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ABSTRACT

Before the invention of film, a stereotypical perception of Native Americans was embodied in art, fiction, and entertainment. Stereotyping of Native Americans can be categorized under three major themes: (1) the history of Native Americans compressed and portrayed under a single period of time; (2) Native cultures interpreted through white values; and (3) the grouping of the more than 600 different Native American societies under one general category. Because of its ability to present moving images, film played a major role in perpetuating the stereotypes of the Native Americans as riding horses, screaming, killing, and scalping people. Film, like any other form of art, reflects the culture of the society and at the same time, contributes to that culture; it embodies the society's values, beliefs, and social structure and assists in transmitting culture to mass audiences. Myths and stereotypes about Native Americans are alive today because television and film, as media with mass appeal, perpetuated misconceptions. The representation of Native Americans in films was mostly restricted to one genre, the Western. As a type of American mythology, the Western profited on the myths which it perpetuated. A Senate subcommittee in 1969 conducted a survey which found that white society characterized Native Americans as lazy, drunken, and dirty, which was concluded to be based on a history created by the white man to justify his exploitation of the Native American. In order to restore the Native American's image, the myths and stereotypes on which America was built need to be confronted. (Contains 39 references.) (AEF)

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The White Man's Indian: Stereotypes In Film And Beyond

by Charalambos Vrasidas

Abstract

The image of Native Americans had been established long before film was invented, and with a few exceptions, it has remained the same since then. Film, because of its visual nature and mass appeal, played a major role in perpetuating the misconceptions about the Natives. Some of the most popular images were the *bad Indian*, the *good Indian* and the *noble savage*.

One of the methods that white society employed in an effort to isolate the Native Americans and make them a weak minority in their own homeland, was stereotyping. Stereotypes were created for three main reasons: (a) to confirm the superiority of Western civilization, (b) to perpetuate the myths on which the American nation was built, and (c) to offer entertainment through literature, art, and film. Stereotypes were very entertaining, and therefore, profitable.

Coming to America

When the first Europeans came to America they found a rich continent with a lot of resources. Here they wanted to create a society similar to that in their countries in Europe. The only obstacle to their plans was the indigenous people. In the view of the European settlers the Native Americans were hindering progress (Pearce, 1967). The Whites tried to civilize them and make them conform to the Whites' culture and values. Whites tried to educate the Natives, change their religion, and steal their land. Efforts to civilize the Natives were not successful. Therefore, the only way for white society to solve its Native American problem was to destroy the Natives (Berkhofer, 1978; Deloria, 1989; Pearce, 1967). It was alright for Europeans to become savages in order to save civilization; a white civilization that was opposed to the Natives values and beliefs.

The differences between Western and Native American civilizations played a significant role in the evolution of the relationship between the Whites and the indigenous people. "Indianness" and civilization were, according to the Whites, two concepts opposed to each other (Berkhofer, 1978). Native American cultures were more based on simplicity and mystery, rather than on abstract scientific knowledge. As Deloria (1989) stated, "the western hemisphere produced wisdom; western Europe produced knowledge" (p. 11). According to European Americans, white superiority, religion, and moral systems should have prevailed over the Native Americans and their culture. Whites soon realized that it was impossible to civilize the "savages." As Roy Harvey

Pearce (1967) put it, "Americans were coming to understand the Indian as one radically different from their proper selves; they knew he was bound inextricably in a primitive past, a primitive society, and a primitive environment, to be destroyed by God, Nature, and Progress to make way for the Civilized Man" (p. 4).

Images and Stereotypes Before the Invention of Film

Lippmann (1961) defined stereotypes as "pictures in our heads" (p. 3). Before we see and experience the world, we take from society pre-defined images of the world in the form of stereotypes. Stereotypes, according to Marger (1994), are erroneous, overgeneralized images of groups of people which serve as the basis for several prejudices. In multi-ethnic societies, stereotyping is one of the techniques employed by the dominant group in order to maintain its dominance over subordinate groups.

