST KNOWLEDGE OF REALLY WILD COUNTRY."

COMPLETED IN 1906, THE HOUSE WAS THE LARGEST OF THREE DWELLINGS BUILT FOR MEMBERS OF GREY'S EXTENDED FAMILY. THE PROPERTY ALSO INCLUDED A ONE-ROOM CABIN, IN WHICH THE AUTHOR COMPOSED HIS NOVELS, AND A TWO-STORY COTTAGE, WHICH HOUSED THE SECRETARIES WHO TYPED HIS MANUSCRIPTS. AFTER GREY'S DEPARTURE FOR CALIFORNIA IN 1918, THE HOUSE WAS INHABITED BY VARIOUS TENANTS. HELEN DAVIS PURCHASED THE PROPERTY IN 1948, WHERE SHE OPERATED THE ZANE GREY INN FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. IN 1973 THE INN WAS CONVERTED INTO A MUSEUM OF ZANE GREY MEMORABILIA.

THE HOUSE EVOLVED INTO ITS PRESENT FORM THROUGH THREE PHASES OF BUILDING, ALL UNDERTAKEN DURING ZANE GREY'S OCCUPANCY. THE CONSTRUCTION HISTORY

IS TRACED ON SHEETS TWO AND THREE, WHILE SHEETS FOUR THROUGH NINE RECORD THE STRUCTURE AS IT STOOD IN THE SUMMER OF 1988.

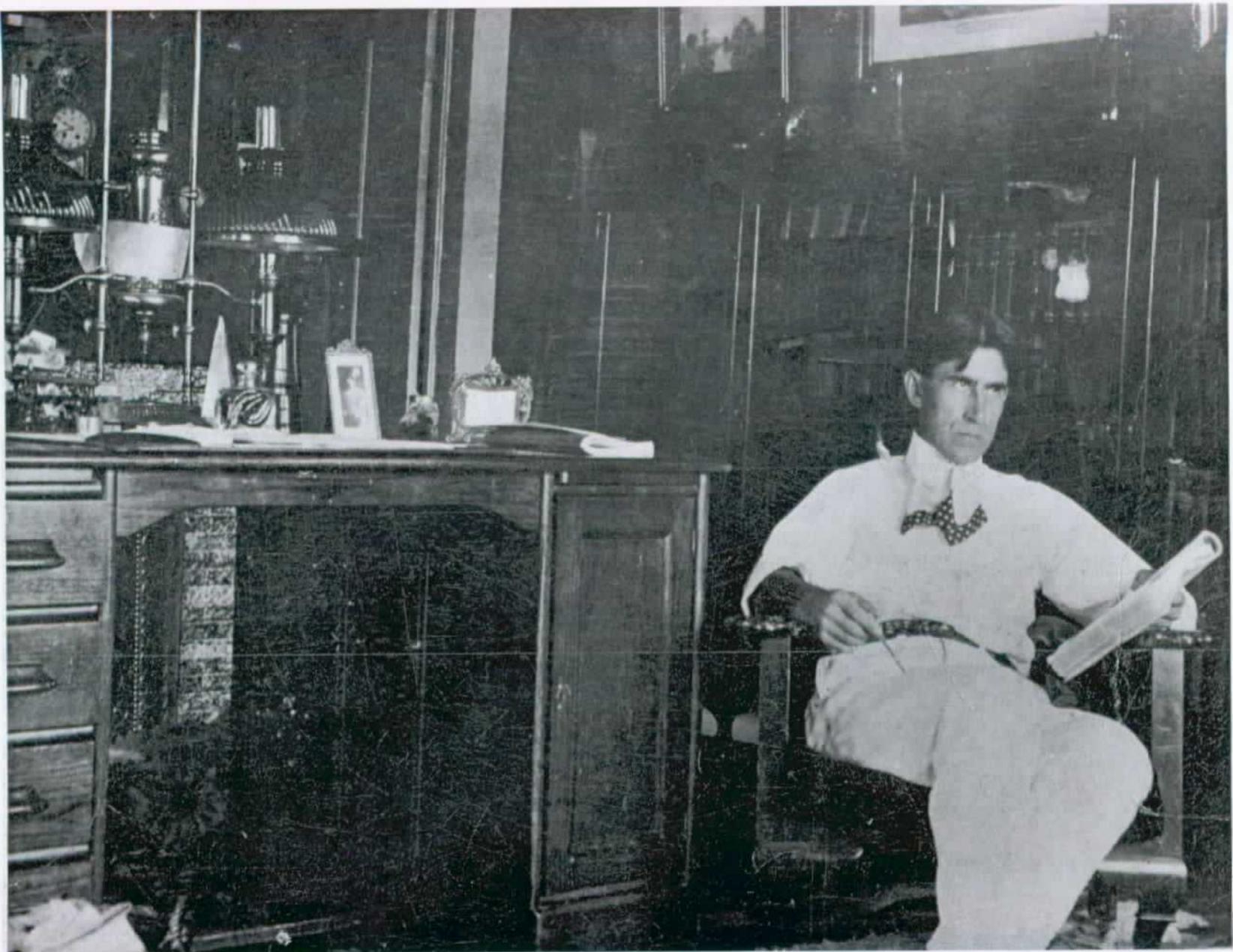
THE ZANE GREY HOUSE RECORDING PROJECT WAS UNDERTAKEN BY THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY (HABS), AN AGENCY OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, DURING THE SUMMER OF 1988. THE PROJECT WAS CO-SPONSORED BY THE UPPER DELAWARE SCENIC AND RECREATIONAL RIVER, NARROWSBURG, NEW YORK, JOHN HUIZKY, SUPERINTENDENT, AND THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY/HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD (HABS/HAER), DR. ROBERT J. KAPSOCH, CHIEF. THE FIELD TEAM, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF ERIC DELONY, CHIEF AND PRINCIPAL HAER ARCHITECT, AND BILL LEBOVICH, HAER ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIAN, AND ASSISTED BY SANDRA SPEERS, CHIEF, PLANNING AND SUPPORT SERVICES, UDSRR, AND CARLA M. HAUSER, SECRETARY, UDSRR, CONSISTED OF ARCHITECTURAL SUPERVISOR BRIAN D. BARTHOLOMEW (UNIV. OF COLORADO AT DENVER), AND ARCHITECTURAL TECHNICIANS SCOTT BARBER (UNIV. OF WISCONSIN-MILWAUKEE), ANNE GUERETTE (US/ICOMOS AND LAVAL UNIV. QUEBEC) AND ELIZABETH F. KNOWLAN (UNIV. OF HOUSTON), AND HISTORIANS SYLVIE C. BROUINE (US/ICOMOS AND RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE) AND NANCY SPIEGEL (WINTERTHUR PROGRAM, UNIV. OF DELAWARE).

ELIZABETH F. KNOWLAN, BRIAN D. BARTHOLOMEW, ANNE GUERETTE, SCOTT BARBER, NANCY SPIEGEL, 1988.		ZANE GREY HOUSE		LACKAWAXEN		PENNSYLVANIA		HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY	
ZANE GREY HOUSE / DELAWARE-ADIRONDACK RECORDING PROJECT, 1988		LACKAWAXEN		PENNSYLVANIA		1906-1916		SHEET 1 OF 9 SHEETS	

2. Photograph, Dolly Grey in the Cottage, ca. 1905. Courtesy of Mrs. G.M. Farley Hagerstown, MD.



3. Photograph, Zane Grey in the Cottage, ca. 1905. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UPDE 871).



Zane Grey House, Historic Furnishings Report

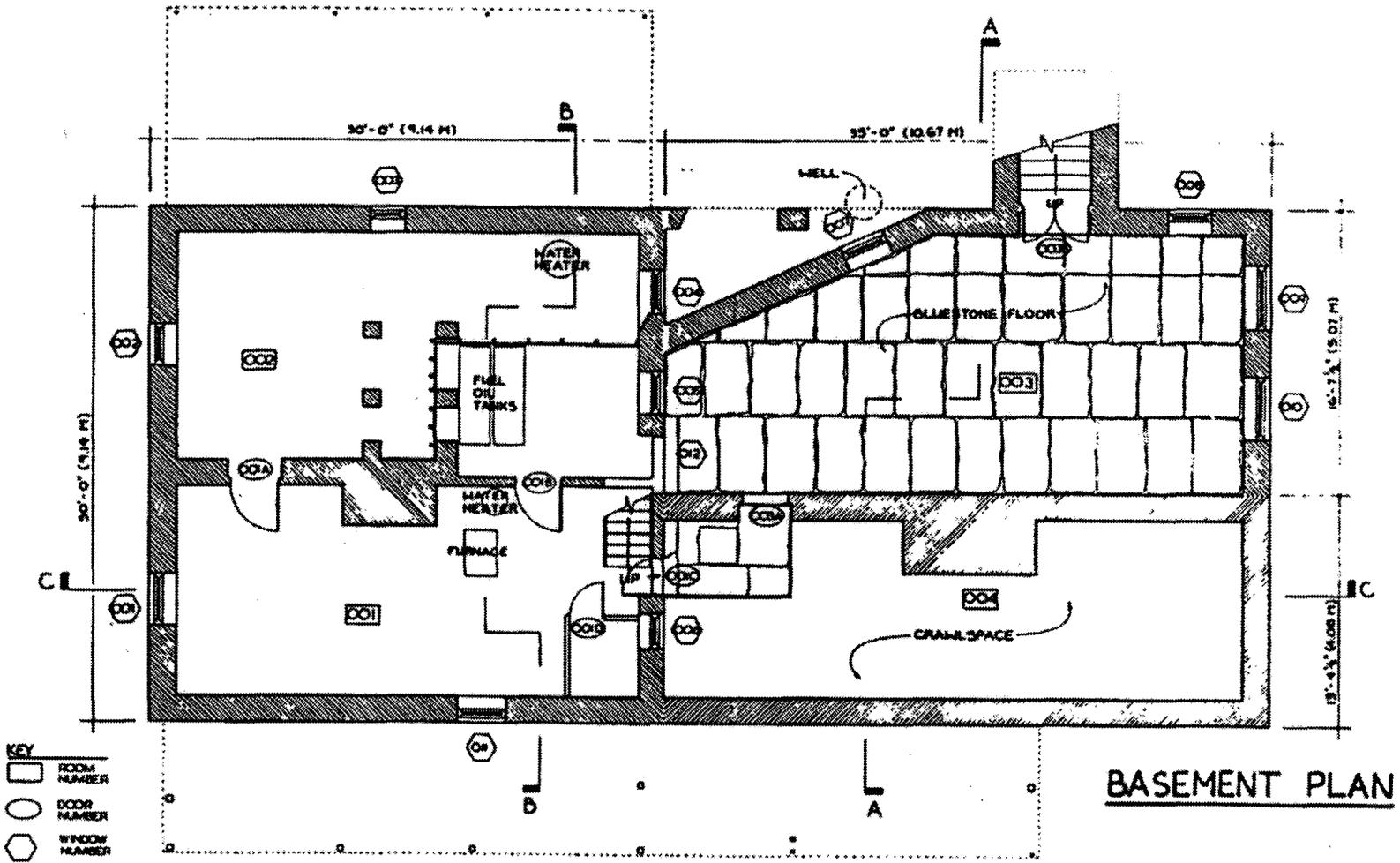
4. Photograph, Zane Grey in the Cottage, ca. 1905. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UPDE 1268).



5. Photograph, Zane Grey House, east elevation, post-1915. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UPDE 944).

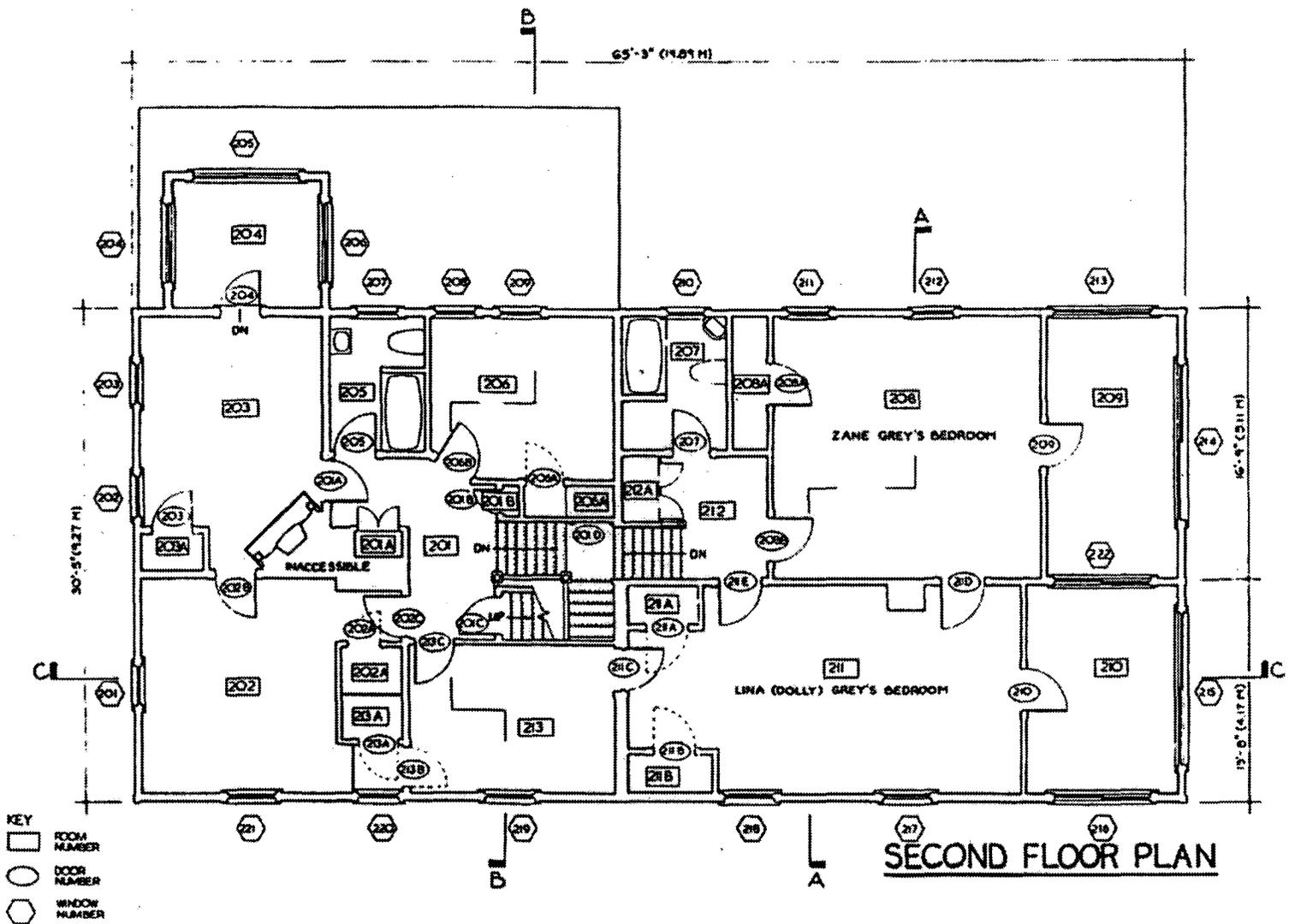


6. Drawing, Basement Floor Plan, Zane Grey House, 1992. Short and Ford Architects, *The Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania: Historic Structures Report* (Philadelphia: for Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, 1992), figure 38. HABS floor plan with added notations by Short and Ford.

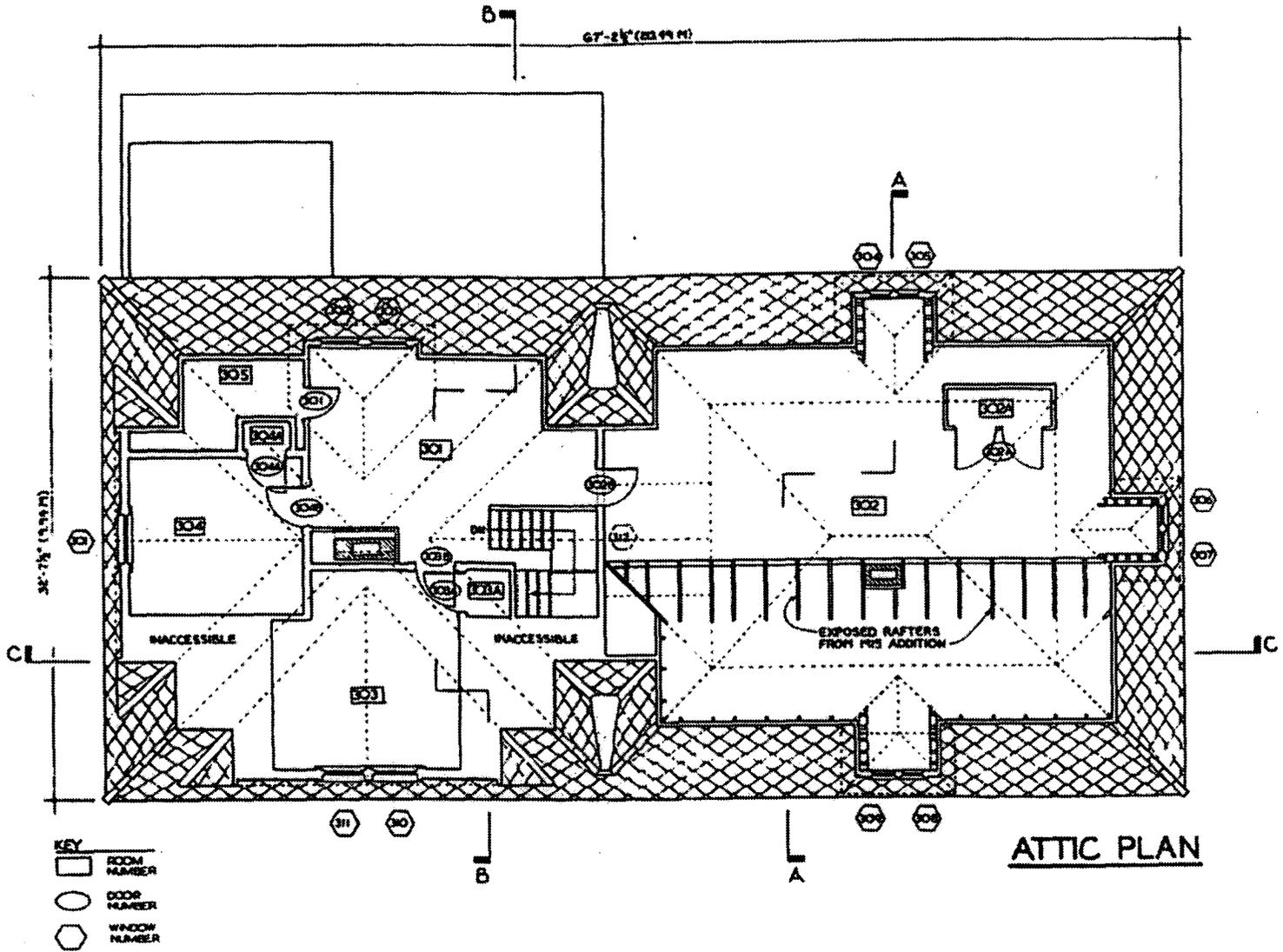


7. Drawing, First Floor Plan, Zane Grey House, 1992. Short and Ford, *Historic Structures Report*, figure 61. HABS floor plan with added notations by Short and Ford.

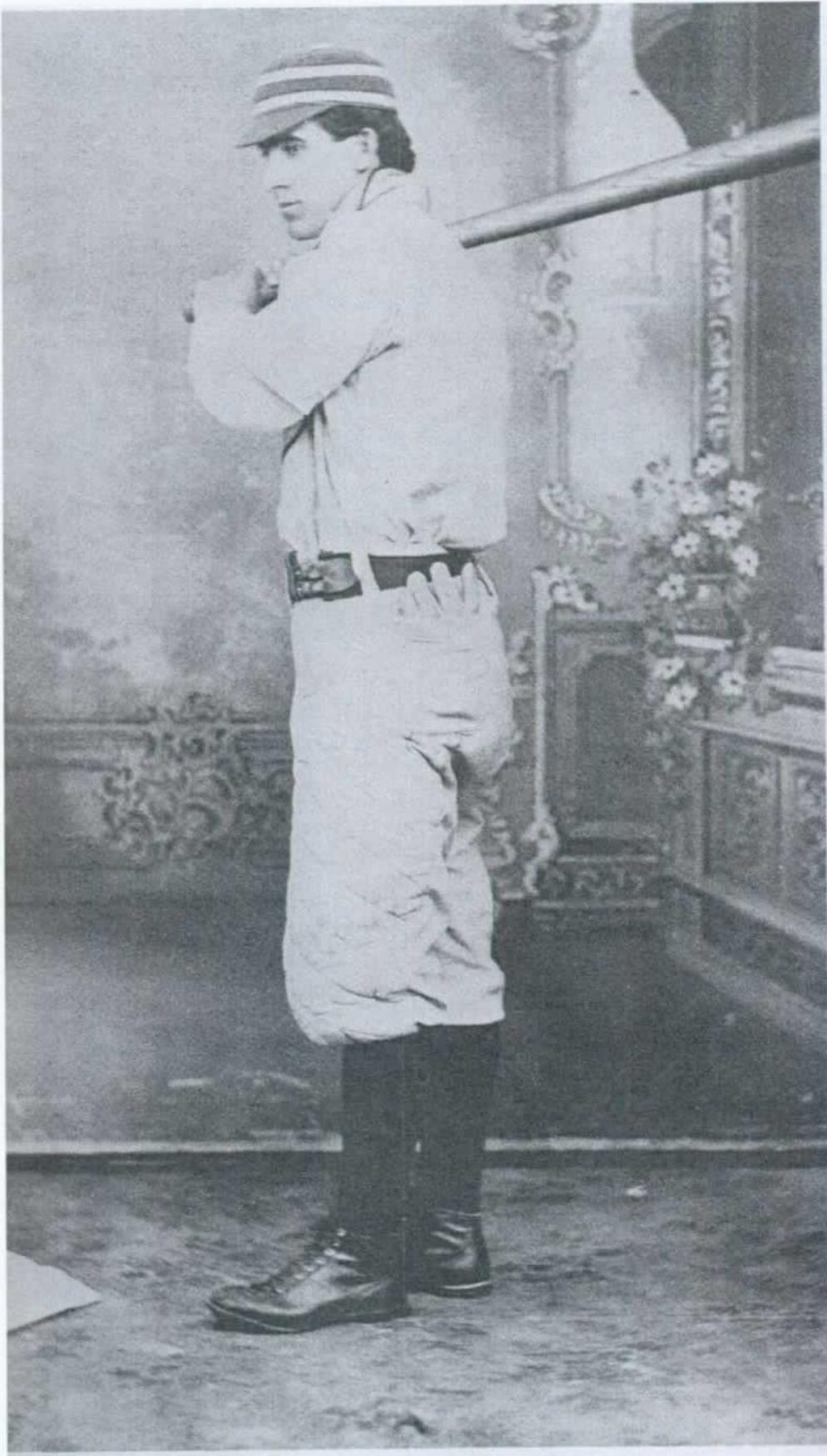
8. Drawing, Second Floor Plan, Zane Grey House, 1992. Short and Ford, *Historic Structures Report*, figure 84. HABS floor plan with added notations by Short and Ford.



