

THE FILMIC INDIAN AND CULTURAL TOURISM: INDIAN REPRESENTATIONS
DURING THE PERIOD OF ALLOTMENT AND FORCED ASSIMILATION (1887-1928)

by

KENNETH E. MELICHAR

(Under the Direction of Jace Weaver)

ABSTRACT

By using critical theory this thesis examines Indian images in silent films and cultural tourism during the period known as allotment and forced assimilation (1887-1928). Repressive Indian images, such as, the noble savage and the bloodythirsty savage, were challenged by alternative Indian representations in films and cultural tourism. Among the film-makers discussed are D.W. Griffith and James Young Deer. The films of Griffith are sympathetic (*The Redman and the Child*) and reactionary (*The Battle of Elderbush Gulch*). Young Deer's films subvert dominant Indian-Anglo relationships and point to an Indian future (*Red Eagle, the Lawyer*). Indian images reflected in cultural tourism of the southwest (Texas, California, Arizona, and New Mexico) are analyzed as they find expression in Spanish missions in Texas and California; the Santa Fe Railroad and the Harvey Company in Arizona and New Mexico; and Eastern upper class women who settled in Northern New Mexico.

INDEX WORDS: American Indian, Cultural Tourism, Domination, Filmic Indian, Resistance, Silent Films, James Young Deer, D.W. Griffith.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Barbara, and to my daughter, Leah.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This thesis will focus on Indian images and representations in silent films and cultural tourism and practices in the United States (U.S.) Southwest during the period known as Allotment and Assimilation (1887 – 1928). It was during this period that the image of the vanishing Indian became a cultural icon; this was not without some basis in historical reality. At the turn of the 20th century the Indian population reached its lowest point, a population of 237,196 in 1900 (Prucha, 1988; Stannard, 1992; Thornton, 1990). The prevailing views during this period were that (1) Indian cultures were vanishing, thereby solving the Indian problem from the Anglo point of view, and (2) federal policies of forced assimilation would result in Indians becoming integrated into White Anglo Saxon America. The two primary federal policies were the General Allotment Act and the Indian Boarding School movement. Senator Henry L. Dawes, Senator from New York, was instrumental in the passage of the 1887 General Allotment Act in February 1887 and this piece of legislation “quickly and universally became known as the Dawes Act, in honor of the man who had given it birth” (Bordewich, 1996, p. 121). Reflecting the Anglo cultural value of individualism, the Dawes Act forced reservation tribes to divide their lands into individual allotments and distribute the allotments to individual tribal members. Each adult received 160 acres of land and each minor child was given 80 acres. The left over land was then sold to Whites. Of the 138 million acres of land originally owned by Indian tribes, 90 million became white-owned in four or five years (Bordewich, 1996). The objective of the General Allotment Act was to turn Indians into Jeffersonian yeoman farmers. The Indian

Boarding School movement was established to turn Indians into Anglos through education (Bowden, 1981; Adams, 1995). Indians who attended the boarding schools were subject to degradation ceremonies (Garfinkel, 1956) designed to (1) strip away an individual Indian's tribal identity and (2) take on an Anglo identity by dressing in white man's clothes and learning the white man's ways. The Indian Boarding School movement was spearheaded by Richard Henry Pratt who was interested in Indian education and established the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879 (Bowden, 1981; Adams, 1995; Bordewich, 1996). Reflecting genocidal tendencies Pratt (cited in Bordewich, 1996, p. 282) stated:

A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him and save the man.

The forced assimilation of Indians was part of a broader Americanization movement in the U.S. during the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century. The Americanization movement was an attempt to turn immigrant groups who were from Southern and Eastern Europe into White Anglo Saxon Protestants.

If Indians were not assimilated they could exist but they would do so as cultural artifacts of the past and be studied as dying cultures by anthropologists. Their cultures would be put on display for spectators and tourists to see, signifying a lower level of social and cultural development. This was reflected in Wild West shows where Indians performed as savages, but they were pacified and were no longer a threat. As such, the Indians wars could be re-enacted in the Wild West shows and glorified (Kasson, 2000). Indian cultures were put on display at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876 marking the 100th anniversary of the founding of the U. S. (Huhndorf, 2001). Huhndorf (2001, p. 25) notes there were three central themes of the