Lippmann (1961) claimed that stereotypes serve as the defense of our status in society. More specifically he postulated that stereotypes are "the projection upon the world of our own sense of our own value, our own position and our own rights They are the fortress of our tradition, and behind its defenses we can continue to feel ourselves safe in the position we occupy" (p. 96). According to Lippmann (1961), any attack on the stereotypes is like an attack on the foundations of our status in society, on our values, and on our whole belief system.

Before the invention of film, a stereotypical perception of Native Americans was embodied in art, fiction, and

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entertainment events (Barnett, 1975; Berkhofer, 1978; Stedman, 1982). For a long time, white society treated Native Americans as objects of entertainment. An example of such treatment was the attachment of Sitting Bull to *the Buffalo Bill Cody Wild West Show* (Churchill, Hill, & Hill, 1978). Stereotyping and the creation of myths was an approach employed by white society for justifying the stealing of land from the Natives.

Slotkin (1973) argued that "printed literature has been from the first the most important vehicle of myth in America" (p. 19). Themes of Whites fighting against the "red devils" and usually outperforming them were essential for confirming the superiority of white civilization. In fiction, Native American's inferiority and savagery were constantly juxtaposed to the white man's superiority. Always the Whites overpowered the "savagery" and prevailed over the Native Americans.

According to Barnett (1975), Cotton Mather's (1699) *Decennium Luctuosum* is an example of early American fiction in which Native Americans are misrepresented and stereotyped. Mather's main focus was the captivity theme under which white settlers were captured by the Natives. In the book, Native Americans were paralleled with wild animals and demons with very strong primitive instincts.

Similar themes are abundant in the pre-Civil War frontier romance, the dime-novels, and nineteenth century fiction. Other examples from fiction come from James Fenimore Cooper's *The Leather Stocking Tales* and included *The Deerslayer* (1841), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), and *The Prairie* (1827) (Pearce, 1967).

There were a number of stereotypical characteristics depicted in works of fiction which Barnett (1975) called "red gifts" (p. 75). The body build, physical strength, height, excellent hunting and fighting skills, and the heavy accent were some of those characteristics. In addition to these "gifts", Barnett (1975) and Berkhofer (1978) identified three major kinds of stereotypes. These were the *bad Indian*, the *noble savage*, and the *good Indian*.

The *bad Indian* was hostile, savage, vengeful, and immoral. Images of *bad Indians* were abundant in the captivity genre in early fiction. The *good Indian* was usually friendly to Whites and was willing to

share his belongings with the settlers, was a brave warrior, lived with simplicity, and close to nature. Usually, *good* were those Natives that gave up their culture and identity and became "white." The *noble savage* image of the Natives appeared in the captivity narrative because white society realized that it was responsible for the fact that the Natives were gradually becoming extinct (Barnett, 1975). The image of the *bad Indian* and the *noble savage* were usually in coexistence.

Churchill et al. (1978) identified three major themes under which stereotyping of Native Americans can be categorized. The first theme was, "the Native as a creature of a particular time," mainly between 1800 and 1880 (p. 47). This meant that thousands of years of history and civilization were usually compressed to under a single century. This period was a time during which the Natives were fighting for their lives and their land. For the Whites, this period was a time of their victory over savagery; it was the time of victory of Western over Native American civilizations.

The second theme was "Native cultures interpreted through white values" (Churchill et al., 1978, p. 47). Whites had a completely different culture. Trying to interpret Native American civilizations through western culture's values can only result in misinterpretations. These misinterpretations inevitably resulted in the creation of numerous stereotypes. It was convenient for white society to create a fictitious Native American identity closer to the white interpretation. This new identity was the same for all the Natives regardless of their tribal origin.

The third theme was "Seen one Indian, seen 'm all" (Churchill et al., 1978, p. 47). North America contained more than 600 different Native American societies which were speaking over two hundred different languages (Barnett, 1975, p. 72). The distinct differences among the Native American societies were never dealt with seriously. Instead, the perceptions of many people at the time, the Natives, no matter of what culture and heritage were all "ignoble savages".