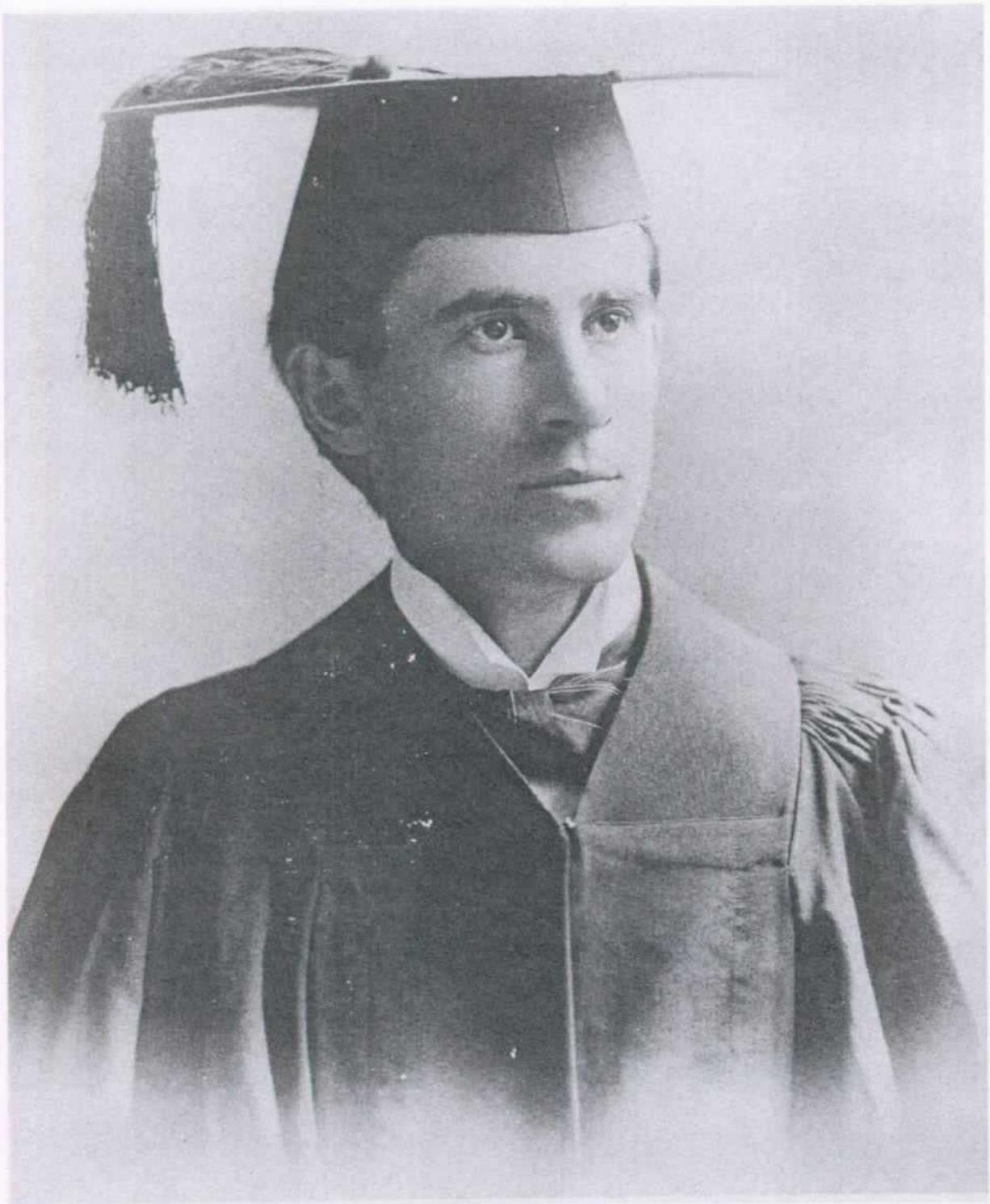
9. Drawing, Attic Floor Plan, Zane Grey House, 1992. Short and Ford, *Historic Structures Report*, figure 91. HABS floor plan with added notations by Short and Ford.



10. Photograph, Zane Grey as University of Pennsylvania baseball player, 1892-1896. Courtesy of Loren Grey, Woodland Hills, CA.



11. Photograph, Zane Grey as he graduates from the University of Pennsylvania, 1896. Courtesy of Loren Grey, Woodland Hills, CA.



12. Illustration, "CONDEMNED TO READ HIS OWN STORIES," from Zane Grey, "A Trout Fisherman's Inferno," *Field and Stream*, April 1910: 1118. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (UPDE 779).



CONDEMNED TO READ HIS OWN STORIES

13. Illustration, "THE LAST TRAIL," 1939, by Vaughn Shoemaker. Courtesy of Loren Grey, Woodland Hills, CA.

THE LAST TRAIL



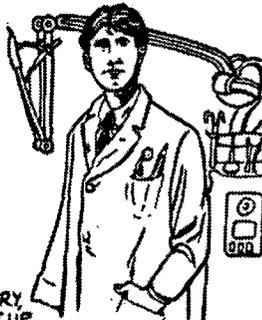
14. Comic strip, "Pennsylvania Profiles: A Boy Named Pearl," 1978, by Patrick M. Reynolds. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River ("Zane Grey House Recent Clippings," Vertical File, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River, Beach Lake, PA).

Pennsylvania Profiles

by Patrick M. Reynolds

a Boy Named Pearl

PEARL GRAY WAS BORN 1875 IN ZANESVILLE, OHIO, A TOWN FOUNDED BY HIS ANCESTORS. WHEN HIS FATHER, A DENTIST, FOUND HIS SON'S FIRST STORY HIDDEN IN A CAVE, HE TORE IT UP, WHIPPED THE BOY AND DECLARED HE'D NEVER HAVE A WRITER FOR A SON. HE WAS WRONG.



PEARL WON A BASEBALL SCHOLARSHIP TO THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA WHERE HE STUDIED DENTISTRY, GRADUATED IN 1896, AND SET UP PRACTICE IN NEW YORK CITY. HE KEPT WRITING IN HIS SPARE TIME.

A FISHING TRIP IN THE POCONOS IN 1902 PROMPTED HIM TO WRITE "A DAY ON THE DELAWARE" IT BECAME HIS FIRST SALE. RECREATION MAGAZINE BOUGHT IT FOR \$10.



IN 1903 HE PENNED A HISTORICAL NOVEL ABOUT AN ANCESTOR, BETTY ZANE. NO EDITOR WOULD PUBLISH IT, SO HIS FIANCE, DOLLY ROTH, PAID TO HAVE IT PRINTED. PEARL MARRIED DOLLY IN 1905, AND CHANGED HIS OWN NAME TO

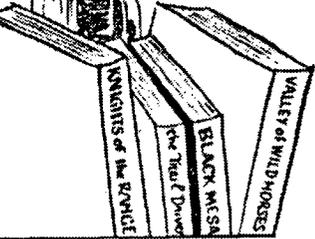
Zane Grey

THAT SAME YEAR-1905-ZANE GREY QUIT THE TEETH BUSINESS AND MOVED TO THE HOME HE BOUGHT IN LACKAWAXEN, PIKE COUNTY, WHERE HE LIVED UNTIL 1918. IT WAS HERE THAT THE ACTION-WESTERN NOVEL WAS BORN. INSPIRED BY A TRIP TO ARIZONA IN 1907, ZANE WROTE "THE HERITAGE OF THE DESERT," WHICH SET THE STYLE FOR ALL HIS WESTERN STORIES. TODAY GREY'S HOME IS THE ZANE GREY INN.



HERE, IN 1912, ZANE GREY WROTE THE MOST FAMOUS WESTERN NOVEL EVER PUBLISHED, Riders of the Purple Sage.

OTHER WESTERN STORIES FOLLOWED, AND BY THE END OF WORLD WAR I, WHEN PAPERBACK BOOKS EMERGED, ZANE GREY WAS THE HOTTEST SELLING WRITER IN THE COUNTRY.

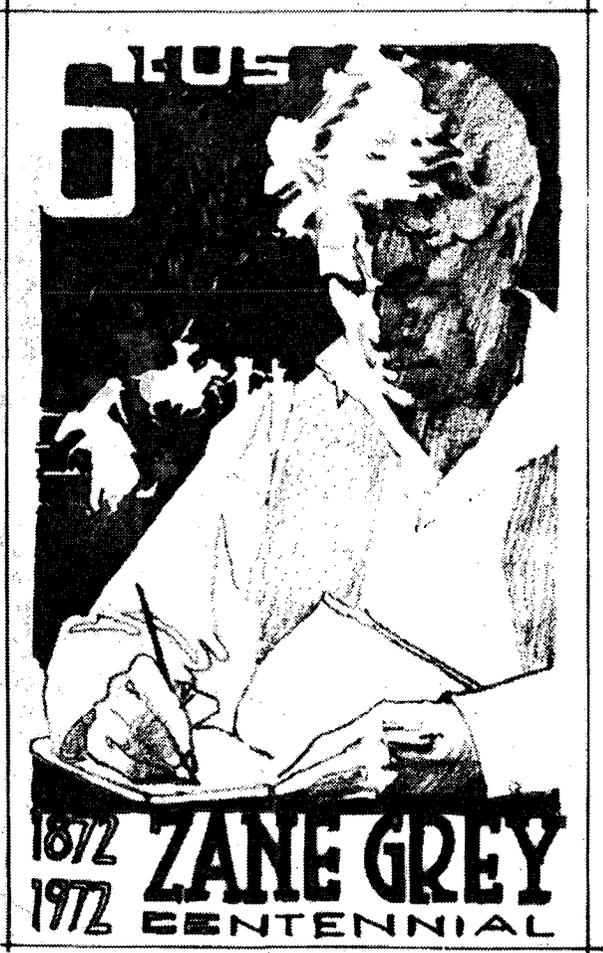


UNTIL HIS DEATH IN 1939 ZANE GREY WROTE 89 BOOKS THAT SOLD OVER 100 MILLION COPIES; 46 WERE MADE INTO MOVIES, AND SOME GREAT STARS GOT THEIR START IN GREY'S FILMS, INCLUDING GARY COOPER AND SHIRLEY TEMPLE.

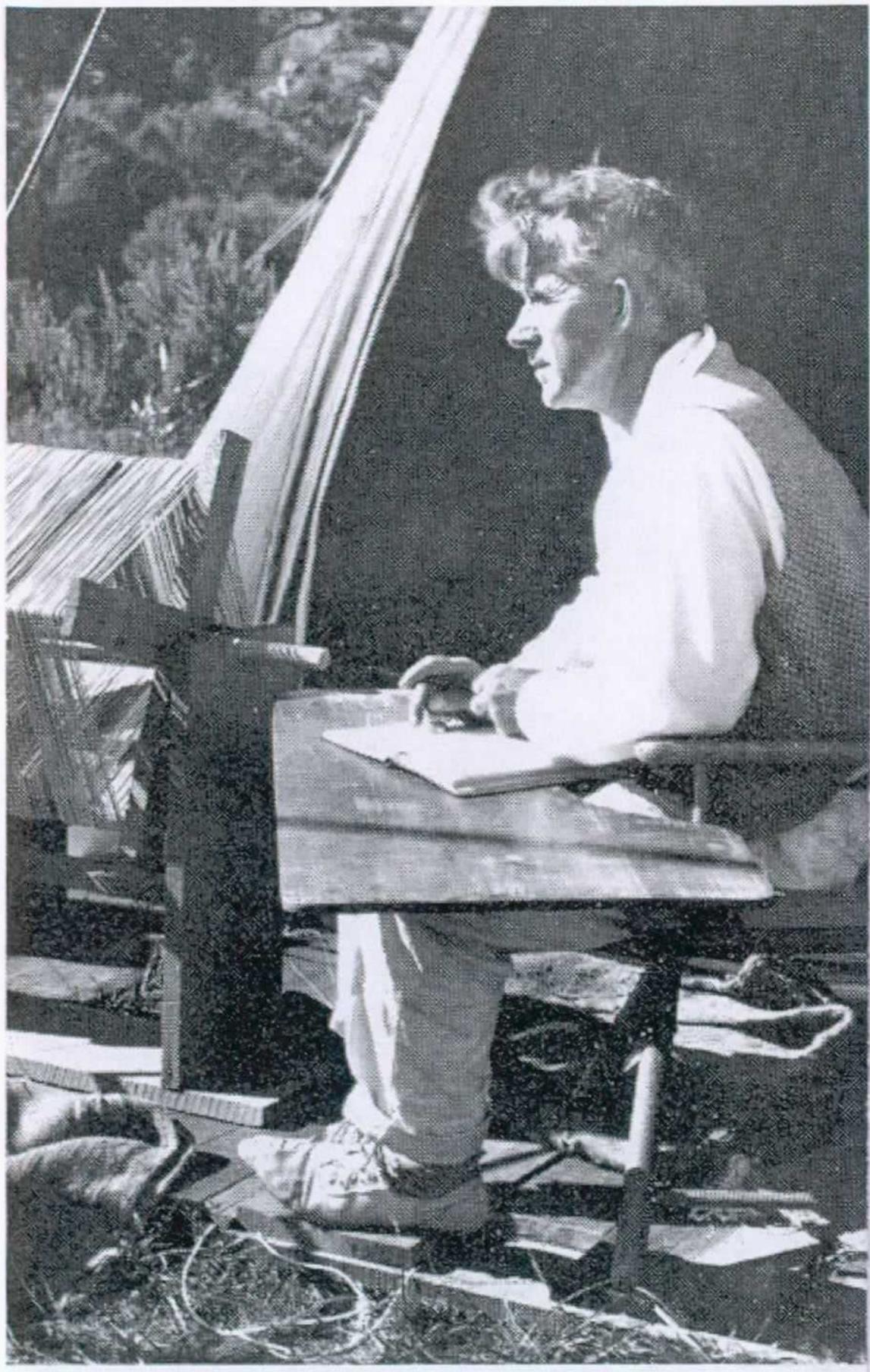


GREY NEVER HEARD OF TELEVISION, BUT IN 1950 THE ZANE GREY WESTERN THEATER APPEARED ON THE TUBE AND DID 146 EPISODES IN ITS FIVE YEAR RUN. GREY DID ALL HIS WRITING IN LONGHAND IN A MORRIS CHAIR WITH A LARGE LAPBOARD BEFORE HIM.

15. Art work, Zane Grey commemorative postage stamp, ca. 1972. Courtesy of National Park Service, Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River (in UPDE 901: Zane Grey Inn and Museum Records, Series II, Box 1, Folder 7).



16. Photograph, Zane Grey writing in New Zealand, 1927. Courtesy of Loren Grey, Woodland Hills, CA.



17. Photograph, Zane Grey House, Southeast Room, facing northwest corner, July 1966. Photograph #193, July 1966, Box 1, Folder 8, Zane Grey Collection. MSSP-85, Photographic Archives, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

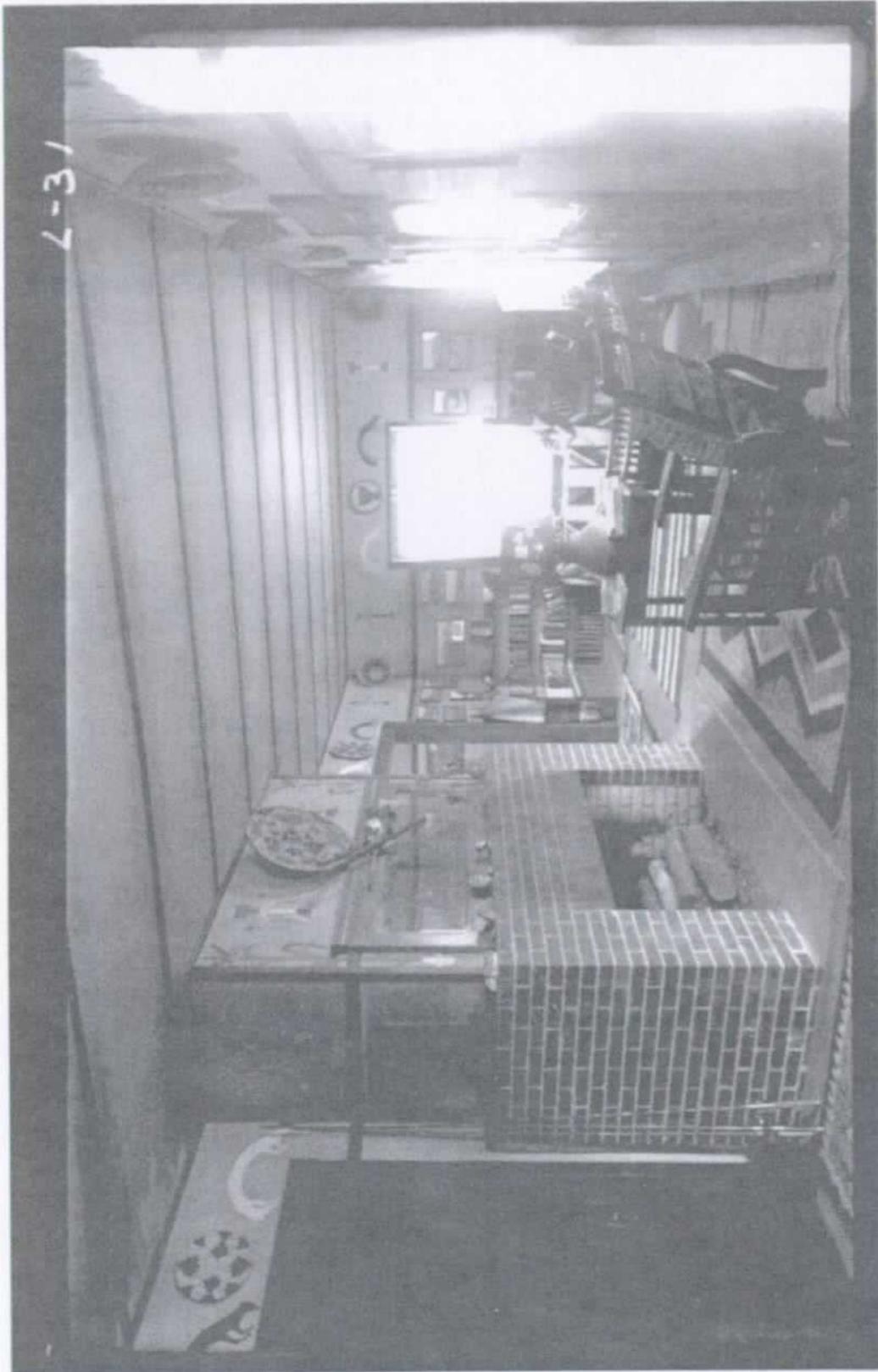
• JUL 66



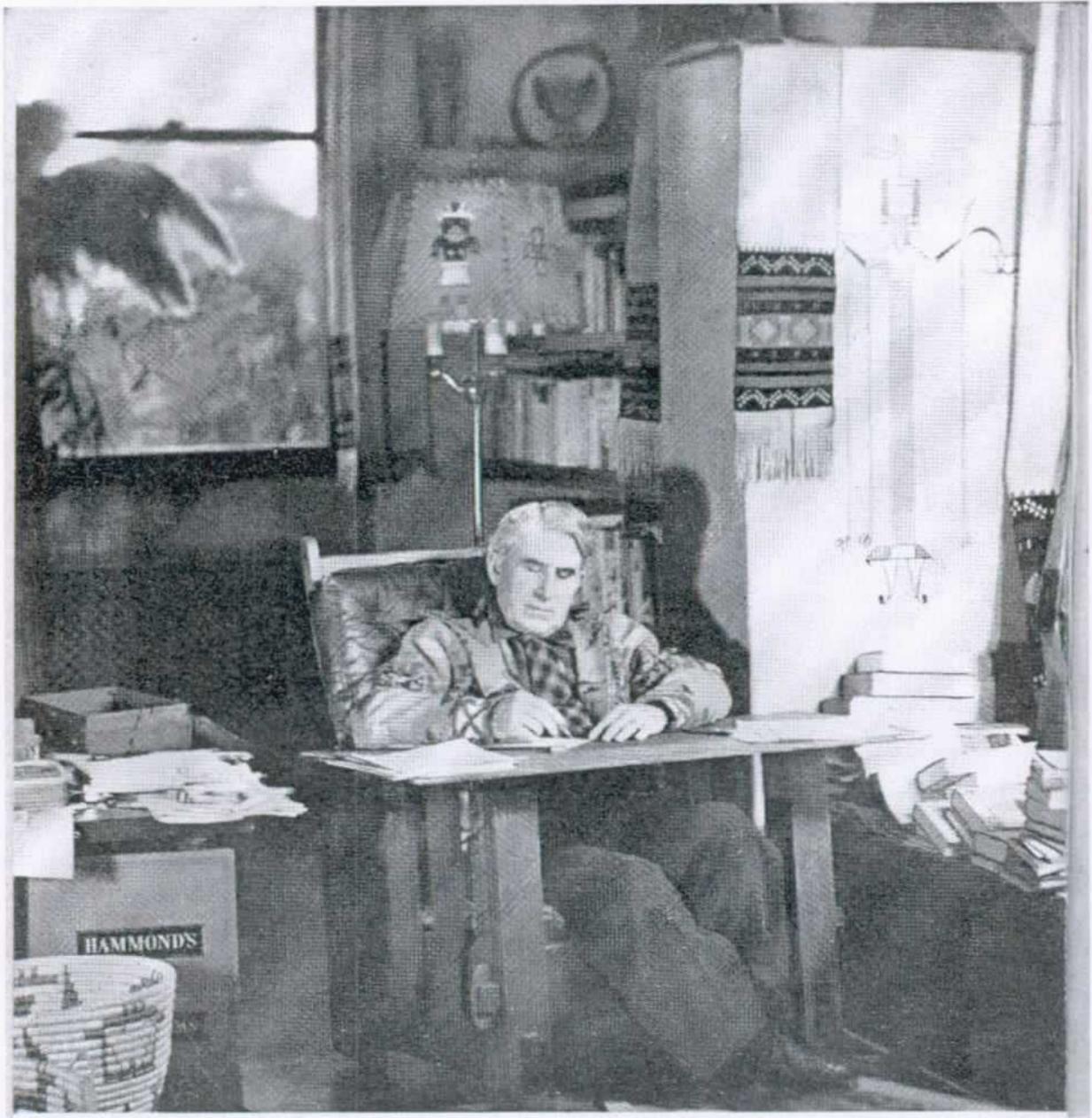
18. Photograph, Zane Grey House, Northwest Room (background) and Northeast Room (foreground), facing west, n.d., from the Hensel Collection of The Hawley Library, Hawley, PA.



19. Photograph, Zane Grey House, Northeast Room, facing north, n.d., from the Hensel Collection of The Hawley Library, Hawley, PA.



20. Photograph, Zane Grey in his Altadena, California study, n.d. Courtesy of Loren Grey, Woodland Hills, CA.





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Implementation Options

INTRODUCTION

The Zane Grey Museum, or Big House, on the former property of the Grey family will house an interpretive exhibition focussing on the life and work of Zane Grey during his Lackawaxen era of 1905 to 1918. Segments of the exhibition will address briefly Grey's childhood and earlier career as a dentist. Other segments will address briefly Grey's later work and continued legacy in American literature and popular culture. The exhibition will feature many of the objects and archival materials in the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River collection. To preserve some of the textile and paper-based objects, the rotation of objects and duplication of two-dimensional objects must be considered. Acquisitions should be limited to copies of photographs and archival materials in the collections of other institutions to supplement those already at the Park. The Park should also begin recording oral history interviews with visitors to the Zane Grey Museum and consider acquiring videos and/or clips of Zane-Grey-related movies and television programs. Other acquisitions should be limited to the purchase of Lackawaxen-era books, serials, and articles by Zane Grey that will support the mission and interpretive goals of the Park.

The exhibition will occupy a majority of the first floor of the Zane Grey House. The Park may consider using more first floor space than the current exhibition occupies. The second floor is not under consideration for exhibition space because it currently houses office space for National Park Service staff members. Extending the exhibition onto the second floor is likely unnecessary because of the focused scope of the exhibition and the moderate number of objects to be included in it. Using the second floor also would introduce accessibility issues regarding the use of the stairwell.

The Zane Grey House will not be interpreted as a historic furnished interior because there is limited extant information upon which to base such an installation and the Park owns few Grey-era furnishings. Instead, the Grey-era furnishings and personal objects in the Park's collection will be incorporated into the above interpretive exhibition.

OPERATING PLAN CONSIDERATIONS

Access

Visitors arrive at the Zane Grey House via automobile, small water craft, or foot. Automobiles are parked in the small National Park Service-owned lot to the northeast of the museum. Additional automobiles may be parked in the large parking lot to the north operated by the Pennsylvania Fish and Boat Commission. Small water craft land at the boat launch to the east of the museum. The majority of foot traffic is likely to approach the museum from Scenic Drive as it passes to the east of the house.