Exposition, which were “the Pioneer Spirit, Republicanism (incorporating democracy) and Progress.” These were themes that came to represent Americanism. The Philadelphia Exposition displayed new technologies that were linked to science and to advancing civilization associated with the U.S. emergence as a developing capitalist society. To be sure there were displays of Indian technology and artifacts, but the intention of these displays was to highlight their lower levels of culture and technological development, or primitivism if you will, that were soon to vanish in the face of superior scientific knowledge and industrial technology. The Chicago Exposition of 1893 “celebrated the 400th anniversary of Columbus’s ‘discovery’ of the ‘new world’” (Huhndorf, 2001, p 37). This World’s Fair sounded the triumphant story of westward Euro-American expansionism. It was at the Chicago Exposition where Fredrick Jackson Turner, a young historian, “read before the American Historical Association meeting in Chicago” (Etulain, 1999, p. 26) his paper entitled “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” and what the closing of the American Frontier meant for America. A couple of his ideas contained in his presentation and later published are worth noting. The first is that as the frontier advances westward, the influence of Europe on America declines. Turner (1998, p. 34) writes: “Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines.” This is to say as the frontiers push westward savagism gives way to civilization, to progress, to individualism, and to democracy. Turner (1998, p. 37) notes that the advancements westward were “won by series of Indian wars.” These Indian wars were seen as marginal affairs as the U. S. continued its empire building (White, 1996). In fact, from Turner’s perspective the history of social evolution is illustrated in the history of the U.S. He (1998, p. 38) explains:

The United States lies like a huge page in the history of society. Line by line as we read this continental page from West to East we find the record of social evolution. It begins with the Indian and the hunter; it goes on to tell of the disintegration of savagery by the entrance of the trader, the pathfinder of civilization; we read the annals of the pastoral stage in ranch life; the exploitation of the soil by the raising of unrotated crops of corn and wheat in sparsely settled farming communities; the intense culture of the denser farm settlement; and finally the manufacturing organization with city and factory system.

Etulain (1999, p. 28) explains that Turner “wanted to tell a frontier story that featured the evolutionary character of institution building. If his reorientation in frontier historical writing did not occur, Turner implied, popularizers would continue to invent and sell a fantastic, sensationalized and phony old West.” And so the Wild West shows and the silent Western Indian films did. Turner was especially critical of Buffalo Bill Cody’s history lessons which “blended competition, conflict, and violence in his stirring narrative of a romantic West” (Etulain, 1999, p. 29). Turner’s story of the frontier marginalized Indians who were an obstacle to overcome as the frontier continued to move West, unlike Buffalo Bill’s stories where Indians were central players in the making of the Wild West (Grossman, 1994; White, 1994).

From the perspective of American Indians what the closing of the American Frontier meant was further colonialization. What it meant for the Euro-Americans was the vanishing of the American Indian who could be commercialized or commodified, as represented by Buffalo Bill Cody’s Wild West show (performing outside the gates of the Chicago Exposition) and reborn a short time later as commercialized by the emerging film industry.

The Chicago Columbia Exposition, like the Philadelphia Exposition, separated Anglos from non-Anglos. It represented triumphant stories, as Huhndorf (2001, p. 39) explains: “Here, not only was America’s story the story of white America, it was a story that privileged Anglos

over all other Europeans.” The stories were steeped in social Darwinism in which white Anglo culture was superior to other white European cultures and to other racial and ethnic cultures, including Indian cultures. It was the British sociologist Herbert Spencer, who developed the idea of social Darwinism, a mis-reading of Charles Darwin’s theory of evolutionary change (Ashley and Orenstein, 2005). While Darwin was interesting in explaining how species evolve, Spencer was interested in the survival of the fittest within human species and human societies. From Spencer’s perspective, in the economic and social struggles for survival, the White upper class was victorious and deserved the social and economic rewards it earned. Social Darwinism became a prominent social theory or ideology used to justify White Anglo Saxon Protestant domination of American society and Spencer’s ideas “became the foundation upon which much American sociology was developed in its formative period from 1885 to 1915” (Ashley and Orenstein, 2005, p. 143).

Not only were Indians seen as vanishing from the American stage, they continued to be represented as savages. Indians would be represented in Wild West shows and in the movies as bloodthirsty savages but these images were located in the past and not the present. As such, Indians were no longer seen as a threat, even though the Indian wars had just recently ended. The Massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890 happened three years before the Chicago Expedition. With that said, the negative stereotype of the bloodthirsty savage could and would be used in popular culture throughout the 20th century. As the savage Indian imagery was declining, but not disappearing, in the late 19th and 20th centuries, an image of modern primitivism emerged during the early part of the 20th century (Burke, 2008). Modern primitivism found expression in the cultural work of Eastern artists, who moved to Santa Fe and Taos in the early part of the 20th century to escape modernism and who came into contact with Pueblo Indians (Burke, 2008).