The themes and stereotypes described so far were dominant in early American fiction. By the end of the nineteenth century, the most favorite theme in popular fiction was the Native American fighting in the Far West and dying in order for

civilization to proceed (Barnett, 1975; Stedman, 1982). When film was invented the situation became worse for the Natives. A new powerful medium was employed by Whites that continued the process of miscreation of the Natives' image.

The Power of the Moving Image

In art, Native Americans had been sculptured or painted. In fiction they had been described with words. When film was invented, Native Americans were shown on screen, riding horses, screaming, killing, and scalping people. Because of its ability to present moving images, film played a major role in perpetuating the stereotypes of the Native Americans.

Film, like any other form of art, reflects the culture of the society and at the same time, contributes to that culture. It embodies the society's values, beliefs, and social structure and assists in transmitting culture to mass audiences. The complex relationship between film and culture is explained by Belton (1996) who stated that "the movies are an integral part of mass culture and are embedded within it. One does not produce the other; rather, each interacts with the other, and they mutually determine one another" (p. 1).

The film industry has played a significant role in shaping the perceptions of people towards different ethnic groups and in perpetuating the myths on which the American nation was built. Miller (1980) argued that Hollywood films "became a major transmitter of 'assimilationist' values and helped to reinforce a narrow conception of American life to which all groups were expected to conform" (p. xi). Film was a major force in creating the ideal image of what an American should be. Film industry dictated how Americans should behave, what they should believe in, and what they should look like.

Many scholars pointed out that people's perception of history are shaped to a great extent by images presented in film and television (Vidal, 1992; Seixas, 1994). For many people the two main sources of information are movies and television. Myths and stereotypes about Native Americans are alive today because television and film, as media with mass appeal, played a major role in perpetuating the misconceptions about the Natives. Film and television have the unique power of reaching mass audiences in an entertaining

way. By presenting the stereotypical images of the Natives in an entertaining way, the shaping of the mass audiences' minds becomes even more effective.

Film was, and still is, a very profitable business, and like in any other business, the major driving force is money. Stereotypes were very entertaining, and as such, movies with stereotypical characters were well liked among the masses. Therefore, films with stereotypical themes were watched by big audiences, and consequently, were very profitable. Stereotypes were attached to several minority groups including African-Americans, Latinos, Asian-Americans, women, and Native-Americans.

Mythology of the Western Genre

The representation of Native Americans in films was mostly restricted to one genre, the Western. Because of the structure of the Western it was reasonable enough to stereotype Indians. Spears (1959) argued that the Western is a type of film that targets chiefly juvenile and unsophisticated minds. Hence, "it is natural that a stereotyped villain should have been the major representation of the Indian" (p. 18).

When the settlers began moving West, one of the major obstacles they confronted were the indigenous people. The frontier in Westerns was usually a place where an advancing European civilization clashed with "savagery." It provided a setting where the enjoyment of violent conflict would be justified without questioning the moral values of society (Cawelti, 1974). As a product of nostalgia, the Western led the viewers in constructing an imaginary civilization that attempted to replace those civilizations that were already in existence. The creation of a mythological West justified the seizure of land and the genocide of the Natives. This inevitably led to the formation of a new view of history which was mainly based on myths.

The Western was a type of American mythology. The mythologies that exist in a society are indicators of the national character. The myths that served as a foundation for the Western were reflecting the white society's values, beliefs, world view, and the desirable social structure. Slotkin (1973) argued that one of the major forces that shaped mythology in America was the wilderness of the land and its indigenous people. Another major force

was the need to control this wilderness and get rid of the indigenous people.

In his book *The American West in Film. Critical Approaches to the Western*, Tuska (1985) identified seven basic plots around which the Western developed. One of these plots was the "Indian story." According to this plot, "an Indian, an Indian tribe, or several Indian nations are either the principal focus of the story or the principal motivation of the actions of other characters in the story. Generally the law of miscegenation has applied, so while a white man might marry an Indian woman, she comes to die in the course of the story. Rarely ... an Indian woman might live and ride off with the hero; and even more rarely a white woman might choose to live with an Indian male and survive the end of the picture" (p. 31).