Hours

The Zane Grey Museum is currently open for tours 10:00 AM to 5:00 PM Thursday through Sunday from Memorial Day through Labor Day. The last tour starts at 4:30 PM. In September and October the museum is open from 10:00 to 5:00 PM on weekends. The museum is available to groups by appointment from November to April. The museum is also open to celebrate Zane Grey's birthday two days each year in late January from 12:00 to 4:00 PM.

The Park is striving to make the exhibits in the Zane Grey Museum as accessible to visitors as possible. To this end, the Park plans to transition from its current open, vulnerable exhibits shown on ranger-led tours to more secure exhibits which can be experienced on a self-guided basis. Making the exhibits available on a self-guided basis would allow the Park to extend the hours and season when the Zane Grey Museum is open to the public. Also, in a self-guided format visitors can regulate the amount of time they spend in the exhibition. This may increase visitation among visitors who prefer self-guided tours and will eliminate the potential wait time visitors may experience now. However, maintaining a seasonal schedule with an off-season would aid in the rotation of collection objects. The Park will determine the optimum public schedule in the future.

Room Use

Currently visitors approach the Zane Grey Museum from the east. They ascend a set of stairs to the east porch (108) and enter the museum through the south door on the east elevation (door number 101D). The southeast room (101) serves as a combination orientation and sales area. The southwest room (102) is a temporary exhibition space. Visitors experience the southeast and southwest rooms in a self-guided way and then enter the museum rooms (106-107) with a Park ranger for a twenty-minute guided tour.

The Park may wish to consider using the east porch and west porch (108-109) as spaces to accommodate visitors. Placing wicker chairs, tables, and rockers on the east porch would suggest the possible Grey-era use of the area. These furnishings could be augmented with appropriate magazines or games of checkers for visitors to read and use. The west porch could also be furnished with wicker chairs and tables to provide seating for visitors. The extension of visitor accommodation onto the porches would better reflect the Grey-era use of the house and serve as a link to the museum grounds.⁸⁷⁵

One complaint the researcher heard regards using the southeast room as an orientation and sales area. The speaker felt the room sterile and not a good introduction to an author's home. Because the first floor of the Zane Grey Museum is to house an interpretive exhibition, it is unlikely that the room will become more "homey." However, it is possible to remove some of the sterility and commercial feeling by limiting the orientation and sales area to the southeast corner of the room. Limiting and condensing

⁸⁷⁵ If the Park considered it desirable, safe, and cost effective; it is possible to further extend visitor experiences and seating furniture onto the museum grounds. Although their locations on the grounds are unknown, there is documentary evidence indicating that the Greys owned "iron couches" (possibly outdoor chaise lounge-type forms) and hammocks which likely were placed outside the house. Although where the Greys played is unknown, visitors might also be invited to play a game of croquet as the Greys once did.

this area will provide more space for museum exhibits and minimize the commercial impact on the room.

In future, the Park plans to remove the orientation and sales area from the southeast room to the southwest room (102). The Park plans to change the location of the main visitor entrance. Visitors now enter on the river side of the house through a south door into the southeast room. The future entrance will be through a north (rear) door into the southwest room. For security purposes, it is desirable to maintain one entry/exit door. The rear exit would link the exhibition area with potential visitor seating on the west porch and activities on the grounds.

The interpretive exhibition will occupy the majority of the southeast and southwest rooms with space set aside for the orientation and sales area. The exhibition will also occupy the northeast and northwest rooms as it does currently. The majority of this space will house a permanent exhibition focussing on the life and work of Zane Grey during his Lackawaxen era of 1905 to 1918. The Park may consider dedicating a small portion of the exhibition space to a changing exhibit which can feature topics not explored in the permanent exhibition; further examine permanent exhibition themes; or highlight Zane-Grey-related objects and archival materials from the Park's or other institution's collections.

Exhibit and Presentation Methods

The Park is currently considering the exhibit and presentation methods that will be employed in the new Zane Grey Museum exhibition. Discussed below are the pros and cons of open versus enclosed displays and ranger-led versus self-guided tours. Ultimately, the Park must decide what methods best meet its mission, interpretive goals at the Zane Grey Museum, and the needs and expectations of its visitors. The ideal solution may be a combination of open, barrier-protected, and enclosed exhibits which visitors can tour regularly in a self-guided way. The self-guided tour can be augmented with scheduled, daily or twice-daily, guided special interest tours.

Option 1⁸⁷⁶

Exhibit Method: Open Display

Presentation Method: Ranger-led Tours

One option for exhibit and presentation of the new Zane Grey exhibition is to continue the current methods of open displays shown to visitors on ranger-led tours. The positive aspects of this option are that there are no physical barriers between objects and visitors; there are no obtrusive display cases, ropes, or other devices to detract from the interior of the house; and objects can continue to be displayed openly on the built-in shelves in the northeast and northwest rooms.

⁸⁷⁶ Below discussion of open versus enclosed exhibit displays adapted from Toby Raphael et al, *Exhibit Conservation Guidelines: Incorporating Conservation Into Exhibit Planning, Design and Production* (Harpers Ferry, WV: SANAD Support Technologies Inc. for National Park Service, 1999), B:2, Exhibit Format and Layout, Open or Enclosed Display?. (CD-ROM)

The negative aspects of an open display accessed via ranger-led tours is that tours are labor-intensive, dictate the length of time a visitor spends in the exhibition, and can cause waits between tours. Open displays leave objects vulnerable to the environment in the house including dust and humidity; possible handling by visitors; vandalism; and theft. Open displays require greater security and maintenance than do enclosed exhibits.

Option 2

Exhibit Method: Open Display with Limited Barriers and/or Sensing Devices

Presentation Method: Self-guided Tours

A second option for exhibit and presentation of the new Zane Grey exhibition is to continue to use open displays but to install a limited number of barriers and/or sensing devices so that visitors can tour the exhibition in a self-guided way. As part of the exhibition design process, the Park could determine which displays and objects are the most vulnerable and plan ways to mitigate security problems. The selection of barriers to distance visitors from exhibits should be made in consideration of the house's interior and the objects on display. Dark, natural woods, and fibers for stanchions and ropes are preferable to brass and velvet.

In addition to or instead of physical barriers, the Park may consider sensing devices such as infrared beams to distance visitors from collection objects. Such beams may be particularly effective for protecting objects on the open shelves in the northeast and northwest rooms. These devices would provide a less visually obtrusive barrier than ropes and stanchions but are more costly and would affect the architectural fabric of the house. In addition, for the system to be effective, a staff member would need to be available to respond to visitor trespasses.

One of the positive effects of using barriers and sensing devices is that the Zane Grey exhibition could be made available on a self-guided basis. This would free the Park from providing regular ranger-led tours and visitors could regulate their own length of stay in the exhibition. Barriers and sensing devices allow the Park to protect the most vulnerable objects from handling, vandalism, and theft. These methods are less visually obtrusive than exhibit cases and allow the Park to continue to display objects on the museum's open shelves and on furnishings.

While barriers and sensing devices provide some security against handling, vandalism, and theft; they do not protect objects from environmental concerns such as humidity and dust. They also may not decrease the number of staff members required at the museum because a person needs to be available to respond to visitor trespasses of either system. In addition, no matter how sensitive the selection of ropes and stanchions, they are still visible barriers between visitors and exhibits.

Option 3

Exhibit Method: Enclosed Display

Presentation Method: Self-guided Tours

A third option for exhibit and presentation of the new Zane Grey exhibition is to enclose a majority of the object displays. Enclosed displays are the most common form of display for long-term exhibitions with the exception of historic furnished interiors, sculptures, and paintings.⁸⁷⁷ The problem at the Zane Grey Museum is that the interior is historic, but the exhibits will incorporate small objects which visitors will want to view closely. The Park must walk a fine line between the historic character of the building and meeting the needs of a formal museum exhibition.

There are several positive effects to fully enclosing museum objects. Enclosed displays would decrease personnel requirements by freeing the Park from providing regular ranger-led tours, eliminating the need for a museum monitor besides the person in charge of orientation and sales, and minimizing the amount of routine maintenance such as dusting required. Visitors can monitor their lengths of stay and objects are protected from both handling and environmental concerns. It is possible to lessen the visual impact of display cases by carefully choosing color, size, and placement.

However, despite all care in the choice of exhibit cases, the drawbacks of the enclosed display must be considered. The glare of Plexiglas and obstruction of views across rooms will affect the feeling of the house. If Plexiglas is used to cover shelving units or flat displays on furnishings, the reflection of the plastic may make exhibits difficult to view. Also, while the objects need less maintenance, the daily cleaning of the Plexiglas must be scheduled.

Additional Presentation Method Considerations

The self-guided tour of the Zane Grey exhibition does not need to be a silent exercise of reading text panels and object labels. If the Park determined it desirable and cost-effective, an audio program could be developed for the exhibition and the grounds. The audio program could be linear and lead visitors from object to object, or, with a more sophisticated system, could be self-directed so that visitors could choose the order and amount of information they receive. Either type of audio program could include interpretive information; excerpts from Grey family diaries and correspondence; and additional sounds such as player piano music, the dental engine, a phonograph recording, children playing, and others. Such sounds could be incorporated into the exhibition without an audio program by using a simpler system of recordings and push buttons.

It is highly recommended that the Park consider some form of an interactive video viewing device to support the showing of Zane-Grey-related movies and television programs (see "Zane Grey and Popular Culture" section below).

If the Park is interested in including interpretive material in computer-based programs, it is recommended that a link to the Zane Grey's West Society website be provided so that visitors can access material related to the Society and the lists of Grey's works the Society has compiled.

⁸⁷⁷ Raphael, B:2, Exhibit Format and Layout, Open or Enclosed Display?.

"Low-tech" interpretive means may also be employed to bring home the reality of Zane Grey to the visitor. A replica can be made of his Morris-type chair, cushions, and lapboard. Visitors can be invited to sit in the replica chair and write with pencils on legal sheets of paper. This chair could be used as a visitor comment station or an area where children can write and draw. Perhaps a corkboard could be provided nearby so that visitors can display their comments and artwork. Or, the lapboard can be used as an interpretive panel describing Grey's method of writing including the materials, length of time he would spend, and how he would inspire himself.

Besides sitting in a replica of Grey's chair, visitors can understand the size and the many activities he enjoyed through a few select photographic enlargements. Full-length images such as Grey dressed in his baseball uniform, Grey holding a large fish, or Grey on horseback may serve well as stand-up displays or on a bare wall such as the one at the first stair landing.

Another low-tech interpretive device is recommended to link the exhibition and the museum's grounds. If an audio program for the two is deemed undesirable or too costly, it is recommended that a self-guided brochure be developed for the grounds. These brochures should be dispensed at the orientation area and at the exit. This way visitors will know at the outset that the tour is available so that they can budget time and will be reminded to take the tour as they exit. The brochure should include a map and interpretive text that links to and expands upon the interpretive themes of the museum exhibition.

Staffing

Depending on the presentation method the Park chooses, one to two Park rangers will be necessary to staff the Zane Grey exhibition during public hours. The only way that staffing can be limited to a single ranger is if the exhibits are completely enclosed and no ranger-led tours are scheduled. The single ranger would dispense brochures, answer questions, assist visitors with interactive exhibits, and sell souvenirs. A second ranger would be required to monitor open or partially open exhibits and/or to lead tours. Even if the exhibition does not require monitoring or guiding, a second ranger still would be helpful on busy days to answer questions, assist visitors with interactive exhibits, and maintain order in the interactive exhibit areas (e.g., sharpen pencils, straighten supplies, reset video players).

Tour Pattern

The order in which visitors enter the rooms in the Zane Grey Museum depends, naturally, on their entry point. Currently, visitors enter the southeast room, explore the southwest room before or after a guided tour, and visit the northeast and the northwest rooms on a guided tour. They conclude the visit by exiting through the southeast room.

If, as planned, visitors enter the exhibition through the rear entrance in the southeast room, they will follow a U-shaped pattern to the northwest room and then back track to the exit in the southwest room. This room will contain the orientation and sales area. The self-guiding grounds tour brochures also should be located at the exit.

It is proposed that an introductory panel hang in the southwest corner of the southeast room. The southern portion of this room, including the fireplace on the west wall, would display exhibits addressing Zane Grey's early life and family life in Lackawaxen.

Sections addressing Zane Grey and sports, Zane Grey and travel, and Zane Grey's fascination with the West could occupy the remaining space in the southeast room. Perhaps the section on Zane Grey's fascination with the West could extend into the northeast room forming a link between the West and his writing. Zane Grey's writing should be the main focus in the northeast room, his former study. There Zane Grey's early writing and life as a best-selling author can be covered. Zane Grey's later life may be addressed at the north end of the northeast room. The northwest room will contain the furnished oak desk vignette and stove. The remainder of the space may be used to interpret Zane Grey and American popular culture and Zane Grey's legacy.

The exhibition's theme areas may be rearranged. Most are not sensitive to chronology except that Grey's early life should appear early in the exhibition and his later life and legacy should appear towards the end. Also, it is most logical to discuss Grey's writing in the room in which he wrote several of his early important novels. Otherwise, the exhibition themes can be moved as necessary.

Collection Objects

Park staff members should continue to inspect collection objects on exhibit during opening and closing procedures. Any changes to or problems with objects should be reported to the museum curator as soon as possible. The museum curator and/or museum technician should continue to inspect exhibition objects weekly. The museum curator should develop and implement a regular cleaning schedule for collection objects and, if applicable, display cases. The type and frequency of cleaning will depend on the method of display.

At the Park's request, alternate objects are recommended in the "Proposed Exhibition Objects List" for many of the textile and paper-based objects. These recommendations are provided so that the Park can institute a rotation schedule to reduce the exposure time of fragile objects. The Park will want to consult with a conservator or refer to the conservation survey of the collection to create a formal rotation plan and schedule, but the below information is provided on the basis of each object's informational value and comparable object types.

Object rotation is generally not necessary for an exhibition of short duration (three to six months) unless the objects are particularly sensitive or the environmental conditions are severe. The most sensitive objects are textiles and hand-tinted or dyed objects such as photographs and baskets. Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River intends to mount a permanent exhibition in the Zane Grey Museum that will likely serve the public for at least ten years. Therefore, it is recommended that textiles and paper-based objects sensitive to light be rotated into storage during the duration of the exhibition. For some objects for which there are not duplicates or comparable replacements, such as Zane Grey's monogrammed jacket, it is recommended that the objects be taken off view during periods of low visitation from November to April.

While object rotation is recommended for the preservation of collection objects and the collection as a whole, it does require a commitment of personnel, storage space, and monetary resources. It is necessary that a qualified Park employee be allotted time to plan and implement a rotation schedule. Also, the changing of objects will in many cases require the rewriting of label copy to reflect the change. When objects are not on view, it is necessary that they be stored in museum-quality storage. In order to rotate some objects for which there are not currently duplicates or comparable objects, reproduction or replacement objects need to be purchased. To duplicate the two-dimensional objects, it is possible to make high-quality color copies or photographic reproductions. Photographic reproductions should be made only by a professional photographer. Ifachrome (or cibachrome) is the most chemically stable process. The Ifachrome image may be put on a polyester base or another base replicating the material of the original.

In cases where duplicates are to be made, care must be taken that the original objects are not harmed in the process. When making color copies, limit the number of times the original is exposed to the light of the copy machine. Be sure that copy machines designed for copying books are used when copying any book, particularly one with a delicate binding. In copying or photographing objects, avoid mechanical damage such as folding in the process.⁸⁷⁸

INTERPRETIVE OBJECTIVES

The proposed interpretive objectives are three goals which should be met for each visitor who tours the exhibition at the Zane Grey Museum.

Objective 1: Each visitor will become familiar with who Zane Grey was. In particular, s/he will learn that Grey wrote many influential popular Western novels and fishing articles during the first half of the twentieth century.

Objective 2: Each visitor will understand the importance of Zane Grey's years in Lackawaxen to his later success as a popular novelist. In particular, s/he will learn of Dolly Grey's instrumental role in educating, financially supporting, and emotionally supporting Zane Grey as well as providing editorial and office assistance.

Objective 3: Each visitor will be aware of the influence Zane Grey's work continues to have on the American popular Western novel, American popular culture in general, and our image of the American West.

INTERPRETIVE OUTLINE

The proposed interpretive outline for the Zane Grey Museum is intended to provide a framework for the development of an exhibition focused on Zane Grey's life and work in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, from 1905 to 1918. The framework is intended to encompass the many engaging facets of Zane Grey's personal and professional life so that visitors of all types will gain from the experience. Visitors with long experience in

⁸⁷⁸ Material in above three paragraphs paraphrased from Raphael, Technical Note 1:6, Object Rotation in Exhibits.

reading Grey's novels may learn about his personal life. Visitors unacquainted with Grey's work may learn the scope of Grey's interests and writing. Young visitors can learn about the lifestyle of being an early-twentieth-century author. Older visitors can reminisce with books, magazines, and movies from their youth.

Introduction

During the course of his career, Zane Grey (1872-1939) wrote popular Western novels, articles and books on fishing, and books for youths.

He is best-known for his popular Westerns, one of the most famous of which is his 1912 *Riders of the Purple Sage*.

Grey spent the early years of his writing career (1905-1918) on this property in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania. Here, with the help of his indefatigable wife Dolly, he penned his first success, *Heritage of the Desert* (1910); fathered three children; and launched a legendary writing career.

Grey's repeated, successful use of the popular Western formula and his vivid descriptions of the West still influence Western literature, American popular culture, and the image of the American West.

Early Life to 1905

Gray family

Zane Grey was born Pearl Zane Gray in Zanesville, Ohio, on 31 January 1872.

His father was Dr. Lewis M. Gray, his mother was Josephine Alice Gray.

He was the fourth of five children: Ella, Ida, Ellsworth, Pearl Zane, and Romer Carl.

Pearl Zane, Romer Carl, Ida, and Josephine Alice Grey would later come to live here in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania.

Education

As a young student, Grey disliked school and looked forward to vacations. His favorite subjects were geography and history. He also drew well.

On the strength of his skill as an amateur baseball player, Grey received a scholarship to attend the University of Pennsylvania.

There he studied dentistry and received his degree in 1896.

Dental Practice

Dr. Zane Grey opened his dental practice in New York City the same year he received his degree.

According to an extant printed announcement and a brass plate bearing his name, Pearl Zane Gray had dropped his first name and changed his last name to "Grey."

Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania

Grey and his close friend/brother Romer Carl Grey traveled to Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, on fishing and camping trips.

While in Lackawaxen in 1900, Grey met his future wife, Lina Elise Roth.

In 1905, Grey married Lina Elise Roth, closed his dental practice, moved to Lackawaxen, and began writing full time.

Zane Grey's Early Writing

According to Grey, he wrote his first story, "Jim and the Cave," at the age of fourteen.

Later, after opening his dental practice, Grey decided that he would be happier as a writer than as a dentist.

In 1902 he published his first article called "A Day on the Delaware" in *Recreation*. The article was based on a trip to Lackawaxen. Grey continued to write and publish articles on fishing and the outdoors into the 1930s.

In 1903, Grey borrowed \$600 from Lina Roth so that he could publish his first novel, *Betty Zane*.

Grey wrote the story and executed the art work for *Betty Zane*.

Betty Zane was not successful and neither were Grey's next several novels: *Spirit of the Border* (1906), *Last of the Plainsmen* (1908), *The Last Trail* (1909).

Grey also wrote books for youths. Two early books, *The Short Stop* (1909) and *The Young Forester* (1910), were popular with young people.

The Lackawaxen Years

Living arrangements

Zane and Dolly Grey first lived in the Cottage until spring of 1913. Grey built the Lodge in 1906 where he wrote until 1915.

Grey's brother and sister-in-law, Romer Carl and Reba Grey, lived in the Big House which they built in 1906.

Grey's mother and sister, Ida, lived in a third house.

Around 1913 or 1914 Romer Carl, Reba, Ida, and Josephine Grey began to live primarily in Middletown, New York.

In the spring of 1913, the Zane Greys moved into the Big House which became their summer residence. From October to May they lived in either Middletown or New York City.

During the winter of 1914 to 1915 the Greys constructed an addition at the northeast corner of the house which contained Grey's first-floor study.

In late summer 1916, they added a second addition to the northwest corner of the house which contained Grey's first-floor library.

When both additions were complete, Dolly Grey maintained a sitting room and sleeping porch over the earlier addition and Zane Grey had similar rooms over the second addition. The children occupied rooms on the second floor of the original house. Their governess lived on the third floor.

The Greys continued to regularly summer in Lackawaxen until 1918 when they moved to California. Period correspondence suggests the Greys planned only a temporary move to California for the winter but they never returned permanently. They continued to visit their property and friends the Smiths in Lackawaxen for brief periods until Dolly's 1957 death.

Dolly Grey

Dolly Grey was an accomplished young woman when she met Zane Grey. She completed a degree in English at Hunter College before marrying. She later earned a master's degree at Columbia University.

Dolly Grey played an essential role in enabling Zane Grey to become a best-selling author of popular Western novels.

Dolly Grey offered moral support while Grey struggled through many years of rejection from publishing houses. She always believed that he could write literary novels instead of popular novels.

Dolly Grey offered financial support allowing Grey to quit dentistry and take up writing full time. She also financed his pivotal trip to Arizona with Buffalo Jones.

Dolly Grey offered technical support. She recommended literature and books on writing to improve Grey's writing. She edited and typed his manuscripts.

Children

The Greys had three young children while living in Lackawaxen: Romer Zane born 1909, Betty Zane born 1912, and Loren born 1915.

The children were close friends with neighbors Mary and Caroline Smith. The children had a governess, Mrs. Koch, who often looked after both the Grey and Smith children. She was a strict disciplinarian.

Romer was a troublemaker who tried the patience of his parents and governess. At times he got the other children in trouble.

Betty most enjoyed the horses.

Loren was very young during the Lackawaxen years.

Help

Charles Smith served first as a hunting and fishing guide for Zane Grey and Romer Carl Grey. He later became caretaker for the Grey property and moved into the house formerly occupied by Josephine and Ida Grey.

Mary Farrell, later Mary Smith, came to Lackawaxen as Romer Carl and Reba Grey's maid. She retired when she married Charles Smith but continued to make meals for Zane Grey upon request.

Mrs. Koch was the Grey children's governess who looked after the children from 1912 and then for several years after they moved to California.

Activities

The Greys' indoor activities included writing, sewing, dining, reading, listening to music, playing checkers, and playing euchre.

The Greys' outdoor activities on their property included lounging, tennis, croquet, playing on a slide, throwing a very occasional lawn party, and keeping pets (horses, dogs, cats).

The Greys' outdoor activities that took them beyond their property included walking, hiking, beelining,⁸⁷⁹ hunting, boating, fishing, and swimming.

Zane Grey and Sports

Baseball

As a teen, Grey was a pitcher for several amateur baseball teams.

While pitching for a Columbus, Ohio, team he was discovered by a scout from the University of Pennsylvania who awarded him a baseball scholarship. Grey played baseball at the varsity level until he graduated in 1896.

Grey's brother Romer Carl also played amateur baseball and then went on to play professionally in Delphos, Ohio, and East Orange, New Jersey. Romer Carl played professional ball until his 1905 marriage.

Grey and his brother's baseball exploits served as material for some of Grey's books for youths including *The Short Stop*, *The Young Pitcher*, and *The Redheaded Outfield and Other Stories*.

Fishing

Grey and his brother Romer Carl were avid freshwater fishermen. One reason they moved to Lackawaxen was to enjoy the abundant local supply of bass and trout.

By at least the purchase of Grey's first yacht, *Fisherman*, in 1924 he was involved in big-game fishing on the ocean.

In all types of fishing Grey was competitive. During the course of his career he set many unofficial world fishing records. Later in life Grey began to release his catches in respect for animal life.

Fishing was a diversion from Grey's intensive period of writing novels, but it also inspired many magazine articles and several books and booklets on fishing. He published eight books on fishing during his lifetime.

Hunting

Grey and his brother Romer Carl also enjoyed hunting together. The area around Lackawaxen and the 446 acres the Greys purchased across the river from their property served as fertile hunting grounds.

It is known that the men hunted grouse in Lackawaxen and that the Greys ate all that they brought home.

⁸⁷⁹ For description of "beelining," see "Beelining" section under Big House, Zane Grey Ownership, Activities, Outdoor/ Beyond Grey Property.