Unlike the Plains Indians, the Pueblo Indians were seen as living a peaceful idyllic life, whose way of life had not changed in many decades. For anti-modernist Easterners, the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico were seen as offering an alternative to the “savage” competitive Industrial society rife with class and ethnic conflict.

In recent years, the stereotypical images of the turn of the 20th century used to continue the colonization of Indians have changed. During the period of forced assimilation one gets the impression that Indians were subjugated to Anglo domination to such a degree that they offered very little resistance. This is understandable given the fact that forced assimilation took place immediately after the military conquest of Indian tribes. However, there was Indian resistance during the period of forced assimilation. Indians were not passive objects of White Anglo domination. Instead, some Indians were actively resisting Anglo culture by manipulating Anglo-Indian relationships to their advantage. For example, Philip Deloria (2004) finds Indians in unexpected places during the period of forced assimilation. Indians were found in movies, cultural tourism, sports, arts, literature, educational, and other social institutions where they were not expected. Their appearances in such places were not passive responses to their continued colonization, manifested in Indian Boarding Schools and Federal Indian policies; instead their appearances in these unexpected places were active responses to their social situation as they consciously sought to shape their own lives within an emerging capitalist industrial society. I don't want to claim that Deloria's discovery of Indians in unexpected places has superseded the repressive images of the past. Rather, Deloria's Indians in unexpected places are counter images that challenges Anglo cultural memory.

It has been generally assumed that the period of forced assimilation was a dark period or final stage in which Indians would disappear, either by vanishing or by assimilating. However,

on closer inspection, there are situations and circumstances in which Indians took positive steps to reclaim their cultural identity, shaping cultural forces to their own advantage. This thesis will explore two cultural spheres where Indians were found engaging in acts of resistance in varying degrees. They are silent films from 1908 to 1913 and cultural tourism in the American Southwest during the period of Allotment (1887-1928).

Both film and cultural tourism are shaped by the social milieu within which they are located. The emergence of film and cultural tourism of the Southwest occurred at the time the frontier was closing as symbolized by Fredrick Jackson Turner's address to historians at the 1893 Chicago Exposition (Faragher, 1994; Etulain, 1999), and subsequent publication, entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." In other words, while the vanishing Indian was a dominant cultural Indian image, there were counter images being produced by Indians who were responding in numerous ways to forced assimilation. While some Indians continued to "live in the past" as "traditional" Indians, and other Indians were assimilating into Anglo society, while other groups of Indians were consciously manipulating their social world to both participate and shape their lives in an emerging modern society. They were not always successful and they faced resistance, including structural constraints. However, it is important to illuminate traces of Indian resistance that have been marginalized in the past; if nothing else but to serve as examples and historical reminders that Indian resistance to domination continued ever after military subjugation. This thesis will explore the dominant images and counter images of Indians during the late 19th and early 20th centuries as represented in Indian Western silent films and cultural practices associated with cultural tourism of the U.S. Southwest; times and spaces in which Indian and white film makers actively influenced the content of films and the cultural objects of tourism.

CHAPTER 2

Methodological Framework: Critical Theory

There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism.

--Walter Benjamin (1973, p. 256)

Jace Weaver (2005, p. 225) drawing on Edward Said, writes: “In the late nineteenth century, two great rationalizing sciences rose to prominence, sociology and anthropology. The former purposed to study that which is normative in the dominant culture. The latter . . . studied the other and advised colonial masters in the manners and mores of native peoples that they might be more effectively controlled.” While there is a normative tradition within sociology whose genealogy can be traced from August Comte, Emile Durkheim, and Talcott Parsons to contemporary structural functionalist theory and positivism, there is a counter tradition that can be traced from Karl Marx and Max Weber to the Frankfurt School and to contemporary sociological critical theory (Giddens, 1994). It is this critical tradition that will provide the methodological framework for this study.

In developing my methodological framework, I will draw on various theoretical perspectives and ideas that have influenced my intellectual work over the years. Some theoretical perspectives, such as sociological theories, including the Frankfurt School (Critical Theory—note when I use term critical theory I am referring to the tradition of critical theory as developed and modified by individuals associated with the Frankfurt School of Sociology), have informed my intellectual work since graduate school in sociology. Other theoretical perspectives have been developed over years as I have pursued additional graduate studies in political science

and adult education and now Native American Studies. My participation in a 1991 National Endowment of the Humanities Summer Seminar on the Weimar Republic piqued my interest in new historicism and cultural materialism, and a 2000 National Endowment of the Humanities Summer Institute continued my interest in the cultures of the Southwest. In this methodological section I will briefly review the various theoretical perspectives that guide my thesis.