An example of the above plot is the movie *The Searchers* (1956) which was based on Robert Montgomery Bird's *Nick of the Woods*, written in 1837. After spending five years with a Native American chief, the white woman is "rescued" and the chief is killed. Very powerful was the dilemma that the Whites were facing before rescuing the white woman. Should she also die? After all, she lived with the savage for five whole years. Can she still be white? Questions of this nature were prevalent in many other Westerns.

The period during which most of Western plots take place, was from 1860 to 1890, because by 1890 most of the Native Americans had been either killed or placed on reservations. The Western genre was one of the most favorable among the masses and served as an everlasting source of myths on which a whole nation was built.

Brief Historical Overview of Images of Native Americans in Film

From the beginning of film history, there was already a large pre-existing body of images and stereotypes attached to the Native Americans. Filmmakers drew their material from the stereotypes that existed in popular culture. Native Americans appeared on the screen with the very beginning of film history. According to Bataille and Silet (1980), short films such as *Sioux Ghost Dance* (1894) and the *Parade of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show* (1898) were shown by Edison's coin-operated machines.

Great early American directors like D.W. Griffith, played a significant role in

building and perpetuating the stereotypes of Native Americans. D.W. Griffith, who is regarded as one of the first greatest film directors, shot many films in which Indians were the protagonists. Occasionally, individual Natives were depicted as "good" but the group was always presented as "evil." Bataille and Silet, (1980) cited *The Redman and the Child* (1908), *Ramona* (1910), and *The Battle at Elderberry Gulch* (1913) as examples of such films.

Very rarely did filmmakers use real Native Americans in their work. Because the Native Americans were the "savages," they have often been portrayed by stars of horror films like Bela Lugosi and Lon Chaney (Churchill et al., 1978). Occasionally, when real Natives appeared in films, they were mainly used as props to help create the appropriate atmosphere. Examples of the few successful Native American actors are Willie Rogers, Chief Dan George, Willie Sampson, and Graham Greene.

Aleiss (1991) argued that one of the few films ever made about Native Americans which depicted them sympathetically was *The Vanishing American* (1925). Although a silent film, *The Vanishing American* is one of the film industry's most powerful depictions on white society's exploitation of Native Americans. The film presented a very negative image of the missionaries. The importance of *The Vanishing American*, according to Aleiss (1991), "lies not so much in its accurate depiction of the misguided reservation system as in its ability to reveal the frustration of a society unable to resolve its Indian Problem" (p. 468).

From the time of WWI and on, the native's image became very popular in film, and for the next thirty years it remained unchanged. Film images represented the Native American often as lazy, savage, drunken, heathen, usually male, with no specific tribal characteristics and with no family relationships (Bataille & Silet, 1980; Berkhofer, 1978). There was a serious reason for why most of the times the Native American in the movies was male. As Deloria (1989) argued, Native American males have "too much of the aura of the savage warrior, the unknown primitive, the instinctive animal" (p. 3). This association of male Natives with savagism was very convenient for the Whites. It allowed the Native American's hostility towards Whites

to be explained in terms of the Natives' animal instincts and only rarely in terms of a reaction to the white man's exploitation of the Natives.

Between 1951 and 1970 at least 86 Native American-Vs-U.S. cavalry films were produced and all of them were based on pre-existing stereotypical themes (Churchill et al., 1978). The war theme was always a favorite subject. The United States government signed more than four hundred treaties and agreements with the Native Americans. However, none of those treaties was ever kept (Deloria, 1989). Very rarely were the issues of treaties dealt with by the film industry in a way that would shed light on U.S. government's dishonesty.