While Grey enjoyed the chase of the hunt, he did not condone needless killing for pleasure or trophies. As early as 1907 he wrote articles urging hunters to spare animal life.

Later in life Grey stopped hunting and photographed animals instead.

Zane Grey and Travel

Grey balanced long stretches of writing with lengthy periods of adventurous travel to exotic locations.

Grey usually brought an entourage on such trips including Romer Carl and Reba Grey, one or more secretaries, and later his children.

Grey's travels took him to a variety of locations where he could hunt, fish, and explore.

Among his many travel destinations were Nova Scotia, the Florida Keys, the Canadian Pacific Coast, Oregon, Arizona, New Mexico, Catalina Island, Mexico, the Caribbean, New Zealand, Australia, Tahiti, and Fiji.

To assist in his travel and fishing Grey owned two yachts. He owned *Fisherman* starting in 1924 and the short-lived *Fisherman II* in 1930.

As with his other activities, Grey's travels provided him with material for the writing of both fiction and non-fiction books, booklets, and articles.

Zane Grey's Fascination with the West

Grey's first trip to the American West was his 1906 honeymoon with Dolly Grey. They went to California and the Grand Canyon.

In 1907 and 1908, Grey took career-changing trips to the West with Charles Jesse "Buffalo" Jones. Jones had formerly been a big-game hunter who had become a conservationist interested in preserving wild animals. One of his projects was the lassoing of lions (a practice which proved as deadly as shooting the animals). Grey accompanied Jones as a photographer to record his expeditions. Grey then wrote magazine articles and a book, *The Last of the Plainsmen*, based on his experiences.

Grey wrote of the interesting people he met in the West including Mormons, Native Americans, traders, cowboys, and adventurers.

Grey was fascinated by the Western landscape. He is perhaps best known for his descriptions of canyons, plains, deserts, small settlements, sunsets, ranches, watering holes, and other hallmark Western scenes. His characters often comment on the distance the eye can see in the West.

Grey purchased Western items with which to surround himself at home including Navajo rugs and blankets, southwestern Native American pottery, bear rugs, and more. He also had Lillian Wilhelm paint friezes inspired by Hopi and Navajo motifs in his Lackawaxen study and library.

Grey later owned a home in Altadena, California, and cabins in Mogollon Rim, Arizona, and Rogue River, Oregon.

Zane Grey as Best-selling Author

The Road to Becoming a Best-Selling Author

Grey was not initially successful as a writer. Three out of his first four novels were rejected by publishers. The fourth was not well received.

Grey's first successful Western novel was *Heritage of the Desert* published in 1910. "Heritage of the Desert" was first published in the pulp magazine *Popular Magazine* as a serial and then in a hard cover edition by Harper & Brothers.

Although publishers initially feared Grey's negative portrayal of Mormon society would offend readers, the 1912 publication of *Riders of the Purple Sage* was praised by reviewers and readers. Shortly thereafter, Grey became a consistent best-selling author until 1925.

Unlike many authors, Grey made the transition from writing in pulp magazines to publishing in "slick" magazines and hard cover editions very quickly. *Heritage of the Desert* went straight from the pulps to a hard cover book.

Grey published serials in pulp magazines such as *Popular Magazine*, *Munsey's Magazine*, *Munsey's All Story*, and *Argosy* until 1917 when he published his last pulp serial, *The U.P. Trail*.

Grey sold the serial *Wildfire* to the slick *Country Gentleman* in 1916 for a high price. He continued to sell serials to slicks such as *Country Gentleman*, *McClure's*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Harper's Magazine*, *McCall's*, *Collier's*, *American Magazine*, *Pictorial Review*, and *Cosmopolitan* until the early 1930s. Grey's last sale to a magazine was a short story which appeared in *Country Gentleman* in 1934.

In addition to first-edition hard covers printed by Harper & Brothers, Grey's novels were also published in less expensive reprint editions by Grosset & Dunlap, serialized in newspapers, and serialized in smaller magazines.

Grey's most productive year was 1925 when he published four serials and Harpers published two of his novels, *The Thundering Herd* and *The Vanishing American*.

While Grey did not command the respect of literary critics, he was popular with his audience. He wrote over 100 books which have been translated into several languages and made into over 100 movies.

Zane Grey's Writing Process

Grey wrote sitting in an adjustable Morris-type chair with cushions under him and a lapboard across the arms. Within easy reach he kept a supply of yellow legal-sized paper and sharpened pencils.

Grey was a "binge writer" meaning that once he got on a roll with a story, he would work on it intensively until it was finished. He would put in long days, not even breaking for meals.

Grey wrote first drafts of his works and then passed them on to Dolly Grey to edit. Once Grey became successful, the Greys employed secretaries to type the edited manuscripts to be sent to publishers.

During his years in Lackawaxen, Grey usually wrote about three months of the year. By 1929, he had been writing nine months a year for several years.

Grey's peace of mind and writing were interrupted by chronic "black spells" which rendered him unproductive, argumentative, and sad. These were spells of depression and ill health such as blurred vision, body aches, head aches, and pains in his heart. He attempted to keep the effects of these attacks to himself, but inevitably he wrote letters and said things he later regretted. His only defense against the "black spells" was to sit alone and wait them out.

Sometimes to inspire himself to write, Grey would read his old work.

Grey kept journals of observations during his trips West. He made notes about the landscape and people he met. He used these as inspiration for the descriptions of landscape and characters.

Starting in the late 1910s, Grey began to add information from documentary research to the information he gained through observation. *Desert of Wheat* is one his best-researched novels for which he compiled a series of newspaper clippings on wheat, wheat diseases, and the International Workers of the World (IWW).

Zane Grey's Place in Western Literature

Despite his desire to write a literary novel, or to use his word "psychological" novel, Grey wrote popular Westerns based on a formula.

The formula Western usually takes place in the Western United States.

The characters usually wear distinctive Western-style clothing and fall into one of three types: townspeople/agents of civilization, villains, and heroes.

The plot of the popular Western novel usually pivots around a moment when the values of American society are in jeopardy near the edge of the savage, lawless wilderness. After the villains threaten civilization, there is a pursuit, or, possibly an alternating pattern of flight and pursuit. Along the way there is often time for romance and observation of the surrounding landscape. The conflict ends when the hero isolates the villain and captures him. In this way good triumphs over evil and the core American values in question are affirmed.

Zane Grey is considered the "Father of the Western Novel," but the roots of the Western can be traced back to James Fenimore Cooper's

Leatherstocking Tales based in frontier New York and published between 1823 and 1840.

Starting around 1860, dime novel writers imitated Cooper's subject matter and plot line repeatedly without dealing with the issues Cooper raised.

Owen Wister's 1902 *The Virginian* is considered the next innovative story in the history of the Western novel. While Cooper raised the conflicts between the East and West, Wister emphasized the similarities between the regions' sets of values.

Zane Grey was the first of the next wave of popular Western writers.

While Grey could not compete with the literary writers, he did write to the best of his ability and believed that his writing accurately reflected the American West and the topics he covered. He did treat some topics of substance including America's mistreatment of Native Americans and World War I veterans.

Grey increased the amount of violence and melodrama included in the formula Western.

Grey addressed the East/West conflict by investing his heroes with Western/wild attributes and the women with Eastern/civilized attributes. During the course of the novel the two manage to affect one another so that they can meet in the middle.

Grey extended the life of the Western frontier well into the twentieth-century.

Grey expanded the timeframe and types of scenarios considered in the formula Western by including contemporary events such as the building of Boulder Dam.

Grey also played a major role in shaping the geographic image of the American West. Based on Grey's descriptions people today continue to consider coastal California separate from the West, Arizona and southern Utah the heart of the West, and the Colorado plateau as the epitome of Western landscape.

Successful formula writers roughly contemporary with Grey include Frederick Faust and Ernest Haycox. Of the three, Grey remains the most popular today.

Faust wrote under many pseudonyms including "Max Brand."

Faust was a classical poet who wrote popular Westerns to earn a living, but despised his work. Faust's work was opposite from Grey's because it was sparse, brisk, and contained no philosophical or social comment. His Western landscapes were empty backdrops often without names. Faust's heroes were larger-than-life mythic characters while his female characters lacked purpose. While Grey reflected mainstream values, Faust championed

the underdog. Where Grey was optimistic, Faust was ironic, disdainful, and mocking.

Like Grey, Ernest Haycox wrote popular Westerns to earn a living, but wanted to be a literary writer. For years he hesitated to deviate from the popular Western formula because he liked its security. Haycox (and his characters) tried to find greater meaning in the repetitive nature of the formula Western. Haycox was able to break free of the formula in 1946 and published three literary novels.

The Critics and the Fans

Grey was never truly respected by literary critics because he was a formula writer. It is unclear whether Grey truly understood the difference between his writing and literary writing. Critics who appreciated his work understood it on its own merits as popular fiction. Others criticized it precisely because it was popular fiction. For many critics the highlight of Grey's writing was his descriptions of the Western landscape. Criticisms included stereotypical characters, repetitive plots with happy endings, naïve omissions of sexual situations, poorly written dialogue, and the fact that he never matured as a writer.

As evidenced by Grey's phenomenal books sales (especially in the mid-1910s to mid-1920s), he was a very popular writer. His popularity cut across geographic, economic, and social boundaries. His novels reflected the values and concerns of the American middle class whose beliefs were threatened by World War I. Grey's novels affirmed core American values and portrayed America as a land of opportunity. Fans enjoyed Grey's romantic plot lines and his descriptions of the Western landscape which many had never seen. His optimism and idealism were embraced during an age of realism. Fans appreciated the fact that his stories were set in a time and place which allowed for easy distinctions between good and evil. While Grey warned of the dangers of progress, his happy endings always upheld the belief that civilization was a positive force.

Zane Grey and Twentieth-century Popular Culture

Zane Grey's books, serials, and articles were publicized during his lifetime in bookstore displays, posters, and magazine advertisements.

The writings of Zane Grey continued to appear fresh to audiences almost forty years after his death as family members edited and published his posthumous works. His final novel, *The Reef Girl*, was published in 1977.

Zane Grey books continue to be printed. From the 1950s into the 1970s, the Walter J. Black Company offered matching hardbound volumes of Grey's

books to members of the Zane Grey Book Club. Grey's books are still available from several publishers and in a variety of formats including recent hardcover editions, paperback editions, audio books, CD-ROMs and on-line downloads.

Starting in the 1960s and continuing into the early 1970s, *Zane Grey Western Magazine* published Zane Grey short stories or novelettes adapted from his longer works.

Zane Grey stories might not have appealed to later generations had it not been for their successful portrayal in the visual media, movies and television.

Grey was involved in the early movie industry in the 1910s. Grey's novels were a natural match for the movie industry because of their exotic settings, compelling characters, predictable plots, and celebration of American values.

Fox released the first Zane Grey films, *Riders of the Purple Sage* and *Rainbow Trail*, in 1918. Shortly thereafter Grey started his own production company, Zane Grey Productions. Zane Grey Productions was short-lived. Grey sold the company which later became part of Paramount Pictures.

Grey was very involved with the making of the first movies from his novels. He insisted they be shot on or near the locations he described in his novels. He wanted the stories to be foremost, not the actors who played the characters. Paramount and Fox accommodated his wishes during the silent film era. But when movies came into their own with the introduction of sound in the late 1920s, the studios were less flexible.

In the 1930s, with economic problems and the need to make previously filmed stories fresh, movie studios made changes to Grey's stories of which he did not approve. Movies were no longer shot on location, story lines were changed, and stars' names were used to promote films.

By the 1940s and 1950s, movies based on Zane Grey novels bore little resemblance to the written originals. These later movies retained the names of the novels and characters, but the story lines were completely different.

New movies based on Grey's novels continue to be made. Perhaps the most recent making of a Grey movie was the 1996 TNT production of *Riders of the Purple Sage*.

Some of the Grey movies from the 1930s and 1940s are currently for sale through Bridgestone Multimedia Group.

The popular Western was also a good match for the new medium of television. *Zane Grey Theatre* aired 145 episodes from 1956 to 1961. It is no mistake that the name of the man who popularized the formula Western was applied to a television program featuring Westerns.

While Grey was fully interested in having his stories translated into the medium of film which then led to television, he became involved with comic strips and comic books because he needed money in the 1930s.

Two of Grey's books, *Nevada* and *Desert Gold*, were syndicated as black and white daily comic strips.

Grey agreed to lend his name to and write story lines for a comic strip called *King of the Royal Mounted*. Grey ended up only writing the skeleton plots while his son Romer Zane Grey wrote the story lines. The strip started as a Sunday-only feature in 1935 and then in 1936 a black-and-white daily strip was added. The strip continued to be published until 1955. Whitman also published an inexpensive series of small books called "Big Little Books" containing the *King of the Royal Mounted* comic strip.

Grey has also been the subject of several comics as well.

As early as 1910, his image appeared in *Field and Stream* magazine accompanying his story, "A Trout Fisherman's Inferno."

A cartoon entitled "The Last Trail" appeared in 1939 when Grey died.

An educational cartoon appeared in a series called "Pennsylvania Profiles" in 1978. Through a series of sketches and text Patrick Reynolds traces the biography of Grey.

Besides print and performance media, Zane Grey endorsed or lent his name to products and venues during his lifetime and Zane Grey Inc. continued to do so after his death.

In 1927 Grey ate dinner at the Zane Grey Sporting Club.

In 1936 Grey wrote a brochure called "Fly Fishing" for Horrocks-Ibbotson to promote the company's fishing tackle.

In 1948, with Dolly Grey's permission, Helen James Johnson named the former Big House the "Zane Grey Inn." When the inn later became the "Zane Grey Museum," curator Helen James Davis endorsed a limited edition set of five plates called "How the West Was Won" series by Royal Manor Porcelain.

In 1972, for the centennial anniversary of Grey's birth, Marlin produced a numbered series of 10,000 rifles called "Zane Grey Century."

Zane Grey has also been the subject of non-product-related commemorative efforts.

Twice, once around 1972 and later in the 1980s, Zane Grey enthusiasts tried to place Zane Grey's image on a United States postage stamp.

Today, enthusiasts can visit three museums that address Zane Grey: the Zane Grey House at Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River; the National Road/ Zane Grey Museum in Norwich, Ohio; and the Rim County Museum of Northern Gila County Historic Society in Payson, Arizona (formerly the Zane Grey Museum/ Counsellor Art and Museum of the Forest).

There is currently an active Zane Grey fan club called Zane Grey's West Society.

The mission of the Society is to promote interest in and knowledge of Zane Grey and his works; revive interest in Zane Grey's works; and

preserve the sites described in his writings. The Society publishes a bimonthly newsletter called *Zane Grey Review*, publishes the occasional "fanzine" *Zane Grey's West*, and has a website at www.zanegreysws.org. There are over 400 members in the Society and it holds a yearly conference at a location where one of Grey's novels took place.

Zane Grey's Later Life

- The Greys moved to California in 1918 to be near the growing young movie industry.
- During his later life Grey owned homes in Altadena, California, and on Catalina Island. He owned cabins in Mogollon Rim, Arizona, and Rogue River, Oregon. He also owned fishing camps in New Zealand, Australia, and Tahiti. Grey continued to travel up to his 1939 death.
- Grey continued to be a best-selling author until 1925. His novels and serials continued to sell well until the Great Depression in the early 1930s. At that time even by cutting the prices of his serials to a third, Dolly Grey had difficulty selling stories.
- In order to fill the gap in his income he allowed his name and work to be associated with projects he did not fully support such as poor-quality movies and the serial comic *King of the Royal Mounted*.
- In part to protect Grey and better manage his dwindling income, Dolly Grey set up a corporation called Zane Grey Inc. in 1932. Through this corporation, Dolly Grey managed the family's homes, the sales of Grey's writing, the rights to Grey's writing, and the Greys' other business ventures.
- Grey continued to write even after suffering a stroke in 1937. After that time he dictated the text of his novels into a recorder. He was promoting and autographing his latest book *Western Union* days before he died of a heart attack in 1939.
- Grey left behind over twenty unpublished manuscripts and a pop culture legacy managed by family members through Zane Grey Inc.

Zane Grey's Legacy

- The physical legacies of Zane Grey are his books, booklets, articles, and movies. The publication of his posthumous works, the reprinting of his books, the video releases of Zane Grey movies, the re-filming of his stories, and the adaptations of his stories keep Zane Grey's Westerns alive.
- Grey popularized the formula Western and added to it melodrama and violence. He popularized and codified the Code of the West, the image of the cowboy, and the image of the American West.
- He popularized travel to the West. Grey's descriptions and adventure stories whet the appetite of those who have never seen the West so that they wish to travel there for their own action and spiritual renewal.

He extended the life of the "Old West" -- that is the West of the cattle ranching days pre-1885, the West before the "closing of the frontier" in 1890 -- well into the twentieth century.

Today, Grey's novels, as they did during his lifetime, express his unflinching senses of romance, adventure, and idealism.

NOTES ON RECOMMENDED OBJECTS FOR ZANE GREY EXHIBITION, SORTED BY THEME

General

In 1998 and 1999, the Northeast Museum Services Center catalogued museum objects and archival collections at Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River. The cataloguing teams assigned catalogue numbers ranging from UPDE 443 to UPDE 1285, for a total of over 800 objects. Three of those numbers were assigned to archival collections: the Grey Family Papers, Zane Grey Inn & Museum Records, and the James Family Papers. Combined, these archival collections contain approximately seven linear feet of material, or 6,000 items.

Of these many objects, about 450 to 500 are listed on the proposed exhibition object list. Objects were chosen for their visual and informational interest in an exhibition focussing on Zane Grey's life and work in Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, between 1905 and 1918.

Objects were also chosen partly on the basis of their current condition. Caution must be taken in terms of condition in this report, however. The researcher did not personally observe the condition of each object but used cataloguers' assessments of objects as a guide. These assessments were not made by professional conservators, and may be somewhat subjective. For example, one cataloguer described many, many books as being in poor condition. It is uncertain whether these volumes actually need conservation treatment or can be exhibited as is. The Park must consult the conservation assessment prepared by Brigid Sullivan Lopez of the Collection Conservation Branch for further information and recommendations. In general, objects in poor condition were avoided or given low preference. If an object is in poor condition and necessary to the exhibition, conservation or duplication is recommended. About half of the objects catalogued were judged by cataloguers to be in fair condition. The tears, acidic mats, water stains, and other many detractors of these objects are not listed in the chart below. The Park is urged to physically examine each object and consult the catalogue records and the conservation survey for further information before proceeding with exhibition plans.

Some objects on the list still need to be located and catalogued. Their existence was documented in the 1988 Abbot Group Ltd. appraisal. If these objects cannot be located, other comparable objects should be substituted for them.

At the Park's request, alternate objects are recommended for many of the textile and paper-based objects so that the Park can institute a rotation schedule to reduce the exposure time of fragile objects. The Park will want to consult with a conservator or refer to the conservation survey to create a formal rotation plan and schedule, but the

below recommendations are provided on the basis of each object's informational value and comparable object types.

Alphabetical List of Theme Codes in Chart "Recommended Objects for Zane Grey Exhibition, Sorted by Theme"

EARLY-ART	Early life, art unrelated to books
EARLY-CHILD	Early life, childhood
EARLY-DENT	Early life, dental practice
EARLY-ED	Early life, education
EARLY-LACK	Early life, acquaintance with Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania
INTRO	Introductory panel
LACK-ACT	Lackawaxen era, activities
LACK-FACH	Lackawaxen era, Grey children
LACK-FACO	Lackawaxen era, Zane and Dolly Grey as couple
LACK-FADO	Lackawaxen era, Dolly Grey (also many pre-Lackawaxen art projects)
LACK-FAGR	Lackawaxen era, other Grey family members (Romer Carl, Reba, Ida, Mrs. Lewis Gray)
LACK-FURN	Lackawaxen era, furnishings
LACK-PET	Lackawaxen era, pet-related items
LACK-VIEW	Lackawaxen era, views of Grey property site
ZGBS-AD	Zane Grey best-selling author, advertising
ZGBS-ART	Zane Grey best-selling author, artwork for books
ZGBS-BOOK	Zane Grey best-selling author, books
ZGBS-FOR	Zane Grey best-selling author, foreign language books
ZGBS-MAG	Zane Grey best-selling author, magazine serials
ZGBS-METH	Zane Grey best-selling author, writing methodology
ZGBS-YOU	Zane Grey best-selling author, youth literature
ZGEA-AD	Zane Grey's early writing, advertisements
ZGEA-ART	Zane Grey's early writing, art work for books
ZGEA-BOOK	Zane Grey's early writing, books
ZGEA-MAG	Zane Grey's early writing, magazine articles
ZGLE-ADAPT	Zane Grey legacy, adapted stories
ZGLE-FOR	Zane Grey legacy, foreign language books
ZGLE-POST	Zane Grey legacy, posthumous works
ZGLE-REPR	Zane Grey legacy, reprinted works
ZGLL-BOOK	Zane Grey later life, books
ZGLL-FAM	Zane Grey later life, family
ZGLL-HOME	Zane Grey later life, Altadena, CA, house

ZGLL-WORK	Zane Grey later life, work
ZGPC-BOOK	Zane Grey and pop culture, books
ZGPC-COM	Zane Grey and pop culture, commercial sales
ZGPC-COMIC	Zane Grey and pop culture, comic strips and books
ZGPC-IMAGE	Zane Grey and pop culture, image
ZGPC-MAG	Zane Grey and pop culture, magazines
ZGPC-MOVE	Zane Grey and pop culture, movies
ZGPC-TV	Zane Grey and pop culture, television programming
ZGPC-USA	Zane Grey and pop culture, United States government
ZGSP-BASE	Zane Grey and sports, baseball
ZGSP-FIAR	Zane Grey and sports, fishing magazine articles
ZGSP-FIBO	Zane Grey and sports, fishing books
ZGSP-FIGE	Zane Grey and sports, fishing gear
ZGSP-FIPI	Zane Grey and sports, fishing pictures
ZGSP-FITR	Zane Grey and sports, fishing trophies
ZGSP-HUNT	Zane Grey and sports, hunting-related
ZGTR	Zane Grey and travel
ZGWE	Zane Grey's fascination with the West

Theme Descriptions (Arranged Alphabetically by Theme Code to Correlate to Chart Below)

Early Life to 1904

EARLY-DENT: It is necessary to exhibit some of Zane Grey's dental instruments because dentistry was his early career and the tools are extant in the Park's collection. Due to the number of objects, the Park must consider how much space will be allotted to the display of these items. Unique objects such as Grey's dental ledger, announcement, and plaque should be exhibited along with objects of special interest such as the dental engine and tooth-matching chart. The number of additional dental instruments displayed should be limited to those which can comfortably fit in wooden box UPDE 218. Grey's dilapidated medical bag should be kept in storage unless it is conserved. Objects with weak attributions to Grey's dental practice such as the glass beakers and wooden canisters should only be used if supplementary objects are deemed necessary to the exhibit.

Lackawaxen Era

LACK-FACH: The Grey children's lives in the Big House can be represented through the exhibit of photographs, toys, and books. The researcher is fairly comfortable attributing the toys in the Park's collection to the former ownership of the Grey children based on the fact that they were the only children to live in the house besides Helen James Davis' own son. Because she would have known her own child's toys, it is safe to

assume that other old toys found in the house belonged to the Grey children. Some objects have been given lesser preference because they are large, have weak attributions, are in poor condition, or do not date to the Grey family's occupation of the house.

LACK-FADO: There are a good number of art works by Dolly Grey that were signed and/or dated prior to her marriage to Zane Grey. Because these works pre-date her living in Lackawaxen, they have been given low preference for exhibition. Also, there is little evidence that Dolly Grey painted while living in Lackawaxen. However, in order to represent her earlier life and/or her various interests, the Park may consider choosing one or two representative works in good condition to include in this portion of the exhibition. Another point in favor of including Dolly Grey's early works is their subject: two of the watercolors are profiles of Native Americans and an essay is entitled "The American Indian." These early works indicate an interest she shared with Zane Grey.

LACK-FAGR: There are few objects relating to the other members of the Grey family including Romer Carl, Reba, Ida, and Mrs. Lewis Gray. It may be desirable to dedicate a small exhibit to these family members including photographs; Romer Carl and Reba Grey's marriage announcement and calling card; and the World War I poster which could be used to discuss Ida and Mrs. Grey's war-time activities.

LACK-FURN: There are a number of Navajo rugs in the Park's collection. Their number and display in the exhibition depend on the Park's decision on how to use them. The rugs can be used in one or a combination of three ways: the original rugs may be placed on the floors as furnishings; the original rugs may be reproduced or replaced for use on the floor as furnishings; or the original rugs may be incorporated into exhibits off the floor.

If the rugs are to be placed on the floor as furnishings, their current condition and future wear must be taken into consideration. To reduce wear on the rugs, visitors should wear "booties" while touring the museum. If the rugs are to be reproduced or replaced, the relatively high cost (several hundred to several thousand dollars depending on condition and size) of a reproduction or replacement must be taken into consideration. If the rugs are to be a part of the museum's exhibits, the Park must understand that fewer examples can be shown due to space constraints. Perhaps one rug could appear in Zane Grey's study to evoke the colors and types of objects once kept there. Another could appear in the section relating to Zane Grey's fascination with the West to demonstrate the types of objects he purchased as souvenirs.

In the chart below, the rugs in the best condition and with the most visual interest were given preference over the others. The preferred rugs are then roughly broken down into medium- and large-sized objects so that they can be considered in terms of space and/or object rotation.

The Park also needs to consider how to use large Grey-family objects such as the extant dining table and dresser with mirror. If these objects are to be displayed empty as decorative art objects in their own right, serious consideration must be given to the space the objects occupy versus the information they convey. Another approach would be to include these large objects as display furniture as they are used currently. The dresser could hold family photographs and other small family items in the Lackawaxen era family section. The dining room table could be centered in the southwest room (the former dining room) to reference the room's former use, to break up the exhibits in the

room, and to hold exhibit materials itself. The inclusion of Grey family furniture references the former use of the house and suggests the types and style of furnishings the Greys owned. If these large furnishings are to be removed from the exhibition, the Park must consider alternate storage and the loss of their visual impact in the exhibition.

The coal scuttle containing blue coal should be placed near the stove (UPDE 1178) to suggest the objects' former use, and possibly, their former appearance in the room.

Lastly, the Park must consider how to furnish the large oak desk in the northwest room. A photograph of the Cottage (UPDE 871) shows Zane Grey seated in a wooden Morris-type chair beside a large wooden desk (see ill. 3). The appearance of the desk in this photograph was (and still is) partially duplicated at the Zane Grey House. Chief among the items on the desk are a double lamp with green glass shades (UPDE 1149), a pyramidal paperweight (UPDE 1143), and a photograph of Dolly Grey (UPDE 1140). In the chart below, these objects are given first preference, while other office-related objects have been selected to possibly supplement these items. The remaining desk space could be used to display Grey family documents or examples of the Park's Zane Grey manuscripts.

LACK-VIEW: The Park should consider acquiring additional photographs of the Big House from other institutions and acquiring a full set of HABS drawings for the purpose of illustrating the architectural evolution of the structure.

Zane Grey Best-selling Author

The Park should consider the duplication of many of the paper-based objects in the Zane Grey collection. Duplicate copies can be used to replace or in rotation with the Park's original objects to decrease wear on and exposure of the originals. In the chart below, recommendations for object rotation are made based on the use of duplicate copies or on rotating comparable objects.

ZGBS-AD and ZGBS-ART: Advertisements and art work related to Zane Grey's books were chosen in order to exhibit a variety of artists and media at all times in the museum exhibition. The prints based on the work of Lillian Wilhelm Smith are given a lesser priority than the original art work and/or the original advertising posters. However, they may be good items to rotate with the originals if copies or other original objects cannot be made or used. The dust jackets are given low preference because their dates and conditions are unknown. If after examination the Park decides it would be desirable to exhibit the dust jackets, it should consider exhibiting them on the original books or on book-like forms rather than displaying them empty.

ZGBS-BOOK: The exhibit of Zane Grey books from his best-selling period should include books published both by Harper & Brothers and Grosset & Dunlap. While Harpers was the primary publisher who first published the books when they were new, the Grosset & Dunlap reprints sometimes outsold the original Harpers publication. Therefore, the publishers are both important to the Zane Grey story.

The Park does not and should not accept and catalogue every Zane Grey book offered as a gift. The Park has a strict policy for accepting books which is outlined in the "Zane Grey Museum Handbook" provided to all staff members.⁸⁸⁰ This policy should

⁸⁸⁰ Moon, electronic communication, 5 June 2000.

also be included in the Park's Scope of Collections Statement (SOCS). The Park accepts books only if they are first editions not already in the collection, rare titles, or are signed by Zane Grey. The Park may wish to consider collecting Grosset & Dunlap reprints that were issued during Zane Grey's best-selling period in Lackawaxen (1910-1918). The Park also collects later books, reprints, adaptations, comic books, and other material that furthers its mission and interpretive goals at the Zane Grey House. In collecting books, the Park must consider the cost of purchasing early Zane Grey books versus the informational value they provide. The Park must also consider its ability to care for and exhibit any future acquisitions of Zane Grey books. The Park should continue to catalogue the uncatalogued books already in its possession that fit the above criteria.

ZGBS-MAG: The Park may consider purchasing another copy of a Zane Grey serial as it appeared in a "slick" magazine format. At present the only representations of Zane Grey in the slicks are two copies of Grey's 1916 serial *Wildfire in Country Gentleman*, one of which is in poor condition. Other slick magazine titles the Park may wish to pursue include *McClure's*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Harper's Magazine*, *McCall's*, *Collier's*, *American Magazine*, *Pictorial Review*, and *Cosmopolitan*.

To mitigate the fading of printed color and darkening of poor quality pulp paper, object rotations are recommended for most of the Park's magazines. Magazines can either be rotated with other comparable magazines, or the Park may consider making high quality photo copies of the covers to display on faux duplicate magazines. Magazines in poor condition should be conserved or stored for future conservation.

ZGBS-FOR: It is unclear from the catalogue record whether the foreign language book *Az Erdoszerelmese* was published during Grey's lifetime or as a later reprint. Currently it is classified as being printed during Grey's lifetime, but if upon examination it is determined to be more recent, the book should be placed in the category "ZGLE-FOR."

ZGBS-METH: The Park has examples of short handwritten and typed Zane Grey manuscripts. The researcher was not always able to determine from the finding aid which are handwritten and which are typewritten. In object rotations, it is recommended that comparable objects be rotated. So typed manuscripts should be rotated for typed manuscripts and handwritten for handwritten. If the current table does not reflect this practice, it should be amended.

ZGBS-YOU: The Park's copies of Zane Grey's books written for young people in poor condition should be conserved. If duplicate copies are unnecessary for object rotation, the Park may consider deaccessioning some redundant copies.

Grey's youth literature was an important part of his early career. Also, the number of books Grey wrote for young people (6) is a manageable number to obtain and maintain. At present, the Park lacks a catalogued copy of *Ken Ward in the Jungle*.

Zane Grey's Early Writing

ZGEA-ART: It is recommended that the Park divide the many extant Zane Grey capital letter drawings for his book *Betty Zane* into four groups of three (one drawing is known to be in poor condition) which can be rotated in and out of the museum exhibition.

Zane Grey's Legacy

To interpret Zane Grey's legacy to the present day, the Park may consider providing visitors with a link to Zane Grey's West Society. This link may be simply providing the Society's website on a brochure. Or, the Park may provide a computer where (among other activities) visitors can access the Society's website. There visitors can get information about the Society and access the Society's lists of Grey's works.

ZGLE-ADAPT: The Park needs to decide how it wishes to handle acquiring later adaptations of Zane Grey's work in later pulp magazines, books, and anthologies. These adaptations address Grey's continuing legacy but must also support the Park's mission and interpretive objectives related to the Zane Grey House. The Park's current few catalogued adaptations have been included in the recommended exhibition list. But future acquisitions and displays of adaptations must be moderated because there are many adaptations and they could potentially overwhelm the site's more important early Zane Grey story.

Zane Grey and Popular Culture

ZGLE-MOVE: The Park possesses a good amount of material related to the 1918 release of the movie *Riders of the Purple Sage* based on Grey's 1912 best seller. The Park must decide which and how many movie stills and newspaper clippings are desirable to interpret the story line and release of this early movie. While the movie stills contain a certain amount of drama in and of themselves, it would be beneficial to display them with their original silent movie text or an interpretation of the characters and scenes from the book.

Prints of some of Zane Grey's early films, including some silent films, survive. Others are offered on video cassettes. A preliminary list of surviving Grey films in film archives appears in Appendix A. Bridgestone Multimedia Group now offers for sale on video two multi-movie volumes and twenty-three Zane Grey movies from the 1930s and 1940s. If deemed appropriate, the Park may consider some kind of interactive video device by which visitors can watch portions of old Zane Grey movies. This interactive should not only allow visitors to view movie clips but should in some way interpret them in terms of Zane Grey the man and writer. If the movies diverge from Grey's principles in movie-making or his original book texts, the visitors should be made aware through interpretation.

The same or a second interactive video device could allow visitors to sample (if available) segments of the 1956 to 1961 *Zane Grey's Western Theatre* with Dick Powell. As with the movies above, the purpose of showing television segments is two-fold. One is to give visitors the flavor of or a nostalgic look back at 1950s television. The other is to interpret the legacy of Zane Grey: how does his legacy reflect his views and how does it diverge from them?

Zane Grey and Sports

ZGSP-BOOK: The Park owns several of Zane Grey's fishing books. These books were more expensive than Grey's other books when they were first produced and

command high prices in today's market. Unfortunately, most of the Park's fishing books are in poor condition. The Park should seriously consider conserving (and/or acquiring better copies of) these books because of their market value and their value in telling the early story of Zane Grey and the story of Zane Grey as a fisherman.

ZGSP-FIGE: In choosing fishing gear for inclusion in the museum exhibition, preference was given to the clothing and the variety of fishing rods in the collection. The fishing hooks and some other small items were given low preference but may be of interest displayed *en masse*.

ZGSP-FIPI: There are many fishing photographs in the Park's museum and archival collections. The researcher was unable to see and/or recall the content of each photograph. Decisions about which photographs to include in the museum exhibition were made on the basis of the description in the Park's ANCS+ database. Only a small number featuring Zane Grey and his catches were chosen.

Zane Grey and Travel

ZGTR: Due to time constraints, the researcher focused on materials related mainly to Zane Grey and his time at Lackawaxen. Passing attention was given to his many trips to the American West and other locales. Also, while his travels were elemental to what Zane Grey was, they are only part of the story at the Big House. Therefore, recommendations for this section are limited. There are many photographs that could be culled to provide a fuller representation of Grey's travels, vacation homes, ships, etc. In planning for this section, the Park should carefully consider the amount of space to allot to what could be an expansive display and the amount of detail to provide the visitor about Grey's trips to other locales. One way to reinforce the travel section while not adding more content to the exhibition, would be to combine it with Zane Grey's Fascination with the West (ZGWE).

Recommended Objects for Zane Grey Exhibition, Sorted by Theme

The following chart presents the recommended interpretive themes not in order of presentation in the exhibition but in alphabetical order. The themes are treated in a proposed order of presentation above in the "Interpretive Outline."

The measurements provided in the chart are intended for general reference only. For more detailed information it is necessary to consult the ANCS+ records. In most cases, the ANCS+ record states whether the measurement includes a frame and how a measurement was taken (e.g., including the strap of a binoculars base). In some instances, no measurement is provided in the chart because the object is not catalogued, the item was not measured when it was catalogued, or the item is yet to be acquired.

In the case of objects which are recommended for acquisition, a brief description of the object and its recommended theme are provided. When possible, sources for acquisition are given. But in many cases, the sources are unknown, so a lead for beginning to find the acquisition source is provided.

The "Preference/Action" column includes a preference number from one to four and, in many cases, a recommended action. The preference numbers adhere to the following rationale:

1. More than half of the recommended objects are given first preference. These objects are recommended for use as permanent or rotating display items. If necessary due to material or known current condition, recommendations are provided for conserving, duplicating, and/or rotating objects.
2. Objects given second preference are those which the Park may consider as permanent or rotating display items. They may be second preference because they duplicate a first-preference item, they are of secondary interest, or they may supplement other, more primary, objects.
3. Objects given third preference are items considered to be of lesser importance to the Grey's Lackawaxen years (e.g., Lina Roth's pre-1905 art projects), items with weak attributions, or items that would take up a large amount of space compared to their informational value (e.g., the baby carriage and crib).
4. Objects given fourth preference are currently in poor condition and not high priority items for conservation, redundant, or do not strongly support the Lackawaxen-era Grey-family story.



Recommended Objects for Zane Grey Exhibition, Sorted by Theme

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
EARLY-ART	1	0696	Pen/ink drawing of woman in canoe named "Betty Zane", w/ 2 swans, signed "P. Zane Grey '04"	27.9x38.4 cm
EARLY-ART	2 - use with or in rotation with 696	0588	Pen/ink drawing of Gibson girl-type in profile, signed "P. Zane Grey"	33.9x26 cm
EARLY-ART	2 - use with or in rotation with 696	0589	Pen/ink drawing of sulking putto in chair, signed "P. Zane Grey"	30.7x16.1 cm
EARLY-ART	2 - use with or in rotation with 696	0697	Pen/ink drawing of woman swimming (the disembodied head in water), signed "Pearl Zane Grey"	28.6x36.2 cm
EARLY-ART	3 - use to supplement 588 or 697	0695, 0812	Calendar, 1905 Gibson Girl Calendar	32.4x40 cm
EARLY-CHILD	2 - inscr. w/ ZG's name, used as child?	0623	Book, A Child's Life of Christ	16.6x12.9x2 cm
EARLY-DENT	1	0218	Wood box w/ dental tools, brass plaque on lid "Dr. Zane Grey Dentist"	17.8x34.3x 25.4 cm (closed)
EARLY-DENT	1	0900 (in)	Zane Grey's Dental Ledger	no measure taken
EARLY-DENT	1	1082-1104	Dental tools belonging to Zane Grey	varies
EARLY-DENT	1	1167	Brass plaque reading "Dr. Zane Grey/Dentist"	14x26.5 cm
EARLY-DENT	1	1168	Dental engine	142.3 cm (height)
EARLY-DENT	1	1171, 0900 (in)	Printed Announcement for Zane Grey's Dental Practice	19.5x12 cm
EARLY-DENT	1	1173	Tooth Color Matching Chart	3.8x22.5 cm
EARLY-DENT	2 - use to supplement 218	1179	Box w/ dental tools, wood w/ 7 drawers	14.6x26x18.5 cm
EARLY-DENT	3 - use to supplement 218	1170	Beaker, clear glass	12x9.2 cm
EARLY-DENT	3 - use to supplement 218	1172	Set of 5 wood cannisters for sand, flax seed, etc.	7.4x4.5 cm (diam)
EARLY-DENT	4 - unless conserved, store	1058	Leather medical bag	26.5x51x29.3 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
EARLY-ED	1 - acquire, display with 639	Acquire	B/W photo - ZG graduation picture, Lead: Taylor Publishing Company	unknown
EARLY-ED	1 - conserve, display with grad picture	0639	Mortar board, Cotrell & Leonard	24x24x8.3 cm
EARLY-ED	1 - consider exposure, poss. rotate with copies?	0900 (in)	Book, Spirit Copy Textbook, artwork around name Pearl Grey, skull & crossbones seal, later ZG cartoon	no measure taken
EARLY-ED	2 - use to supplement 639, 900	0796	Magazine, University Courier, Christmas 1895	30.8x24.2 cm
EARLY-LACK	1 - make copy for exhibit	1004	B/W photo, taken by Romer Grey of ZG fishing in Delaware River, 1903. Mat handlettered "Almost Conquered."	16.5x21.5 cm
EARLY-LACK	1 - make copy for exhibit	1006	B/W photo, taken by Romer Grey of ZG and Alvah James canoeing down Delaware River, 1902	24.5x33.5 cm
EARLY-LACK	1 - use with or rotate with 1264	1265	B/W photo, Romer Carl Grey, Lina Elise Roth, Rebecca Smith at camp site, ca. 1902	8.6x8.6 cm
EARLY-LACK	1 - use with or rotate with 1265	1264	B/W photo, Romer Carl Grey, Lina Elise Roth, Rebecca Smith at Campsite, ca. 1902.	8.6x8.6 cm
INTRO	1 - make copy for exhibit	0507	B/W photo, Portrait of Zane Grey	36.8x26.6 cm
LACK-ACT	1	0685	Tennis Racket	68.9x22.2x4.3 cm
LACK-ACT	1	0766	Catalogue, Victor Records, May 1914	18.2x12.5x1 cm
LACK-ACT	1	1158	Canoe paddles (pair?), wood, containing authographs (of people who accompanied ZG on a trip?)	135x12.5 cm
LACK-ACT	1	1159	Canoe paddles (pair?), painted wood	120.7x16.5 cm
LACK-ACT	1	1215	Wood indian clubs, 1 lb., pair	37.6x7.5 cm (diam)
LACK-ACT	1	1216	Tennis Net	108.1x25.5 cm (rolled)
LACK-ACT	1 - exhibit with 1158-1159, conserve or make copy	0651	B/W photo, ZG Pulling canoe ashore, 1902	20.3x25.2 cm
LACK-ACT	1 - inscr. "Grey"	1079	Tennis Racket	68.8x21.8x3.9 cm
LACK-ACT	2 - supplement or rotate with 1158-1159	1160	Oar	157.3x13 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
LACK-ACT	2 - supplement or rotate with 685, 1079	1080	Tennis Racket	69x21.9x4.5 cm
LACK-ACT	4 - too early, solitaire not doc. activity	1243	Book, Dick's Games of Patience, or Solitaire with Cards, 1883	18.7x14.7x1.5 cm
LACK-FACH	1	0481	Book, Song of the Cardinal, ca. 1915	19.3x13.3x2 cm
LACK-FACH	1	0482	Book, Cash Boy, Alger, ca. 1909	18.1x12.6x1.8 cm
LACK-FACH	1	0548	Game, wood	6.5x44.4x7 cm
LACK-FACH	1	0594	Blocks, wood	10x10x10 cm
LACK-FACH	1	0595	Game with drawers and cutouts	15.3x45x29.2 cm
LACK-FACH	1	0611	Weight chart for Grey children, 1916	26x20.2 cm
LACK-FACH	1	0614	Book, How to Bring Up Baby, Elizabeth Robinson Scovil, 1906	19x14.3 cm
LACK-FACH	1	0900 (in)	Essay, Paragraph about George Washington by Romer Grey, Age 7; also first printing of name at age 3 (in essay)	no measure taken
LACK-FACH	1	1218a-b	Stamps (2), lion and monkey	2.3x2.2x1.8 cm
LACK-FACH	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photo - Betty Zane Grey and Smith children near outhouse, Lead: Landscape Treatment Plan, fig. #25 Source: Mary Nelson Collection	unknown
LACK-FACH	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photo - Grey and Smith children in garden plot, Lead: Landscape Treatment Plan, fig. #24	unknown
LACK-FACH	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photo - Grey and Smith children on shed, Lead: Lead: Landscape Treatment Plan, fig. #49	unknown
LACK-FACH	1 - conserve	0483	Book, How Mr. Dog Got Even, Albert Bigelow Paine, ca. 1915	18.4x12.8x1.8 cm
LACK-FACH	1 - conserve	1251	Baby Rattle, handmade	16x7.5 cm
LACK-FACH	1 - make copy for exhibit	0610	B/W photo, Zane Grey and Romer, Age 6?; ZG sitting on table behind Romer standing, ca. 1915	29.3x18.2 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
LACK-FACH	1 - make copy for exhibit	0612	B/W photo, Loren Grey age 3, 1918, outdoor shot with river, holding flag	8.5x4.4 cm
LACK-FACH	1 - make copy for exhibit	1052	B/W photo, Romer, Betty, Loren Grey as children, formal dress, on beach, holding flags	8x14 cm
LACK-FACH	1 - make copy for exhibit	1053	B/W photo, Zane Grey, Betty, Loren?, formal dress, holding flags	8x14 cm
LACK-FACH	1 - make copy for exhibit	1261	B/W photo, Lina Grey and son Romer Grey, 3/4 length formal, circa 1910	13.6x8.5 cm
LACK-FACH	1 - use this or 1056	0492a-k	Block box, wood and Blocks	35.4x24x6.1 cm
LACK-FACH	1 - use this or 492	1056	Wooden Peg Toy	6.3x44.5x7.3 cm
LACK-FACH	2	0485	Book, Water-Babies, Charles Kingsley	17.4x13.2x2.1 cm
LACK-FACH	3	1212	Crib, wood	73.6x48.3x88.5 cm
LACK-FACH	3 - poor cond	0480	Book, Pioneers, Cooper, ca. 1920	18.4x12.5x2.5 cm
LACK-FACH	3 - poor cond	0484	Book, Pilgrim's Progress, John Bunyan, ca. 1900	16.7x13.3x1.4 cm
LACK-FACH	3 - poor cond	1213	Carriage, wicker	140x46.5x150.3 cm
LACK-FACH	4 - too early, weak attr., store	0593	Book, Child's Garden of Verses, Stevenson, ca. 1900	24x18.6x2.7 cm
LACK-FACO	1	0950	Photo Album, may be orig. photo album from Greys' honeymoon	14x21.2 cm
LACK-FACO	1 - make copy for exhibit	0647	B/W photo, ZG and Lina Grey in white, holding hands in forest clearing, 1906	25.8x20.5 cm
LACK-FACO	1 - make copy for exhibit	0855-0893	B/W photos from Greys' honeymoon, possibly from album 950a-k	20.5x12.5 cm (approx)
LACK-FADO	1	0900 (in)	Mrs. Zane Grey Calling Cards (4)	no measure taken
LACK-FADO	1	1121	Watercolor, Girl and Easter Egg, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1908	12.5x8 cm
LACK-FADO	1	1122	Watercolor, portrait young girl, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1908	17x13 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
LACK-FADO	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photo - Dolly Grey in Lackawaxen Cottage, ca. 1905, Lead: May, p. 44, was in G.M. Farley collection	unknown
LACK-FADO	1 - catalogue	Not Catalogued	Book, Household Tips, L.E. Grey	no measure taken
LACK-FADO	1 - replace glass w/ UV filter glass or Plexiglas, make copy for storage/ rotation.	1110	B/W photo, Lina Grey, full-length gown with flowers, original frame	11.5x7 cm
LACK-FADO	2	1123	Drawing board	30.5x43 cm
LACK-FADO	2	1135	Paint box, wood w/ removable tray. Charcoal pencils, art supplies inside.	6x28 cm
LACK-FADO	2	1136	Paint box, metal w/ removable tray. Paint brushes inside.	3.81x33x22.9 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0846	Sketchbook by Lina Roth (Dolly Grey) incl. some sketches of Roebling Bridge, 1899	15.3x23.4 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0847	Sketchbook by Lina Roth (Dolly Grey), 10/07/1904	11x17.2x1.7 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0848	Pencil Drawing, Still Life, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 3/14/1904	21.5x31.7 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0849	Pencil Drawing, Still Life, Woman's Portrait, Lina Elise Roth Grey	21.5x31.5 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0850	Pastel Drawing, Woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey	35.5x24.7 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0851	Pastel Drawing, Woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey	35.5x24.9 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0852	Pencil Drawing, Woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1904	35.5x21.7 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0853	Charcoal drawing, woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 5/1/1904	35.5x25 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0854	Charcoal drawing, woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 5/1/1904	35.5x21.7 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0855	Charcoal drawing, woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1904?	36x28.4 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0856	Pastel and Pencil Drawing, Woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1904?	35.3x25 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
LACK-FADO	3	0857	Pastel and Watercolor Drawing, Woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1904?	36x28.3 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0858	Pastel and Watercolor Drawing, Woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1904?	26.6x26 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0859	Pastel and Watercolor Drawing, Woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1904?	36x21.7 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0860	Pastel Drawing, Woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1904?	35.5x25 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0861	Pastel and Watercolor Drawing, Woman, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1904?	26.5x26.2 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0862	Watercolor, Flowers, Lina Elise Roth Grey	38.2x27.2 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0863	Watercolor, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 6/29/1896	37.7x27.2 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0864	Watercolor, Landscape, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 5/1894	28.1x38.7 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0865	Watercolor, Native American in Profile, Lina Grey	25.2x22.7 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0866	Oil Painting, Winter Landscape, Lina Roth	14.6x20.2 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0867	Oil Painting, Landscapes, Double-Sided, Lina Roth	20.5x14.8 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0868	Oil Painting, Double-sided, Landscapes, Lina Elise Roth Grey, 1/1904	14.6x20.5 cm
LACK-FADO	3	0900 (in)	Essay, "Daffodils" by Lina Roth, pencil on lined paper, 1875	no measure taken
LACK-FADO	3	1020	Oil Painting, Landscape of Trees/Stream, Lina Roth Grey	20.5x25.5 cm
LACK-FADO	3	1057	Oil Painting, Lina Elise Roth, pre 1905	41.6x30.3x1.8 cm
LACK-FADO	3	1124	Essay, "The American Indian" by Lina Roth, pencil on lined paper	24x19 cm
LACK-FADO	3	1125	Watercolor, profile of Native American, signed "L.E. Roth"	24.5x19.5 cm
LACK-FADO	3	1127	Oil Painting, Portrait of a woman by Lina Roth, oil on textured paperboard	20.5x14.5 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
LACK-FADO	3	1130	Oil Painting, Landscape with Two Sailboats on Lake, Lina Grey	14x20.5 cm
LACK-FADO	3	1132	Oil Painting, doublesided, house, water landscape, Lina Grey	14.5x20 cm
LACK-FADO	3	1133	Powder Boxes from Macy's	5x6.5 cm
LACK-FADO	3	1134	Facial powder "Florentine Orris Root Powder" in cylindrical wood container, from Macys	9.5x7 cm (diam)
LACK-FADO	3	1138, 1139	Watercolors (2) - 1 of pansies, 1 of raspberries, signed "Lina Roth"	29x39 cm
LACK-FADO	4	1128	Magazine, International Studio, mailing label to Lina Elise Roth, July 1904	29.5x21.5 cm
LACK-FAGR	1	0542	Poster, WWI, "Boys Over There," 1917-1918	31.6x20.2 cm
LACK-FAGR	1	0900 (in)	Calling Card, Mr. and Mrs. Romer Carl Grey	no measure taken
LACK-FAGR	1	0900 (in)	Marriage Announcement, Romer Carl Grey to marry Rebecca Dalliba Smith, 20 Sept. 1905	no measure taken
LACK-FAGR	1 - make copy for exhibit	0650	B/W photo, Zane Grey and brother w/ a Delaware smallmouth bass catch	31x25.9 cm
LACK-FURN		0900 (in)	Paper-based material incl. cancelled checks, invoices etc. from 1915 construction project, correspondence, newspapers (1917-18)	varies
LACK-FURN	1	0556	Arm chair, belonged to ZG	102.3x72.5x50 cm
LACK-FURN	1	0609, 0900 (in)	Blank Sheets, Cottage Point Stationery	22.6x15 cm
LACK-FURN	1	0900 (in)	Book, 1900 Whitney's Instruction for Parlor Organ	no measure taken
LACK-FURN	1	0902 (in)	Letter, Lina Elise Roth Grey to Alvah James, incl. photos confirm James' ZG office setup	no measure taken
LACK-FURN	1	1149	Lamp, 2 green mold-blown glass shades	82x71 cm
LACK-FURN	1	1178	Woodstove, cast iron w/ glass paned doors	no measure taken