The violence depicted in the Western was a great selling point. War themes evolved around the conflict between Whites and "savages" and had a strong appeal to audiences. By depicting human conflict at its utmost, war films are very emotional and engaging for the audience (Watt, 1988). Therefore, war films are well liked and watched by the masses. Stedman (1982) pointed out a parallel between the soldier-Vs-Native American movies with World War II movies; the Natives, like the Japanese and the Germans, needed to be exterminated. With the beginning of WWII the focus of the film industry turned towards making films about the war. Consequently, during this period the number of movies about Native Americans declined.

One of the most anti-Indian films ever made was John Ford's *The Searchers* (1956). The plot centers around the search for a little girl that was taken by Comanches, after they murdered her family. Ford portrayed the insanity that resulted from being captured by the Natives and he deliberately justified the killing of Natives. Actor Jeff Hunter played the role of Martin, the "half-breed" cousin of Debbie who was kidnapped. Martin, along with Debbie's uncle Ethan, played by John Wayne, spent most of the time in the film trying to rescue Debbie. In a very powerful scene, the hatred towards Native Americans is expressed by Ethan, who shoots a dead Native in both eyes. He then said that the Comanche warrior "will have to wander forever between the winds" and he will never be able to enter the spirit land. By using an actor with John Wayne's magnitude, Ford managed to justify the killing of the Natives.

In the movie *Duel in Diablo* (1966), directed by Ralph Nelson, the savagery of the Natives is also punished. One of the main ideas portrayed in the film was that there is nothing that can change the Native Americans from being savage. Therefore, they have to be killed. The movie postulated that there is no place for the Natives neither on the reservations nor in American society.

Before the 1970s, there were only few films that treated Native Americans in a sympathetic way. One of these films was Delmer Daves' *Broken Arrow* which was released in 1949. The story was about an Apache Chief and an ex-army officer who were trying to bring peace among the Natives and the settlers. It was the "first picture that asked audiences to take the Indian's side," and for this reason the Association on American Indian Affairs "gave it a special award" (Spears, 1959, p. 25-26). Although there was a more sympathetic depiction of the Native Americans in this film, *Broken Arrow* lacked authenticity. Spears (1959) argued that the leader of the Apache was dignified in a way that "he resembled a Harvard graduate more than an illiterate savage" (p. 31).

During the late 1960s and early 1970s there was an obvious change in the political and social situation in the U.S. mainly due to the Civil Rights movement and to the country's intervention in Vietnam. This was a period of awakenings in American society. The genocide in Vietnam resulted in the reconsideration of the Natives' genocide on U.S. soil. Films like *Tell Them Willie Boy is Here* (1969), *A Man Called Horse* (1970), *Little Big Man* (1970), and *Soldier Blue* (1970), indicated this shift of attitudes towards the Native Americans. Still, all these films have done very little in breaking the stereotypes and restoring the Natives' image.

Arthur Penn's *Little Big Man* (1970) also received some good reviews in regards to the film's representation of Native Americans. Chief Dan George, a Native American actor, rises to an important figure in the film. The killing of Custer and his troops is presented as a justified revenge for the atrocities the U.S. Cavalry had repeatedly committed against the Natives. George Armstrong Custer is presented as an "insane maniac". This depiction of Custer was in contrast to the glorified hero

portrayed by Errol Flynn in *They Died With Their Boots On* (1941). This illustrates how the treatment of a Native American subject in the 1940s is different compared to the treatment of the same subject in the 1970s.

Michael Mann's adaptation of the James Fenimore Cooper classic, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992) and Kevin Costner's *Dances with Wolves* (1990), are some recent films that deal sympathetically with Native Americans. This does not mean that they are authentic. Commenting on *Dances with Wolves*, Seals (1991) argued that the film presented Native Americans as being "very poetic and nature-loving" (p. 634). Furthermore, he pointed out that the men in the film "speak Lakota in the feminine form," and this because the screenplay "was translated by a woman, who also served as the primary linguistic coach" (p. 637).