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
LACK-FURN	1	1184	Cast-iron safe, "DR. ZANE GREY" painted above door, combination lock, iron casters	67x41x43 cm
LACK-FURN	1	1185	Desk, oak	37x102.4x78.5 cm
LACK-FURN	1	1250a-c	Dresser	217x130.8x57.5 cm
LACK-FURN	1 - conserve, make copy for exhibit	1268	B/W photo, Zane Grey Seated in Wicker Chair in Cottage, Lackawaxen, PA, ca. 1905	8.7x8.8 cm
LACK-FURN	1 - copy of 871?, if copy, use 1036	1036	B/W photo, Zane Grey seated, dressed in white, MS in hand, repro of earlier photo	no measure taken
LACK-FURN	1 - display behind desk UPDE 1185	1186	Chair, oak w/ caned seat, swivel chair	100x50x39.5 cm
LACK-FURN	1 - display on arm chair UPDE 0555	0555	Lap desk, belonged to ZG	49.5x91x.5 cm
LACK-FURN	1 - display on desk UPDE 1185	1143	Paperweight, marble, pyramidal shape	20x5 cm
LACK-FURN	1 - replace glass w/ UV filter glass or Plex, make copy for storage/ rotation.	1140	B/W photo, in original frame - portrait of Dolly Grey, inscr. "DOLLY 1906" on front, original metal frame	18.5x8 cm
LACK-FURN	1 - same as 1036?, if copy, use 1036	0871	B/W photo, Zane Grey at his desk in the "Lodge"	14.6x20.5 cm
LACK-FURN	1 - same as 871 and 1036?, use copy for exhibit	0646	B/W photo, ZG in study reading at desk, 1906	8.3x13.9 cm
LACK-FURN	2	1274	Barometer, marked 'Optician lando/Milwaukee'	16.3x12.5 cm
LACK-FURN	2 - catalogue, use to supplement 1178	Not Catalogued	Brass coal scuttle with blue coal	no measure taken
LACK-FURN	2 - large	0676	Rug, Navajo - brown/off-white border, lt brown ground, 3 bands connected brown diamonds, red trim around designs, red edging	196x158 cm
LACK-FURN	2 - large	0678	Rug, Navajo - lt. brown ground, large joined diamonds, ctr. diamond brown and red center, border of brown and red stripes, comb-like motifs in corners	140.5x243 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
LACK-FURN	2 - large	0682	Rug, Navajo - brown & gray border, 7 zig-zag stripes of gray, dk brown, red, tan	136.5x220.2 cm
LACK-FURN	2 - large	0683	Rug, Navajo - border of dk brown, red, gray; off-white ground w/ 2 large diamonds in center - dark brown and tan, small diamonds in corners	206.7x135.7 cm
LACK-FURN	2 - medium	0680	Rug, Navajo - border of dk brown, tan, red, brown ground, diamond with tan and dk brown squares	102.4x129 cm
LACK-FURN	2 - medium	0681	Rug, Navajo - dark, serrated border, diamond with tan, dark brown, red	94x96 cm
LACK-FURN	2 - medium	1066	Rug, Navajo - double-diamond on tan ground, red rectangular around central motif, off-white and brown zig-zag outside border	141.4x103.3 cm
LACK-FURN	2 - medium	1180	Rug, Navajo - red, cream, purple, brown, central diamond and parallel bands	73.5x86.5 cm
LACK-FURN	2 - poor cond., conserve	1234	Six-Part Frieze by Lillian Wilhelm	67x440 cm
LACK-FURN	2 - use as display surface?	0508	Dining table	71x176 x 111 cm
LACK-FURN	3 - not as vis. interesting	0671	Rug, Navajo - dark brown, red, orange, off-white	82x55 cm
LACK-FURN	3 - not as vis. interesting	0674	Rug, Navajo - brown & orange stitching on edges, thin brown stripes, red/off-white stripes	91x27.5 cm
LACK-FURN	3 - not as vis. interesting	0679	Rug, Navajo - tan ground, stripes of orange, dk brown, yellow, gray	92.7x125 cm
LACK-FURN	3 - supplement items on desk	0772	Magazine, American Angler, 1917	25x17.5x.4 cm
LACK-FURN	3 - supplement items on desk	1078	Paper Spindle	16.6x5.1x5.1 cm
LACK-FURN	3 - supplement items on desk	1141	Inkwell, iridescent green glass, art nouveau motif metal overlay, w/ hinged metal lid	7x8.9 cm (diam)
LACK-FURN	3 - supplement items on desk	1142	Postage scale, metal	11.5x12 cm
LACK-FURN	3 - supplement items on desk	1144	Inkwell, clear glass, square shape, w/ stopper	16x8 cm
LACK-FURN	3 - supplement items on desk	1145	Letter holder, metal, fan shape w/ open work	17x22 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
LACK-FURN	3 - supplement items on desk	1146	Empty envelopes, some addressed to Dr. Grey, Dolly Grey, others from McAlpin Hotel in NYC unaddressed	17.5x9.5 cm
LACK-FURN	4	0672	Rug, Navajo - fringe, brown ground, thin multi stripes (brown, red, orange, pink, green)	77x61 cm
LACK-FURN	4	0673	Rug, Navajo - tan ground, 8 brown stripes, light brown diamonds, tassels at corners	175x114 cm
LACK-FURN	4	0675	Rug, Navajo - tan ground, multi-colored stripes (brown, orange, purple, yellow), brown & orange edges	165.5x131 cm
LACK-FURN	4	0677	Rug, Navajo - brown ground with 2 multi stripes (orange, yellow, brown, green)	80.5x34.5 cm
LACK-FURN	4	1220	Lot of electric wall fixtures - lampshades, wall brackets	varies
LACK-FURN	4 - poor cond	1221	Pendant brass wall or ceiling fixture	55.8 x 12 cm (diam)
LACK-PET	1	0489	Dog pedigree chart, ca. 1900	24x34.2 cm (est.)
LACK-PET	1	0621	Newspaper clipping, Zane Grey in Lackawaxen Doorway with Dog, 11 June 1972	18x12.1 cm
LACK-PET	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photo - Zane Grey in front of Lodge with 2 cats, 1907-1914, Lead: Landscape Treatment Plan, fig. #8 Source: Ohio Historical Society	Unknown
LACK-PET	1 - make copy for exhibit	0490	B/W photo, 2 dogs, ca. 1900, in frame 488, upper photo	9.7x15.2 cm
LACK-PET	1 - make copy for exhibit	0491	B/W photo, 2 dogs, ca. 1900, in frame 488, lower photo	9.7x15.2 cm
LACK-PET	4	Not Catalogued	Cast-iron corner feeding trough used in barn for horses	no measure taken
LACK-VIEW	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photo - child (Romer Zane Grey?) in front of early Big House, Source: Dr. Loren Grey	unknown
LACK-VIEW	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photo - view of Grey compound from Prospect Rock, Lead: Landscape Treatment Plan, fig. #12	unknown
LACK-VIEW	1 - exhibit selected elevations and floor plans	Acquire	Full set of HABS drawings to illustrate evolution of Big House (9 sheets), Source: Historic American Building Survey, Survey No. PA 5371	unknown

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
LACK-VIEW	1 - make copy for exhibit	0890	B/W photo, Boat "Betty Zane," 1905?	20.4x12.8 cm
LACK-VIEW	1 - make copy for exhibit	0942	B/W photo, Cottage Point - panoramic	12.5x17.5 cm
LACK-VIEW	1 - make copy for exhibit	1278	B/W photo, Cottage on Point ca. 1900	20.5x25.7 cm
LACK-VIEW	1 - make copy for exhibit, supplement with acquisitions.	0944	B/W photo, Lackawaxen House post-1915	20.5x25.6 cm
LACK-VIEW	2 - make copy for exhibit	0645	B/W photo, "Old Delaware House/June 1897" - desc. as 2 young men on bicycles	12.6x12.6 cm
LACK-VIEW	3 - make copy for exhibit	0943	B/W photo, Aerial View of Delaware River	12.8x17.7 cm
ZGBS-AD	1	0527	Calendar, Page from Metropolitan Literary Scenes Calendar, shows ZG outside bookstore in 1920s, 1983	24.4x29.1 cm
ZGBS-AD	1	0900 (in)	Postcard, Man of the Forest	no measure taken
ZGBS-AD	1 - conserve, rotate with 520	0640	Advertising poster, "Wildfire," signed Frank Tenney Johnson, 1916	70.8x50.6 cm
ZGBS-AD	1 - conserve, rotate with copy	0452	Advertising poster, "Riders of the Purple Sage", Remington/Russell	50.5x35.9 cm
ZGBS-AD	1 - make copy for exhibit	0813	B/W photo, store front w/ ZG book display.	34.2x41 cm
ZGBS-AD	1 - rotate the two	0450, 0643	Advertising poster, "Light of Western Stars," Remington/Russell	50x37 cm
ZGBS-AD	1 - rotate with 1120	0451	Advertising poster, "Heritage of the Desert", Remington/Russell	49.5x36.1 cm
ZGBS-AD	1 - rotate with 451	1120	Advertising poster, "Heritage of the Desert," Remington,	51x38 cm
ZGBS-AD	1 - rotate with 521	0976	Advertising poster, "Border Legion"	60.9x30.8 cm
ZGBS-AD	1 - rotate with copy	0532	Advertising poster, "The Lone Star Ranger"	54.7x34.2 cm
ZGBS-AD	1 - rotate with repro	0690	Bookstore display stand for ZG novels, chromolithograph on cardboard by Seiter & Kappes Litho Co., NY, 1915	50.5x124.5 cm (largest pce.)
ZGBS-ART	1	1222	Book, Ralph Tenney Johnson Book	13.4x26.2x2 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGBS-ART	1 - rotate with 513	0987	Watercolor, Swordfish, Lillian Wilhelm	43x32 cm
ZGBS-ART	1 - rotate with 640	0520	Oil painting, art work for The Man of the Forest book jacket, F.T. Johnson, 1919	71.4x48.5x2.1 cm
ZGBS-ART	1 - rotate with 976	0521	Oil painting, art work for The Border Legion book jacket, L. Wilhelm Smith, 1916	76.1x51x2 cm
ZGBS-ART	1 - rotate with 987	0513	Watercolor, Barracuda, Lillian Wilhelm	11.4x36.4 cm
ZGBS-ART	3	0536	Print, "The Rainbow Natural Bridge," Lillian Wilhelm Smith, copyright 1939, Grosset & Dunlap	39.3x45 cm
ZGBS-ART	3	0814	Print, Wild Horse Mesa, Lillian Wilhelm Smith	36.5x39.8 cm
ZGBS-ART	3	0869	Print, book illustration, Night Scene, Pioneer w/ Gun, Lillian Wilhelm Smith	36.3x28.5 cm
ZGBS-ART	3	0900 (in)	Dust Jacket, Arizona Ames, Grosset & Dunlap	no measure taken
ZGBS-ART	3	0900 (in)	Dust Jacket, The Vanishing American, Grosset & Dunlap	no measure taken
ZGBS-BOOK	1	0723	Book, Day of the Beast, ZG, Grosset & Dunlap, 1922	19.2x13x3.2 cm
ZGBS-BOOK	1	0724	Book, Man of the Forest, ZG, Harper, 1920	19.2x13x3.9 cm
ZGBS-BOOK	1	0730	Book, Rainbow Trail, ZG, Harper, 1915	19x12.9x3.5 cm
ZGBS-BOOK	1	0732	Book, To the Last Man, ZG, 1922, Harper, illustrated	19.1x12.7x3.7 cm
ZGBS-BOOK	1	0757	Book, Zane Grey: The Man & His Work, 1928	19.5x13.5x.7 cm
ZGBS-BOOK	1	0900 (in)	Dedication to Ripley Hitchcock	no measure taken
ZGBS-BOOK	1 - acquire copies	Acquire	Letters, Copies of fan letters from scrapbook entitled The Voice of Zane Grey's Public, Source: Ohio Historical Center	unknown
ZGBS-BOOK	2	0721	Book, Last of the Buffalo Scouts (Buffalo Bill), Helen Cody Wetmore and ZG, 1918 reprint of 1899?	19.3x13.x3 cm
ZGBS-BOOK	4 - poor cond	0729	Book, Mysterious Rider, ZG, Grosset & Dunlap, 1921	19x12.9x3.4 cm
ZGBS-BOOK	4 - poor cond	0738	Book, Forlorn River, ZG, armed services ed., 1927	9.5x13.7x1.4 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGBS-BOOK	4 - poor cond	0743	Book, Wanderer of the Wasteland, ZG, Harper, 1923	19.1x12.6x3.9 cm
ZGBS-FOR	1 - conserve, rotate with 708	0741	Book, Posledni Prerijnik, Eastern European language?, ZG, 1932	21.7x17.1x1.8 cm
ZGBS-FOR	1 - conserve, rotate with 741	0708	Book, Az Erdoszerelmese, ZG, Eastern European edition? rebound	17.8x13.5x3 cm
ZGBS-MAG	1 - rotate with copy	0563	Magazine, Field & Stream, "Riders of Purple," ZG, Mar. 1912, chapter 5	25.1x17.8 cm
ZGBS-MAG	1 - rotate with copy	0776	Magazine, Blue Book, "Roaring U.P. Trail," ZG, Sept. 1917	26.2x18.6x2.3 cm
ZGBS-MAG	1 - rotate with copy	0791	Magazine, Popular Magazine, "Heritage of Desert," ZG, 1 Aug. 1910	24.7x16.9x2 cm
ZGBS-MAG	1 - rotate with copy	0798	Magazine, Country Gentleman, "Wildfire," ZG, 1916	35.7x28.2x3 cm
ZGBS-MAG	1 - rotate with copy	1114	Magazine Cover, All Story Weekly, advertises serial Border Legion, 15 Jan. 1916	25x18.5 cm
ZGBS-MAG	2 - rotate 2 copies	0786	Magazine, Munsey's Magazine, "Horses of Bostil's Ford," ZG, June 1912 (2 copies)	25.1x17x1.6 cm
ZGBS-MAG	2 - rotate with 547	0774	Magazine, Argosy, "Last of the Duanes," ZG, 1914,	24.8x17.2x1.6 cm
ZGBS-MAG	2 - rotate with 774	0547	Magazine Cover, Argosy, "The Last of the Duanes," Sept. 1914	25.9x16.7 cm
ZGBS-MAG	4 - missing cover	0541	Magazine, All-Story Weekly, "The Border Legion," ZG, 15 Jan. 1916	24.9x17.2x1.6 cm
ZGBS-MAG	4 - missing cover	0786	Magazine, Munsey's Magazine, "Light of Western Stars," Munsey's Magazine, ZG, Nov. 1913	25.1x17x1.6 cm
ZGBS-MAG	4 - poor cond	0562	Magazine, Country Gentleman, "Wildfire," ZG, 1916, ill. by FT Johnson	36.5x28.2 cm
ZGBS-MAG	4 - poor cond	0771	Magazine, All-Story Weekly, "Border Legion," ZG, 1916	24.7x17x1.2 cm
ZGBS-METH	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photo - ZG writing on lapboard outside with tent, Lead: Gruber, between 146 and 147	unknown

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGBS-METH	1 - choose samples to exhibit & rotate	0900 (in)	Newspaper clippings re: IWW for novel Desert of Wheat	varies
ZGBS-METH	1 - display with clippings, rotate copy	0900 (in)	MS, Partial, Typed, Desert of Wheat	no measure taken
ZGBS-METH	1 - display with Light of Western	0900 (in)	MS, Typed, Light of the Western Stars	no measure taken
ZGBS-METH	1 - display with typed Wildfire	0900 (in)	MS, Wildfire, n.d.	no measure taken
ZGBS-METH	1 - make copy for exhibit	0874	B/W photo, Zane Grey with MS and Jaw at Lap Desk, 1984 reprint	25.4x20.2 cm
ZGBS-METH	1 - rotate with 552	0553, 0900 (in)	MS, handwritten manuscript pg "Bonefish" and typed manuscript pg "Bonefish", from "Tales of Fishes", ZG, includes corrections	31.4x19.8 cm
ZGBS-METH	1 - rotate with Border Legion	0900 (in)	MS, Last of the Great Scouts - foreword and afterword	no measure taken
ZGBS-METH	1 - rotate with Kingfish	0900 (in)	MS, typewritten, excerpt from chapter 2, Wildfire, 1917	no measure taken
ZGBS-METH	1 - rotate with Last of Scouts	0900 (in)	MS, Partial Border Legion, ZG's writing on legal size, looks like movie script	no measure taken
ZGBS-METH	1 - rotate with Light of Western	0900 (in)	MS, Painted Desert	no measure taken
ZGBS-METH	1 - rotate with Painted Desert	0900 (in)	MS, Light of the Western Stars	no measure taken
ZGBS-METH	1 - rotate with Wildfire	0900 (in)	Manuscript notes, 8 pages, typewritten, original art, "Kingfish," 1918	no measure taken
ZGBS-METH	2 - rotate with 553	0552, 0900 (in)	MS, 12 pages, typewritten, "Bonefish," ca. 1919?	27.9x21.7 cm
ZGBS-YOU	1	0602	Book, Young Forester, ZG, 1938	19.36x13.3x2.3 cm
ZGBS-YOU	1 - conserve, rotate copies	0596, 0600	Book, Young Pitcher, ZG	19x13.2x3.5 cm
ZGBS-YOU	1 - conserve, rotate copies	0599, 0722	Book, Redheaded Outfield..., ZG, ca. 1920	19.1x13.1x3.3 cm
ZGBS-YOU	1 - conserve, rotate copies	0603, 0731	Book, Young Lion Hunter, ZG	19.1x13.1x3.6 cm
ZGBS-YOU	1 - rotate copies	0598, 0601, 0751	Book, Short Stop, ZG, ca. 1914, 4th printing	19.1x12.9x3.5 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGEA-AD	1 - rotate with copy	0587	Advertisement, Betty Zane	22.1x13.3 cm
ZGEA-AD	1 - rotate with copy	0641	Advertising poster, "Betty Zane"	55.5x35.3 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0591	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "T" by ZG for chapter 1 of "Betty Zane", 1903	24.7x19.4 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0834	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "I" by ZG for chapter of "Betty Zane", 1903	25x19.5 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0835	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "P" by ZG for chapter 15 of "Betty Zane", 1903	24.7x19.3 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0836	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "I" by ZG for chapter 10 of "Betty Zane", 1903	25.1x19.2 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0837	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "O" by ZG for prologue of "Betty Zane", 1903	25.1x19.4 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0838	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "T" by ZG for chapter 14 of "Betty Zane", 1903	28.5x19 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0839	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "T" by ZG for chapter 7 of "Betty Zane", 1903	24.7x19.5 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0840	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "W" by ZG for chapter 8 of "Betty Zane", 1903	25x19.2 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0841	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "F" by ZG for chapter 2 of "Betty Zane", 1903	24.7x19.4 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0842	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "D" by ZG for chapter 5 of "Betty Zane", 1903	25.1x19.5 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0843	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "G" by ZG for chapter 9 of "Betty Zane", 1903	24.9x19.4 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate in grps. of 3	0844	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "M" by ZG for chapter 3 of "Betty Zane", 1903	25x19.6 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate with 586	0590	Pen/ink and wash drawing of Indian, "Betty Zane" above, signed "P. Zane Grey"	37.8x50.5 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate with 590	0586	Pen/ink, watercolor and gouache, female portrait for "Betty Zane" cover, signed "P. Zane Grey"	31.2x27 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate with 693	0845	Pen/ink/wash drawing for cover of "Betty Zane", 1903	28.3x18.5 cm
ZGEA-ART	1 - rotate with 845	0693	Watercolor, illustration by ZG for title pg or cover of Betty Zane, 1903	33.3x26.3 cm
ZGEA-ART	4 - poor cond	0592	Pen/ink/wash drawing of decorative capital "A" by ZG for chapter 12 of "Betty Zane", 1903	25.1x19.8 cm
ZGEA-BOOK	1	0726	Book, Last Trail: Story of Early Days in the Ohio Valley, ZG, 1909	19.1x12.7x2.5 cm
ZGEA-BOOK	1	0733	Book, Last of the Plainsmen, ZG, Grosset & Dunlap 1936 reprint	20.7x13.9x2.7 cm
ZGEA-MAG	1	0794	Magazine, Shields Magazine, "The Leaping Tarpon," ZG, Sept. 1907	23.2x16.3x.4 cm
ZGEA-MAG	1 - rotate with 694	0792	Magazine, Recreation Magazine, "Canoeing on the Delaware," ZG, June 1903	23.7x16.6x1 cm
ZGEA-MAG	1 - rotate with 779, Inferno	0790	Magazine, Outing Magazine, "Lord of Lackawaxen Creek," ZG photos, May 1909	24.4x16.9x.6 cm
ZGEA-MAG	1 - rotate with 779, Roping	0779	Magazine, Field & Stream, "Tige's Lion," ZG, June 1908	24.9x16.9x.6 cm
ZGEA-MAG	1 - rotate with 779, Tige's	0779	Magazine, Field & Stream, "Roping Lions in the Grand Canyon," ZG, May 1909	24.9x16.9x.6 cm
ZGEA-MAG	1 - rotate with 790, Lord	0779	Magazine, Field & Stream, "Trout Fisherman's Inferno," ZG, Apr. 1910	24.9x16.9x.6 cm
ZGEA-MAG	1 - rotate with 792	0694	Magazine, Field & Stream, "Camping Out," ZG, Feb. 1903	24.1x16.8x.6 cm
ZGEA-MAG	4 - poor cond	0615	Magazine, Field & Stream, "Tige's Lion," ZG, June 1908	24.5x18x.5 cm
ZGEA-MAG	4 - poor cond	0616	Magazine, Field & Stream, "Three Strikes and Out," ZG, July 1907	24.5x16.9x.5 cm
ZGLE-ADAPT	1	0714	Book, Rustlers of Pecos County and Silvermane, ZG, 1979	17.3x10.3x1.6 cm
ZGLE-ADAPT	1	0734	Book, Zane Grey: Outdoorsman; ZG's best hunting and fishing tales, pub. for centennial year	25.3x18.4x3 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGLE-ADAPT	1	0752	Book, Wolf tracker and Other Animal Tales, ZG, 1984, foreword Loren Grey	21.3x13.7x.9 cm
ZGLE-ADAPT	4 - poor cond	0713	Book, Amber's Mirage and Other Stories, ZG, 1983	17.7x10.5x1.5 cm
ZGLE-FOR	1	1275	Book, Vadnyugaton ("Nevada"), ZG, 1971	20.5x14x2 cm
ZGLE-FOR	1	1284	Book, paperback "Inder Prarie" ("The Trail Driver"), ZG, 1981	17.2x11.5x1.1 cm
ZGLE-FOR	1 - rotate with 1283	0747	Book, Saigo No Ichijin Made ("To the Last Ma"), ZG, 1984, text in Japanese	17.2x10.7x1.6 cm
ZGLE-FOR	1 - rotate with 747	1283	Book, Rider of the Purple Sage in Japanese, ZG, 1984	17x10.8x1.6 cm
ZGLE-POST	1	0443	Book, Zane Grey's Adventures in Fishing, w/ notes by Ed Zern, 1952 1st ed.	7.5x6.4x.4 cm
ZGLE-POST	1	0704	Book, Adventures of Finspot, ZG, intro by Betty Grosso, 1974, limited ed. #32 of 950	22x14x.7 cm
ZGLE-POST	1 - catalogue	Not Catalogued	Book, The Zane Grey Ominibus, ZG, 1943 1st ed.	no measure taken
ZGLE-POST	1 - implement oral history project immediately	Acquire	Visitor oral history interviews at Big House, UPDE	unknown
ZGLE-POST	1 - rotate copies	0746, 0750	Book, The Reef Girl, ZG, 1977	21.4x14.7x2.1 cm
ZGLE-POST	1 - rotate with 728	0728	Book, 30,000 on the Hoof, 1940, published by ZG Inc.	19x12.9x2.7 cm
ZGLE-POST	1 - rotate with 745	0727	Book, Wildemess Trek, ZG, 1944, published by ZG Inc.	21.1x13.1x2.1 cm
ZGLE-POST	4 - poor cond	0745	Book, The Ranger and Other Stories, ZG, 1960	21.1x14.4x2.1 cm
ZGLE-REPR	1	0447	Book, Nevada, ZG, 1955, Bantam	17.3x10.4x2 cm
ZGLE-REPR	1	0644	Book, Betty Zane, ZG, 1969	21x13.7x.2 cm
ZGLE-REPR	1	0715	Book, Heritage of the Desert, ZG, 1978	17.2x10.5x1.7 cm
ZGLE-REPR	1	0720	Book, Lone Star Ranger, ZG, 1943 reprint of 1915	19.2x12.9x2.7 cm
ZGLE-REPR	1	0779	Magazine, Field & Stream, "Down and Unknown Jungle River," ZG, Sept. - Oct. 1967, reprint	29.1x22.3x1.8 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGLE-REPR	1 - depend on space - rotate volumes	1282	Set of 64 ZG novels, Walter J. Black Inc. publisher, Reprint Subscription Series	19.4x14x3 cm
ZGLE-REPR	1 - rotate copies	0444, 0663,0742	Book, The Lord of Lackawaxen Creek, miniature paperback book ZG, Lime Rock Press, 1981	7.5x6.4x.4 cm
ZGLE-REPR	1 - rotate with 1072	0725	Book, Code of the West, ZG, 1951 reprint of 1934 book	19.2x13.2x3 cm
ZGLE-REPR	1 - rotate with 1279	0716, 0717	Book, Tales of Lonely Trails, vols. 1-2, ZG, 1986	17.2x10.5x1.3 cm
ZGLE-REPR	1 - rotate with 716 and 717	1279	Book, Omnibus, ZG, 1982	22.3x15x3.2 cm
ZGLE-REPR	1 - rotate with 725	1072	Book, The Last Trail, ZG, copyright 1906, 1951	18.9x13.5x2 cm
ZGLL-BOOK	1	0749	Book, Thunder Mountain, ZG, first edition, Harper, 1935	19.4x13.7x3.3 cm
ZGLL-BOOK	1	1073	Book, Real Dogs: Anthology of Short Stories, ZG, Don, 1937	20.1x15.2x3.3 cm
ZGLL-FAM	1 - conserve, make copy for exhibit	0466	B/W photo, Grey family in Altadena, CA - adult children with spouses and children, 1930s	20.2x25.2 cm
ZGLL-FAM	1 - make copy for exhibit	0895	B/W photo, Family with dog, on terrace with range of mountains in Background	20.3x25.3 cm
ZGLL-FAM	3	0462	Postcard, ZG Study in Alataadena, Lina Grey and 3 grown children around desk, 1952	8.6x13.7 cm
ZGLL-HOME	1	0900 (in)	Postcard, Residence of Zane Grey, Avalon, Catalina Is, CA, Western Publishing & Novelty Co, Los Angeles, CA	no measure taken
ZGLL-WORK	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photo - ZG in Altadena study, Lead: Karr, frontispiece	unknown
ZGLL-WORK	1 - make copy for exhibit	0551	B/W photo, ZG with lap loard and MS for last novel 30,000 on Hoof, 1930s, list books and dates pub. upper left of board	20.4x24.3 cm
ZGPC-BOOK	2 - rotate with 718	0719	Book, Zane Grey's Buck Duane: The Rider of Distant Trails, Leisure Books, 1969, Romer Zane Grey based on ZG's characters	17.2x10.5x1.5 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGPC-BOOK	2 - rotate with 719	0718	Book, Zane Grey's Laramie Nelson: The Lawless Land, Leisure Books, 1970s, Romer Zane Grey based on ZG characters	17.2x10.5x1.7 cm
ZGPC-COM	1 - catalogue	Not Catalogued	Limited Edition Plates, Royal Manor Porcelain, endorsed by ZGM	no measure taken
ZGPC-COMIC	1	0449	Magazine, Zane Grey's Desert Gold, published by Dell Comics	25.5x18.2 cm
ZGPC-COMIC	1	0735	Comic book, small, Tex Thorne Comes Out of the West, 1937 reprint of 1936 strip	11.3x9.1x3.5 cm
ZGPC-COMIC	1	0748	Comic book, King of the Royal Mounted and the Ghost Guns of Roaring River, 1946	20.1x13.7x3 cm
ZGPC-COMIC	1	1285	Book, King de la Police Montee	22.5x30.5x1.5 cm
ZGPC-COMIC	1 - conserve, make copies, rotate copies	0758	Newspaper page, King of Royal Mounted, Jefferson City News & Tribune, 26 Mar 1939, 9 Apr. 1939	43.4x28.4 cm
ZGPC-COMIC	1 - conserve, rotate with 753	0754	Comic book, King of the Royal Mounted: The Long Arm of the Law, 1942	11.4x9x3.2 cm
ZGPC-COMIC	1 - conserve, rotate with 754	0753	Comic book, King of the Royal Mounted and the Great Jewel Mystery, ZG, 1939	19.3x13x3 cm
ZGPC-COMIC	1 - conserve, rotate with 769	0770	Comic book, King of the Royal Mounted, #8, 1952	25.7x18.2x.2 cm
ZGPC-COMIC	1 - rotate with 770	0769	Comic book, King of the Royal Mounted, #363, 1951	25.7x18.2x.2 cm
ZGPC-COMIC	4 - poor cond	0768	Comic book, King of the Royal Mounted, #340, 1951	25.7x18.2x.2 cm
ZGPC-IMAGE	1 - acquire	Acquire	Cartoon by Shoemaker, ZG meeting Riders of Purple Sage in Heaven, 1939, Lead: Schneider, p. 29	unknown
ZGPC-IMAGE	1 - make copy of orig. in ZGEA-MAG	0779	Magazine, Field & Stream, "Trout Fisherman's Inferno," ZG, Apr. 1910	24.9x16.9x.6 cm
ZGPC-IMAGE	1 - rotate with copies	0902 (in)	Art work for ZG Centennial Stamps, 1972	no measure taken
ZGPC-IMAGE	1 - rotate with copies	Not Catalogued	Pennsylvania Profiles: A Boy Named Pearl, Patrick M. Reynolds, 1978	no measure taken
ZGPC-MAG	1	0445	Magazine, Zane Grey Westerns, April 1972	27.5x21x.1 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGPC-MAG	1	0448	Book, paperback "Zane Grey's Western Magazine", 1947, contains ZG's "Robber's Roost"	19.1x13.6x1 cm
ZGPC-MAG	1	1070	Magazine, Zane Grey's Western, 1953	19.4x14.9x1.2 cm
ZGPC-MAG	1	1071	Magazine, Zane Grey Western Magazine, "Lightning," ZG, "Danger Rides the Dollar Wagon," RZG, 1970	19.4x13.2x.9 cm
ZGPC-MAG	4 - poor cond	0736	Magazine, Zane Grey's Western Magazine, ca. 1946	19.2x13.9x1.2 cm
ZGPC-MAG	4 - poor cond	0739	Magazine, Zane Grey's Picturized Riders of the Purple Sage #372, 1952	25.7x18.2x.2 cm
ZGPC-MOVE	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photos - movie stills and Zane Grey during filming of Wanderer of Wasteland and others, Source: Hollywood Studio Museum	unknown
ZGPC-MOVE	1 - acquire	Acquire	Videos, Zane Grey Movies, Source: Bridgestone Multimedia	unknown
ZGPC-MOVE	1 - choose sample stills to exhibit, make copies for exhibit.	0899	Movie Still, Riders of the Purple Sage, Farnum as Lassiter	28.7x23.7 cm
ZGPC-MOVE	1 - conserve, choose sample stills to copy and exhibit.	0497-0505	B/W photos - film stills from 1918 production "Riders of the Purple Sage" (9 photos)	20x27 cm
ZGPC-MOVE	1 - conserve, choose sample stills to copy and exhibit.	0903-0940	Movie Stills, Riders of the Purple Sage, 1918	20x25.2 cm
ZGPC-MOVE	1 - exhibit copy	0495	Newspaper ad, for film "The Light of the Western Stars" w/ Dustin Farnum	24x21.2 cm
ZGPC-MOVE	1 - exhibit copy	0496	Newspaper ad, for 1918 film "Riders of the Purple Sage" w/ Wm. Farnum, 8/11/1918	24.9x39 cm
ZGPC-MOVE	1 - rotate with copy	0453	Advertising poster, "Nevada," Paramount Pictures	105.3x67.1 cm
ZGPC-MOVE	2 - choose clippings, use copies	0900 (in)	Newspaper clippings (most 1918), may have some potential in exhibit re: movies	varies
ZGPC-MOVE	4	0978-0986	Movie Stills, Riders of the Purple Sage, 1918	20x25 cm
ZGPC-TV	1 - acquire	Acquire	Clips from Zane Grey's Western Theatre, 1956-1961, Source: Unknown	unknown

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGPC-TV	1 - make copy for exhibit	1272	B/W photo, Loren, Betty, Lina, Romer Grey with Dick Powell, 1955-1957	20.5x25.7 cm
ZGPC-TV	2 - conserve and make copy for exhibit	0464	B/W photo, Dick Powell, Dolly, Loren, Betty, Romer Grey, Powell handing plaque to Dolly, 1955-1960	20.5x25.1 cm
ZGPC-USA	1 - make copy for exhibit	1105	B/W photo, Grey family at launch of S.S. Zane Grey, 1943	19.5x24.5 cm
ZGPC-USA	2 - conserve, make copy for exhibit	0463	B/W photo, S.S. Zane Grey leaving on maiden voyage, 1943	19.7x24.5 cm
ZGSP-BASE	1 - acquire	Acquire	B/W photo - ZG as baseball player, Lead: Taylor Publishing Company	unknown
ZGSP-BASE	1 - conserve, make copy for exhibit	0699	B/W photo, group portrait of Orange baseball team, incl. Zane Grey	28x34.6 cm
ZGSP-BASE	1 - conserve, rotate with 619a-b	0627, 0628	Baseball stockings, purportedly worn by Zane Grey	50.7x15.6 cm
ZGSP-BASE	1 - conserve, rotate with 627 and 628	0619a-b	Baseball shoes, purportedly worn by Zane Grey	13.3x8x26.7 cm
ZGSP-BASE	1 - make copy for exhibit	1044	B/W photo, U. Penn. baseball team, incl. ZG	27x39.5 cm
ZGSP-BASE	4 - poor cond	0638	Baseball sock, purportedly worn by Zane Grey	57.7x15.2 cm
ZGSP-FIAR	1 - rotate with 506	0792	Magazine, Recreation Magazine, "Two Fights with Swordfish," ZG, Oct. 1917	29.7x21.2x.4 cm
ZGSP-FIAR	1 - rotate with 530	0762	Booklet, "Fly Fishing" published by Horrocks-Ibbotson, 1985 in New ZG Collector, ZG Inc. copyright 1939	15.1x8.2 cm
ZGSP-FIAR	1 - rotate with 561	0565	Magazine, Recreation Magazine, "Some Rare Fish," Oct. 1916	31.6x24.7 cm
ZGSP-FIAR	1 - rotate with 564	0805	Magazine, Recreation Magazine, "Sailfish," ZG, Dec. 1916	31.5x24.6x.3 cm
ZGSP-FIAR	1 - rotate with 565	0561	Booklet, Tarpon the Silver King, ZG, n.d.	17.8x11.5x.2 cm
ZGSP-FIAR	1 - rotate with 568	0793	Magazine, Scientific American, Big Game Fishing in New Zealand Seas, ZG, Aug. 1928,	30x22.3x.4 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGSP-FIAR	1 - rotate with 762	0530	Booklet, Long Key Fishing Club, 1917-1918, ZG listed as president	15.3x8.9 cm
ZGSP-FIAR	1 - rotate with 792	0506	Magazine, Recreation Magazine, "Swordfish: The Royal Purple Game of the Sea," ZG, 12/1915	32.3x25.5x.4 cm
ZGSP-FIAR	1 - rotate with 793	0568	Magazine, Field & Stream, "Gulf Stream Fishing on Light Tackle," ZG, July 1918	30.3x21.9 cm
ZGSP-FIAR	1 - rotate with 805	0564	Magazine, Recreation Magazine, "Sailfish," ZG, Dec. 1916	31.5x24.6 cm
ZGSP-FIBO	1 - conserve	0455	Book, Tales of Lonely Trails, ZG	21.3x15.1x4.3 cm
ZGSP-FIBO	1 - conserve, rotate copies	0454, 0709	Book, Tales of Fresh Water Fishing, ZG	26.7x19.5x4.4 cm
ZGSP-FIBO	1 - conserve, rotate copies	0456, 0710	Book, Tales of Fishing Virgin Seas, ZG	26.8x20x4.1 cm
ZGSP-FIBO	1 - conserve, rotate copies	0458, 0705	Book, Tales of Southern Rivers, ZG	23.6x16.1x3.6 cm
ZGSP-FIBO	1 - conserve, rotate copies	0554, 0744	Book, Tales of Fishes, ZG, 1919 1st ed.	21.2x14.4x3.9 cm
ZGSP-FIBO	1 - conserve, rotate with 455	0459	Book, Tales of the Angler's Eldorado New Zealand, ZG	26.8x20.1x4.3 cm
ZGSP-FIBO	1 - conserve, rotate with 459	0457	Book, Tales of Swordfish and Tuna, ZG	26.8x20x4.1 cm
ZGSP-FIBO	3 - poor cond	0559	Book, Great Game Fishing at Catalina, ZG, 1919, reprint from Tales of Fishes	18.8x13.2x4 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	1	0461	Fish hook w/ info card "Pflueger Tartuna salt water snell," 1902	11.7x11.6 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	1	0476	Deep sea fishing rod and reel, marked "Eastern Coast Rod"	169.5x12 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	1	0629	Bishop-Cummins Rod Case	102.6x19.7 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	1	0688	Fishing Hat, Duck Cloth	20.2 x 25 cm (diam)
ZGSP-FIGE	1	0824	Metal Spring Scale	30.5x4.5x2.5 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	1	1161	Fly fishing rod, marked "Horton Mfg. Co, Bristol Conn."	265x2.5 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	1	1162	Fishing rod, marked "Bishop-Cummins, New Zealand"	222x5.3 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGSP-FIGE	1 - rotate out half year	0687	Sailcloth Jacket, size 38	71x60 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	3	0468	Rod, Fishing wood and metal	94.1x2.3 cm (diam)
ZGSP-FIGE	3	0817	Fishhook	5 1.2 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	3	0818	Large Fishhook	36.5x2.9 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	3	0819	Large Fishhook	9x4.5 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	3	0825	Float	2.4x3.7 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	3	1217	Case, canvas fishing rod	157.3x14.8 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	4	1163	Frame and handle of Landing Net	111x30.6 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	4 - poor cond	0460	Spinner with Fishhook, Al. Wilson (Spinner) W. Woodfield & Sons (Hook)	12.1x3.8 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	4 - poor cond	0479	Large Fishhook, ca. 1902	4.8x1.6 cm
ZGSP-FIGE	4 - poor cond	0540	Wooden Spool for Swastika Brand fishing line; line not intact.	4x5.2 cm (diam)
ZGSP-FIGE	4 - poor cond	1164	Drawstring bag of fishing corks	17.5x13 cm
ZGSP-FIGE?	3	0826	Pocket Knife	10.5x9.5x1.2 cm
ZGSP-FIPI	1 - make copy for exhibit	0535	B/W photo, Zane Grey with 4 fish, possibly in Mexico	25.3x20.5 cm
ZGSP-FIPI	1 - make copy for exhibit	0576	B/W photo, Zane Grey holding fish in front of palm trees	33.2x21 cm
ZGSP-FIPI	1 - make copy for exhibit	0584	B/W photo, ZG next to 316 pound Catalina striped marlin, mountains in background, 1912-1914	48x27 cm
ZGSP-FIPI	1 - make copy for exhibit	0882	B/W photo, ZG with Fishing Pole	25.4x20.1 cm
ZGSP-FIPI	1 - make copy for exhibit	0884	B/W photo, Lina Elise Roth Grey w/ guide and tarpon fish	28.5x23 cm
ZGSP-FIPI	1 - make copy for exhibit	0968	B/W photo, Zane Grey with Swordfish	16.5x11.7 cm

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGSP-FITR	1	0522	Trophy cup, copper and nickel, "Field and Stream Record Cup" engraved verso to Zane Grey for catching biggest tuna in 1912 season	30.1x28 cm
ZGSP-FITR	1	0684	Swordfish Bill	46.5x7.9 cm
ZGSP-FITR	1 - rotate with 1156	1157	Smallmouth bass mounted on rectangular wood board	28x63.2 cm
ZGSP-FITR	1 - rotate with 1157	1156	Smallmouth bass mounted on rectangular wood board	24x52 cm
ZGSP-FITR	2	0515	Swordfish Bill	45.7x9.4 cm
ZGSP-FITR	2	0569	Swordfish Bill	53x8.4 cm
ZGSP-HUNT	1	1077	Rifle and Case, 1907	96.7x14.4x2 cm
ZGSP-HUNT	1 - rotate with copy	0794	Magazine, Shields Magazine, "Hunter's Change of Heart," ZG, March 1907,	23.2x16.3x.4 cm
ZGSP-HUNT	2 - use to supplement 1077?	0811	Book, National Collection of Heads & Horns, Part III	30.9x23.9x.5 cm
ZGTR	1	0692	Binoculars, marked "Chevalier/Paris" and "Day/Night/Glass" on eye pieces	75x15.3 cm
ZGTR	1	1244	Canteen, nickel plated	22.5x19.5x5 cm
ZGTR	1	1249a-b	Camp stove and stand	19x14 cm
ZGTR	1 - make copy for exhibit	0549	B/W photo, ZG trip, Lina Grey on horse in photo	28x48.4 cm
ZGTR	1 - part of assemblage, make copy for exhibit	0963	B/W photo, Fisherman II	12.8x17.7 cm
ZGTR	2	0494	Binoculars stamped "MS Lauden/L-201660"	17x19x5.5 cm
ZGTR	2	0560, 0765	Booklet, Nassau, Cuba, Yucatan, Mexico: Personal Note of Appreciation, ZG, 1909	20.4x15.2x.3 cm
ZGTR	3	0493	Binocular case, leather, w/ stamped metal clasp	22.3x22.2x10.5 cm
ZGWE	1	0546	Redware bowl w/ 4 holes at top, cream color slip w/ black triangular geometric decoration, low fired w/ smoke marks, Native American (Santa Domingo)	11x14.5 cm (diam)

RECOMMENDED THEME AREA	PREFERENCE/ACTION	CATALOGUE NUMBER	OBJECT NAME	SIZE
ZGWE	1	0567	Magazine, Recreation Magazine, "Nonnezoshe, The Rainbow Bridge, "ZG and Native American on rock, Feb. 1915,	32.5x25.7 cm
ZGWE	1	0642	Chaps	49.4x43 cm
ZGWE	1	0956	Color photo of Rainbow Bridge	20x25.1 cm
ZGWE	1	0993	Kodachrome photograph of ZG trip to Monument Valley, on glass	34.5x58.5 cm
ZGWE	1 - catalogue	Not Catalogued	Saddle Spur, Right Foot	no measure taken
ZGWE	1 - conserve, rotate with 1175	1176	Sombrero	29x36 cm
ZGWE	1 - exhibit copy	0900 (in)	Letter, Buffalo Jones to Zane Grey, 13 July 1907	no measure taken
ZGWE	1 - exhibit copy in fair cond. (11001)	0900 (in)	Advertisement, Buffalo Jones lecture, 1907. Another copy III in fair condition.	25.4x15.2 cm
ZGWE	1 - exhibit with more legible copy	0809	Map of Utah, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico on piece of wood, attributed to ZG	35.6x24.4x.3 cm
ZGWE	1 - rotate out half year	0686	Suede Jacket, Blue and Golden Brown, Monogram ZG	73.5x60.5 cm
ZGWE	1 - rotate with 1176	1175	Sombrero	21x45 cm
ZGWE	4 - poor cond	0989	B/W photo, ZG with Native American guide, 1915, same photo as in Recreation Magazine, 1915 (567)	33x2.5 cm



Appendix A: Information Regarding Film Repositories Consulted

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS HOLDINGS

Prints and Photographs

<u>Description</u>	<u>Format</u>	<u>Call Number</u>
Zane Grey House, West Side of Scenic Drive, Lackawaxen, Pike County, PA	9 HABS Drawings 18 B/W Photos 29+ Pages Text	HABS, PA, 52-LACK, 3-
Zane Grey's "Wagon Wheels," ca. 1934	Poster	POS-MOT.PIC.-1934 .W33, no. 1
	Color Film Copy Slide	LC-USZC2-3668
Gunfighters, ca. 1947	Poster	POS-MOT.PIC.-1947 .G80, no. 1
	Color Film Copy Transparency	LC-USZC4-7671

Films

<u>Title</u>	<u>Format</u>	<u>Date</u> ⁸⁸¹	<u>Call/Control Number</u>
Fighting Caravans	1989 Video	1931?	VAB 4749
Heritage of the Desert	1989 Video	1932?	VAB 4745
Maverick Queen	Motion Picture	1956	Control # 9803565
Nevada	Motion Picture	1927	Control # 7168783
Riders of the Purple Sage	Video Reel	1996	VTB 5176-5177 (Master)
Robber's Roost	Motion Picture	1955	Control # 6987075
Rocky Mountain Mystery	1989 Video	1936	VAB 4746
Thundering Herd	1989 Video	1933?	VAB 4747

⁸⁸¹ Dates with questions marks come from Library of Congress collection records.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS HOLDINGS, CONTINUED

<u>Title</u>	<u>Format</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Call/Control Number</u>
The Vanishing American	Motion Picture	1955	Control # 8866480
The Vanishing American	Motion Picture	1925	Control # 7567722

BERKELEY ART MUSEUM AND PACIFIC FILM ARCHIVE HOLDINGS

Title	Format	Date	Call/Control Number
Dick Powell's Zane Grey Theatre, "Knife of Hate"	Visual	1960	PFA 1612-01-3902

INFORMATION FROM PACIFIC FILM ARCHIVE "FILM NOTES"

The Pacific Film Archive's "Film Notes" are program notes from its exhibition calendar. These notes vary in length and detail, but generally include a brief comment, the director, writer, and the film's release date, length, and source.