The documentary film *Incident at Oglala* (1991), and the feature *Thunderheart* (1992) are two examples of recent films that make strong political statements about the exploitation of Native Americans by the federal government. The *Incident at Oglala* centers around the uprising at Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975, during which two federal agents were killed. *Thunderheart* also deals with the events at Pine Ridge and presents an inside view of the reservation system. Walton (1995) argued that, because these films did not receive the publicity that *Dances with Wolves* did, indicated that white society refuses to deal with its Native American problem.

Impact of Stereotypes

A Senate subcommittee in 1969 conducted a survey, which was part of a study on Native American education. After spending more than two years researching, the members of the committee found that to white society the Native American's image was the stereotypical lazy, drunken and dirty. Furthermore, the committee concluded that "the basis of these stereotypes goes back into history - a history created by the white man to justify his exploitation of the Indian, a history the Indian is continually reminded of at school, on television, in books, and at the movies" (Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 1969).

Native Americans, with few exceptions, were never dealt as humans, people with their own history, civilization, and

problems. In most instances, the audience watches them getting killed because of the "crimes" they committed. Consequently, according to Churchill et al. (1978), by the 1950s it was more than natural for Native American children to "cheer the cavalry when watching television or at the movies", since they did not want to identify with Natives because most of the times they were the losers (p. 49).

John Ford's *The Searchers* (1956) was used in a study conducted by Shively (1992). This study attempted to examine sociological models of how people use and interpret cultural materials and how minorities deal with cultural myths of the dominant culture. The participants in this study were 20 Native males and 20 White males living on a reservation. Both groups watched the movie *The Searchers*. The assumption behind this study was that viewers interpret movies according to their cultural experiences. One of the questions that the participants were asked after they viewed the film was: With whom did you identify the most? "60 percent of the Indians and 50 percent of the Whites identified with John Wayne, while 40 percent of the Indians and 45 percent of the Whites identified with Jeff Hunter" (p. 727). None of the participants identified with the Native Chief Scar, not even the Natives.

The impact of the Western on American culture was tremendous because it was widely viewed. Before the 1970s, the Western was a very well liked form of entertainment. Cawelti (1971) found that in Chicago during 1967, four major channels combined, were showing an average of eighteen hours of Western films per week. Images presented in movies are dominant in popular culture and they shape many other forms of representation. Consequently, images of the Native Americans in Westerns played a significant role in perpetuating the preconceptions about North America's first inhabitants.

The image of the Native American warrior had a strong influence in popular culture. Some of the many examples of the use of the native's warrior image are comics, cartoons, names of sport teams (Black Hawks, Braves, Redskins), and military equipment (Iroquois helicopters). The fans of baseball team Atlanta Braves, use a "so-called Indian war chant" to salute their team and evoke images of savagery (Marger, 1994, p. 170). The

image of the Native American warrior was already established and it was associated with strength and vigor. Therefore, it was justifiable to name military equipment and sports teams after Native American tribes' names.

Conclusion

The film industry has played a significant role in the misrepresentation and stereotyping of the image of the Native Americans. There are a few exceptions to the rule, but still the film industry has a long way to go for a more realistic depiction of Native Americans in film. Even the films that are supposed to be dealing sympathetically with the Natives are not as authentic as they should be. The film industry's interpretation of the Natives was not merely a result of its ignorance on the subject but also because of white society's inability to deal effectively with the Native American problem.

The stereotypical images of the Native Americans were a result of a systematic effort of misrepresentation that goes back four centuries. They were created to confirm the superiority of Western civilization and to perpetuate the myths on which the nation was built. Besides, stereotypes were entertaining and therefore, movies with stereotypes were very profitable.

For many people, the only contact they ever had with Natives was at the movies. The Western, as a film genre and as a type of American mythology, played a major role in perpetuating the myths and stereotypes about Native Americans. Images presented in movies are dominant in popular culture and they influence many other forms of representation. In order to restore the Native American's image, the myths and stereotypes on which the American nation was built, need to be confronted.

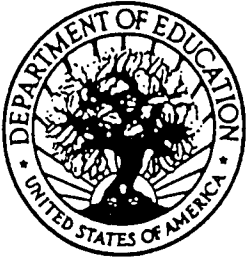
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