Title	Date	Source	Note
Golden West	1932	WKE ⁸⁸²	Not based on known Zane Grey story
The Last Trail	1925	WKE	Only loosely based on Zane Grey story Silent film + piano
Riders of Purple Sage	1931	Fox Film Archive	Only known print
Sunset Pass	1933	UCLA Film Archive	
Thunder Trail	1938	WKE	Desc. as "B" western
Vanishing American	1925	WKE	Silent Desc. as landmark western, but not classic western
Wild Horse Mesa	1925	WKE	Silent Desc. as one of most faithful Grey adaptations. Grey on location for much of shooting.

⁸⁸² The initials "WKE" stand for the former private collection of William K. Everson. Everson has since passed away and his film collection is jointly managed by New York University and the George Eastman House.

UCLA FILM AND TELEVISION ARCHIVES INFORMATION



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Phone: (310) 206-5388, e-mail: arsc@ucla.edu



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UCLA FILM AND TELEVISION ARCHIVES HOLDINGS

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1. The vanishing American / Famous Players-Lasky ; presented by Adolph Zukor ; director, George B. Seitz ; screenplay, Ethel Doherty ; adaptation, Lucien Hubbard. 1925. Richard Dix (Nophaie); Lois Wilson (Marion Warner); Noah Beery (Booker); Malcolm McGregor (Earl Ramsdale); Nocki (Indian boy); Shannon Day (Gekin Yashi); Charles Crockett (Amos Halliday); Bert Woodruff (Bart Wilson); Bernard Siegel (Do Etin); Guy Oliver (Kit Carson); Joe Ryan (Jay Lord); Charles Stevens (Shoie); Bruce Gordon (Rhur), Richard Howard (Glendon); John Webb Dillon (Naylor).
[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)
2. Fishing with Zane Grey in New Zealand. [19--]
[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)
3. Border Legion / Paramount-Publix Corp. ; director, Otto Brower, Edwin H. Knopf ; screenplay, Percy Heath, Edward E. Paramore, Jr. 1930. Richard Arlen (Jim Cleve); Jack Holt (Jack Kells); Fay Wray (Joan Randall); Eugene Pallette ("Bunco" Davis); Stanley Fields (Hack Gulden); E.H. Calvert (Judge Savin); Ethan Allen (George Randall); Sid Saylor (Shrimp).
[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)
4. Lone Star ranger (1930) The Lone Star ranger / Fox Film Corp ; presented by William Fox ; associate producer, James Kevin McGuinness ; director, A.F. Erickson ; staged by A.H. Van Buren ; scenario, Seton I. Millon ; dialogue, John Hunter Booth. 1930. George O'Brien (Buck Duane); Sue Carol (Mary Aldridge); Walter McGrail (Phil Lawson); Warren Hymer (the Bowery Kid); Russell Simpson (Colonel Aldridge); Roy Stewart (Captain McNally); Lee Shumway (Red Kane); Colin Chase (Tom Laramie); Richard Alexander (Jim Fletcher); Joel Franz (Hank Jones); Joe Rickson (Spike); Oliver Eckhardt (Lem Parker); Caroline Rankin (Mrs. Parker); Elizabeth Patterson (Sarah Martin); Billy Butts (Bud Jones); Delmar Watson (Baby Jones); William Steele (first deputy); Bob Fleming (second deputy); Ralph Le Fevre (stage driver).
[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)
5. Lone Star ranger (1930) The Lone Star ranger / Fox Film Corp. ; presented by William Fox ; associate producer, James Kevin McGuinness ; director, A.F. Erickson ; staged by A.H. Van Buren ; scenario, Seton I. Miller ; dialogue, John Hunter Booth. 1930. George O'Brien (Buck Duane), Sue Carol (Mary Aldridge), Walter McGrail (Phil Lawson), Warren Hymer (the

Bowery Kid), Russell Simpson (Colonel Aldridge), Roy Stewart (Captain McNally), Lee Shumway (Red Kane), Colin Chase (Tom Laramie), Richard Alexander (Jim Fletcher), Joel Franz (Hank Jones), Joe Rickson (Spike), Oliver Eckhardt (Lem Parker), Caroline Rankin (Mrs. Parker), Elizabeth Patterson (Sarah Martin), Billy Butts (Bud Jones), Delmar Watson (Baby Jones), William Steele (first deputy), Bob Fleming (second deputy), Ralph Le Fevre (stage driver).

[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

6. South Sea adventures / Sol Lesser presents ; narrative written by Tom J. Geraghty. c1932. Zane Grey.

[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

7. Golden West. Zane Grey's the golden West / Fox Film presents ; directed by David Howard ; screen play by Gordon Rigby. c1932. The players: With George O'Brien [David Lynch, Matano], Janet Chandler [Betty Summers, Betty Summers Brown], Marion Burns [Helen Sheppard]. Arthur Pierson [Robert Summers], Onslow Stevens [Calvin Brown], Emmett Corrigan [Col. Horace Stevens], Bert Hanlon [Dennis Epstein], Edmund Breese [Sam Lynch]. [Julia Swayne Gordon (Mrs. Summers), Dorothy Ward (Mary Lynch), Hattie McDaniels (Mammy Lou), George Rigas (Black Wolf), Sam Adams (Mike), Ed Dillon (Pat)].

[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

8. Wild Horse Mesa. Zane Grey's Wild Horse Mesa / a Paramount picture ; directed by Henry Hathaway ; screen play by Harold Shumate and Frank Howard Clark. c1932. Cast of characters: With Randolph Scott (Chane Weymer), Sally Blane (Sandy Melberne), Fred Kohler (Rand), Lucille La Verne (Ma Melberne), and Charley Grapewin (Sam Bass). James Bush (Bent Weymer); Jim Thorpe (Indian chief); George F. Hayes (Slack); Buddy Roosevelt (Horn); E.H. Calvert (sheriff).

[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

9. The woman accused : the Paramount-Liberty all-star story / a Paramount picture ; directed by Paul Sloane ; by ten of the world's greatest authors, Rupert Hughes, Vicki Baum, Viña Delmar, Irvin S. Cobb, Gertrude Atherton, J.P. McEvoy, Zane Grey, Ursula Parrott, Polan Banks, Sophie Kerr ; screen play by Bayard Veiller. c1933. Cast of characters: The woman: Nancy Carroll as Glenda O'Brien. The man: Cary Grant as Jeffrey Baxter. The accuser: John Halliday as Stephen Bessemer. And Louis Calhern (Louis Young), Irving Pichel (District Attorney Clarke), Norma Mitchell (Martha), Jack LaRue (Little Maxie), Frank Sheridan (police inspector), John Lodge (Dr. Simpson), Lona André (Cora Mathews), Harry Holman (Judge Osgood). [William J. Kelly, Jay Belasco, Gertrude Messinger, Donald Stuart, Gregory Golubeff, Robert Quirk, Amo Ingraham, Denis Beaufort, Gaylord Pendleton].

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10. Life in the raw. Zane Grey's life in the raw / Fox Film presents ; directed by Louis King ; screen play by Stuart Anthony. c1933. Cast: With George O'Brien (Jim), Claire Trevor (Judy), Greta Nissen (Belle). Francis Ford (Myles); Warner Richmond (Lamson); Gaylord Pendleton (Tom); Alan Edwards (Petroff); Nigel De Brulier (McTavish).

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[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

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[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

Date (Ascending)

11. Smoke lightning. Zane Grey's Smoke lightning / Fox Film presents ; directed by David Howard ; screen play by Gordon Rigby and Sidney Mitchell. c1933. The players: With George O'Brien (Smoke Mason), Nell O'Day (Dorothy Benson), Betsy King Ross (Betsy Blake), Frank Atkinson (Alf). Clarence Wilson (Tully); Morgan Wallace (Sheriff Kyle); Virginia Sale (Minnie); George Burton (Jordan); E.A. Warren (Blake); Douglass Dumbrille (Edson).
Film and TV Archive ([Full Record](#))
12. Sunset Pass. Zane Grey's Sunset Pass / Paramount presents ; directed by Henry Hathaway ; screen play by Jack Cunningham and Gerald Geraghty. c1933. Cast of characters: Randolph Scott as Ash Preston. Tom Keene as Jack Rock. Kathleen Burke as Jane Preston. Harry Carey as John Hisbitt; Noah Beery as Marshall Blake. Leila Bennett as Hetty; Fuzzy Knight as Willie. Kent Taylor as Clink Peeples; Vince Barnett as Windy; George Barbier as the judge; Patricia Farley as Grace. Charles Middleton (Williams). [Christian J. Frank, Tom London, Frank Beal, Al Bridge, Bob Kortman, James Mason].
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13. Under the Tonto Rim. Zane Grey's under the Tonto Rim / a Paramount picture ; directed by Henry Hathaway ; screen play by Jack Cunningham and Gerald Geraghty. c1933. Cast of characters: With Stuart Erwin as Tonto Daley, Verna Hillie as Nina Weston, Fred Kohler as Munther, John Lodge as Joe Gilbert, Raymond Hatton as Porky and Fuzzy Knight as Tex. George Barbier as Weston. [Patricia Farley, Marion Bardell, Edwin J. Brady, Allan Garcia].
Film and TV Archive ([Full Record](#))
14. Last round-up. Zane Grey's The last round-up / a Paramount picture ; directed by Henry Hathaway ; screen play by Jack Cunningham. c1934. Randolph Scott as Jim Cleve. Barbara Fritchie as Joan Randall. Richard Carle as Judge Savin. Charles Middleton as Andrew Jenkins. Barton MacLane as Charles Benson. Fred Kohler as Sam Gulden. Fuzzy Knight as Bunko McGee. Monte Blue as Jack Kells. Frank Rice (Shrimp). [Dick Rush, 'Buck' Connor, Bob Miles, Sam Allen, Ben Corbett, Jack M. Holmes, Jim Corey, James Mason].
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15. Nevada. Zane Grey's Nevada / a Paramount picture ; Adolph Zukor presents ; directed by Charles Barton ; associate producer, William T. Zackey ; screen play by Garnett Weston and Stuart Anthony. c1935. Cast of characters: With Larry 'Buster' Crabbe (Nevada), Kathleen

Burke (Hettie Ide), William Duncan (Ben Ide), Monte Blue (Clem Dillon), Raymond Hatton (sheriff), Sid Saylor (Cash Burrige), Glenn Erikson (Bill Ide). Richard Carle (Judge Franklidge); Stanley Andrews (Cawthorne); Frank Sheridan (Tom Blaine); Jack Kennedy (Mac Turk). [William L. Thorne, Harry Dunkinson, Barney Furley, Henry Roquemore, William Desmond, Frank Rice, O.C. Dutch Hendrian].

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16. Thunder Mountain (Motion picture) Zane Grey's Thunder Mountain / Atherton Productions, Inc. ; Sol Lesser presents ; directed by David Howard ; screen play by Dan Jarrett and Don Swift ; produced by Sol Lesser. c1935. Cast: George O'Brien [Kal Emerson]. Barbara Fritchie [Sydney Blair]; Frances Grant [Nugget]; Morgan Wallace [Rand Leavitt]; George F. Hayes [Foley]; Edward LeSaint [Samuel Blair]; Dean Benton [Steve Sloan]; William Norton Bailey [Cliff Borden]; Sid Jordan.

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17. Wanderer of the wasteland. Zane Grey's the wanderer of the wasteland / a Paramount picture ; Adolph Zukor presents ; directed by Otho Lovering ; associate producer, William T. Lackey ; screen play by Stuart Anthony. c1935. Cast of characters: Dean Jagger (Adam Larey); Gail Patrick (Ruth Virey); Edward Ellis (Dismukes); Monte Blue (Guerd Larey); Larry "Buster" Crabbe (Ben); Trixie Friganza (Big Jo); Raymond Hatton (Merryvale); Charles Waldron, Sr. (Mr. Virey); Anna Q. Nilssen [sic] (Mrs. Virey); Glenn Erikson (Lawrence); Tammany Young (Paducah); Kenneth Harlan (Bob); Fuzzy Knight (deputy); Benny Baker (piano player); Stanley Andrews (Sheriff Collishaw). [Alfred Delcambre, Pat O'Malley, Marina Schubert, Al St. John, Jim Thorpe].

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18. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 12, Code of the Mounted / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.

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19. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 11, Master spy / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.

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20. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 10, Blazing guns / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.

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[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

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[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

Date (Ascending)

21. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 9, Espionage / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.
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22. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 8, Satan's cauldron / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.
[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)
23. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 7, Death tunes in / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.
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24. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 6, False ransom / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.
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25. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 5, Sabotage / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.
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26. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 4, Devil doctor / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.
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27. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 3, Boomerang / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.
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28. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 2, Winged death / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.
Film and TV Archive ([Full Record](#))
29. King of the Royal Mounted. No. 1, Man hunt / Republic Productions, Inc. ; associate producer, Hiram S. Brown, Jr. ; directors, William Witney, John English ; original screenplay, Franklyn Adreon, Norman S. Hall, Joseph Poland, Barney A. Sarecky, Sol Shor. c1940. Allan Lane, Robert Strange, Robert Kellard, Lita Conway, Herbert Rawlinson, Harry Cording, Bryant Washburn, Budd Buster, John Davidson.
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30. Last of the Duanes / Twentieth Century-Fox ; producer, Sol M. Wurtzel ; director, James Tinling ; author, Zane Grey ; screenplay, Irving Cummings, Jr., William Conselmann, Jr. 1941. George Montgomery, Lynne Roberts, Eva Arden, Francis Ford, George E. Stone, William Farnum, Joseph Sawyer, Truman Bradley, Russell Simpson, Don Costello, Harry Woods, Andrew Tombes.
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[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

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[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

Date (Ascending)

31. Riders of the purple sage / Twentieth Century-Fox ; Sol M. Wurtzel ; director, James Tinling ; author, Zane Grey ; screenplay, William Bruckner, Robert Metzler. 1941. George Montgomery, Mary Howard, Robert Barrat, Lynne Roberts, Kane Richmond, Patsy Patterson, Richard Lane, Oscar O'Shea.
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32. Western Union / Twentieth Century-Fox ; associate producer, Harry Joe Brown ; director, Fritz Lang ; author, Zane Grey ; screenplay, Robert Carson. 1941. Robert Young, Randolph Scott, Dean Jagger, Virginia Gilmore, John Carradine, Slim Summerville, Chill Wills, Barton MacLane, Russell Hicks, Victor Kiliam, Minor Watson, George Chandler, Chief Big Tree, Chief Thundercloud, Dick Rich, Harry Strang, Charles Middleton, Addison Richards, Irving Bacon.
[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

33. The Yukon patrol / Republic Pictures presents ; directed by William Witney, John English. [1942] Allan Lane as Sergeant King. Robert Strange as Kettler. Robert Kellard as Copr. Tom Merritt, Jr. Lita Conway as Linda Merritt. Herbert Rawlinson as Inspector King; Harry Cording as Wade Garson. Bryant Washburn as Crandall; Budd Buster as Vinegar Smith. Stanley Andrews, John Davidson, John Dilson, Paul McVey, Lucien Prival, Norman Willis, Tony Paton.
[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

34. Lone Star ranger (1942) Zane Grey's Lone Star ranger / Twentieth Century-Fox presents ; executive producer, Sol M. Wurtzel ; screen play by William Conselman, Jr., Irving Cummings, Jr., and George Kane ; directed by James Tinling. [1942], c1941. Cast: John Kimbrough (Buck Duane). With Sheila Ryan (Barbara Longstreth). And Jonathan Hale (Judge Longstreth), William Farnum (Major McNeil), Truman Bradley (Phil Lawson), George E. Stone (Euchre). Russell Simpson (Tom Duane); Dorothy Burgess (Trixie); Tom Fadden (Sam); Fred Kohler, Jr. (Red); Eddy C. Waller (Mitchell); Harry Hayden (sheriff); George Melford (Hardin).
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35. West of the Pecos. Zane Grey's west of the Pecos / an RKO Radio picture ; executive producer, Sid Rogell ; screenplay by Norman Houston ; produced by Herman Schlom ; directed by

Edward Killy. [1945] With Robert Mitchum [Pecos], Barbara Hale [Rill], Richard Martin [Chito Rafferty], Thurston Hall [Colonel Lambeth], Rita Corday [i.e., Paule Croset] [Suzanne], Russell Hopton [Jeff Slinger]. Bill Williams [Tex Evans], Bruce Edwards [Clyde Morgan], Harry Woods [Brad Sawtelle], Perc Launders [Sam Sawtelle], Bryant Washburn [Dr. Howard], Philip Morris [Marshall], Martin Garralaga [Don Manuel].
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36. Gunfighters / Columbia ; producer, Harry Joe Brown ; director, George Waggner ; screenplay, Allan LeMay. 1947. Randolph Scott, Barbara Britton, Dorothy Hart, Bruce Cabot, Charles Grapewin, Steven Geray, Forrest Tucker, Charles Kemper, Grant Withers, John Miles, Griff Barnett.

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37. The vanishing American / Republic ; director, Joseph Kane ; screenplay, Alan LeMay. 1955. Scott Brady, Audrey Totter, Forrest Tucker, Gene Lockhart, Jim Davis, John Dierkes, Gloria Castillo, Julian Rivero, Lee Van Cleef, George Keymas, Charles Stevens, Jay Silverheels, James Millican, Glenn Strange.

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38. The maverick queen / Republic ; associate producer, Joe Kane ; director, Joe Kane ; author, Zane Grey ; screenplay, Kenneth Gamet, DeVallon Scott. 1956. Barbara Stanwyck, Barry Sullivan, Scott Brady, Mary Murphy, Wallace Ford, Howard Petrie, Jim Davis, Emile Meyer, Walter Sande, George Keymas, John Doucette, Taylor Holmes, Pierre Watkin.

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39. Dick Powell's Zane Grey theater. Time of decision / CBS ; Harold Schwartz. [1957-01-18]

[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

40. Dick Powell's Zane Grey theater. Sundown at Bitter Creek / CBS ; Robert Florey ; writer, Aaron Spelling. [1958-02-14]

[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

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[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

Date (Ascending) ▼

Sort Now

41. Dick Powell's Zane Grey theater. Legacy of a legend. Dick Powell's Zane Grey theater. The legacy of a legend / CBS ; Jerry Hopper. [1958-11-06]
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42. Dick Powell's Zane Grey theater. Freighter. Zane Grey theater. The freighter / CBS. [1958-01-17]
Film and TV Archive ([Full Record](#))
43. Dick Powell's Zane Grey theater. Stranger. Zane Grey theater. The stranger / CBS. [1958-02-28]
Film and TV Archive ([Full Record](#))
44. Dick Powell's Zane Grey theater. Day of the killing / Four Star-Zane Grey ; producer, Hal Hudson ; director, John English ; writer, Frederic Louis Fox. [1959-01-08] Paul Douglas, John Littel, Peter Breck, Jonathan Hole, Rickey Murray, Lane Bradford, Jason Johnson, Sam Buffington, Richard Devon.
Film and TV Archive ([Full Record](#))
45. Dick Powell's Zane Grey theater. Mission to Marathon / CBS ; John English. [1959-05-14]
Film and TV Archive ([Full Record](#))
46. Johnny Ringo. Kid with a gun / a Four Star-Zane Grey production ; sponsored by Johnson's Wax ; produced and created by Aaron Spelling ; director, Paul Henried ; writer, T.E. Brooks. [1959-12-24] Don Durant (Johnny Ringo); Karen Sharpe (Laura Thomas); Mark Goddard (Cully); Terence de Marney (Case Thomas); Vic Morrow, Robert F. Simon, Lisa Menzies, Howard Wright, James Rawley.
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47. Dick Powell's Zane Grey theater. Last raid. Dick Powell's Zane Grey theater. The last raid / CBS ; producer, Hal Hudson ; director, John English ; writer, Christopher Knopf. [1959-02-26] Fernando Lamas, Rita Moreno, Abel Fernandez.
Film and TV Archive ([Full Record](#))
48. Johnny Ringo. Liars. Johnny Ringo. The liars / a Four Star-Zane Grey production ; produced

and created by Aaron Spelling ; director, Lawrence Stewart ; writer, Barney Slater. [1960-02-04] Don Durant (Johnny Ringo); Mark Goddard (Cully); John Larch, Wally Brown, Alvy Moore, Ken Mayer, Richard Newton.
[Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

49. Johnny Ringo. Derelict. Johnny Ringo. The derelict / a Four Star-Zane Grey production ; produced and created by Aaron Spelling ; director, David Lowell Rich ; writer, John Marsh. [1960-05-26] Don Durant (Johnny Ringo); Mark Goddard (Cully); Martin Landau, John Anderson, Enid James, John Newton, John Maxwell.
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50. Johnny Ringo. Gunslinger. Johnny Ringo. The gunslinger / a Four Star-Zane Grey production ; produced and created by Aaron Spelling ; director, Robert Leeds ; writer, Stephen Lord. [1960-03-24] Don Durant (Johnny Ringo); Mark Goddard (Cully); Howard Petrie, Dean Stanton [Harry Dean Stanton], Judy Howard, Alan Reed Jr., John Maxwell, Natalie Masters, Ralph Moody, Michael Hinn, Fred Krone.
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[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

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[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

Date (Ascending)

51. Johnny Ringo. Killer, choose a card. Johnny Ringo. Killer, choose a card / a Four Star-Zane Grey production ; produced and created by Aaron Spelling ; director, Don Taylor ; writer, Patricia Jenkins. [1960-06-09] Don Durant (Johnny Ringo); Mark Goddard (Cully); Lurene Tuttle, Barry Kelley, Whit Bissell, William Schallert, King Calder, Dabbs Greer, Mort Mills. [Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

52. Telenews. [Vol. 14, issue 260--excerpt. Tarzan causes unrest in Los Angeles County--Downey, California]. [1961-12-29] [Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

53. Riders of the Purple Sage / Rosemont Productions International Ltd. in association with Amer Productions and Zeke Productions ; executive producers, Ed Harris, Amy Madigan, David A. Rosemont ; producer, Thomas Kane ; director, Charles Haid ; writer, Gill Dennis. [1996-01-21 (7 PM PST)] Ed Harris (Lassiter); Amy Madigan, Henry Thomas (Bern); Robin Tunney (Bess); Norbert Weisser (Tull), G.D. Spradlin (Dyer); Lyn Wanlass, Bob L. Harris, Jerry Wills, Rusty Musselman. [Film and TV Archive \(Full Record\)](#)

[Previous Page](#) [Next Page](#)

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