There are a few seminal themes that run throughout the work of Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno as well as other members of the Frankfurt School of Sociology that inform my work. They are (1) the critique of positivism, (2) the Dialectic of the Enlightenment, and (3) the critique of the cultural industry. In the essay entitled “Traditional and Critical Theory,” Horkheimer (1972) makes a distinction between traditional theory, which he equates with scientism, and critical theory. He (1972, pp. 188-189) writes: “The general goal of all theory is a universal systematic science, not limited to any particular subject matter but embracing all possible objects.” He goes on to state that as science develops it becomes differentiated into separate disciplines and then sub-disciplines, reflecting the economic division of labor or what is known as structural differentiation. What connects all of the various disciplines and sub-disciplines together is the unifying principle of positivism. Tradition theory, once associated with the natural sciences, has now colonized the social sciences. What counts for knowledge is scientific knowledge. As a consequence, social scientists become ahistorical, unaware of their own discipline’s historical development. Science becomes as Horkheimer (1972, p. 194) notes “a reified, ideological category,” taking on the appearance of objectivity and neutrality. However, as Marx and others, such as Berger and Luckmann (1966), have stressed, things are never as they appear.

In *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) argue that science and theory were once critical endeavors used by the Enlightenment philosophers and the rising bourgeoisie to attack the repressive socio-political and intellectual foundations of late feudal society. The Enlightenment philosophers argued that science and reason would replace superstition, myth, and religion as the means by which people would organize their affairs, including society (Giddens, 1994). In addition to science and reason, Enlightenment thought included the ideals of progress and the perfectibility of man and society with utopian overtones. Within the historical context of the rise of modern capitalist society, the ideals of the Enlightenment, including science and reason, were neither objective nor neutral. In point of fact, they were forces of social change. However, as modern capitalism developed during the 19th and 20th centuries, the ideals of the Enlightenment turned into their opposite—forms of domination. Knowledge becomes scientific knowledge, emancipation becomes domination, and utopia becomes totalitarian (Mohawk, 2000). Reason and rationality become instrument reason or technical rationality (Held, 1980; Jay, 1996). Science became reified like most other social relationships, resulting in a separation of society from the individual. Individualism, self-interest, and the achievement principle became core elements of the dominant ideology, supported by the triumphal view of history. It was the colonial manifestation of the dialectic of Enlightenment in the material world that had devastating consequences for American Indians.

Critical theory, unlike traditional theory, is a self reflective activity; it is aware that it is a human construct with a practical intent, that of the societal betterment. Critical theory, Horkheimer (1972, p. 206), writes: “is a human activity, which has society itself for its object.” In other words, critical theory rejects the false separation between the individual and society. A similar point was articulated by Georg Simmel (a contemporary sociologist of Max Weber) and

Anthony Giddens (a British sociologist) about the dialectic of the individual and society. Adams and Sydie (2001, p. 203) explain Simmel's point when they write: "Individuals are born into and influenced by their social and cultural milieu, but as self-conscious individuals they stand opposed to the milieu, and out of that opposition they transform the milieu." Giddens (1994) makes clear individuals create society while at the same time society creates individuals. Giddens is influenced by Marx's view that men make history, but not of their own choosing. In other words, returning to Horkheimer, critical theorists are aware that socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-political structures are a result of human activity. If these structures were a result of human activity, then they can also be changed by human activity. And yet, there is the recognition that the activities, and social structures created by humans are not necessarily controlled by humans. Social relationships, social institutions and structures become reified and take on a life of their own, a phenomenon that Emile Durkheim (Giddens, 1994) identified as a social fact and what Georg Lukacs (1971) referred to as reification.

As indicated above, critical theory is not neutral in the struggle for human emancipation. The aim of critical theory is the transformation of society from an unjust to a just one, and, as such, it is part of the struggle for liberation. In short critical theory is an emancipatory project. Horkheimer (1972, p. 229) writes: "Every part of the theory presupposes the critique of the existing order and the struggle against it along lines determined by the theory itself." Critical theory is a dynamic one that changes as society changes in order to understand it and to provide guidelines for social change. Unlike traditional theory, critical theory is future oriented, oriented to bring about a just or emancipatory society. The future is made and not predicted, so to speak. Horkheimer does make the claim that critical theory can make use of traditional theory, but it does so with the intent of changing society, as such he rejects the positivist claim that traditional

theory is value free or value neutral. As an emancipatory theory and practice, it can be used by oppressed groups in their struggle against oppression and domination.

Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) identify three forms of domination, whose origins they trace back to Homer's narration of Odysseus's encounter with the Sirens. It is here where they locate the emergence of the three forms of domination that are manifested in the Enlightenment. They are the domination (1) of nature by humans, (2) of humans by other humans, and (3) of man over him/herself. Concerning the first two forms of domination Horkheimer and Adorno (1972, p. 4) write: "What men want to learn from nature is how to use it in order wholly to dominate it and other men. That is its only aim." The modern form of domination of humans over nature is symbolized by the development of the Atomic Bomb and now nuclear weapons, the growing ecological crisis, and continuing growth and recurring crises of an industrial capitalist economy. While all forms of human societies require the appropriation of nature to some degree, today human's domination over nature has reached new heights. The second form of domination is the domination of man (humans) over man (humans) represented by bureaucratic capitalist social relationships; the dominance of technical rationality; various forms of colonization and genocide; and exploiting and alienating social relationships. The third form of domination is domination of man over him/herself characterized by psychological alienation, self hate, and individual destructive behavior, such as suicide, crime, alcoholism, and unemployment (Fanon, 2004; Memmi, 1991). These forms of domination have consequences for dominated groups in terms of their life chances and are reflected in the unequal distribution of social rewards of which three are the most significant: wealth, status, and power.

Jurgen Habermas (1987), a second generation Frankfurt School theorist, developed these ideas further. In his book entitled *Knowledge and Human Interests*, Habermas makes a

distinction between three kinds of knowledge and human interests. The first kind of knowledge is science and its interest is in domination, including class domination, domination of nature, and domination of nonwestern cultures and peoples. The second type of knowledge is hermeneutics and its interest is in human understanding, including the understanding of Indigenous cultures, past, present and future. The third kind of knowledge is critical knowledge and its interest is in human emancipation, cultural autonomy and sovereignty. Critical knowledge makes use of both science and hermeneutics. In other words there are questions of empiricism and questions of meaning.

While Horkheimer and Adorno became pessimistic about the possibility of overcoming modern society, or escaping from Weber's (1958) iron cage of modernity, Habermas was optimistic that progressive movements, or what Williams (1977) refers to as counterhegemonic movements, whose interests were in expanding the public sphere, could counter the forces of modern domination. Unlike Horkheimer and Adorno who saw the Enlightenment project as an exhausted one, Habermas sees the Enlightenment as an unfinished project, as a project of emancipation (Bernstein, 1992). From both cosmopolitan and local perspectives the Enlightenment has been a source of freedom and equality. Writing about western literature, Said (1994, p. xiii) comments: “. . . the grand narratives of emancipation and the enlightenment mobilized people in the colonial world to rise up and throw off imperial subjection; in the process, many Europeans and Americans were also stirred by these stories and their protagonist, and they too fought for new narratives of equality and human community.”

Habermas' defense of the Enlightenment also puts him in opposition to Michel Foucault who, like Horkheimer and Adorno, sees the Enlightenment and its various manifestations, as a form of domination. For example, writing in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*

Foucault (1977) argues that the Enlightenment or the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th century did not lead to a more humane society, instead the inhumanity toward humans shift from the punishment of the body to the punishment of the mind. Prisons became a place where criminals were sent to contemplate their crimes. The birth of prisons gave rise to a new modern form of power, the power of surveillance. Prisons were constructed so that a few people in a watchtower could observe all the inmates, but not at the same time. However given the prison structure inmates would not know when they were being watched. From Foucault's perspective, the constant surveillance of people in public places through the use of the camera is a continuation of the panopticism that emerged with the birth of prisons. In other words, the Enlightenment for all of its claims to freedom is another form of domination. The importance of Foucault's ideas on power and domination is that he does not accept the functionalist view or the conflict view that societies are held together by only a dominant ideology. This is to say, for Foucault what holds society together is power, expressed through the dominant discourses that are related to particular cultural-historical contexts or periods. Discourses can include such things as cultural images and representations, cultural products such as films and theories, cultural practices such as Federal Indian policies and cultural tourism. All of the discourses are socially constructed.

From Foucault's perspective one function of dominant discourses is to marginalize alternative theories or discourses or what Foucault prefers to call dangerous ways of thinking. Power operates in subtle ways in modern societies. It circulates through various discourses and culminates in disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977). Foucault's disciplinary society is represented by the prison with its panoptical structure, but it is also characteristic of modern society as well with its constant surveillance of people. Disciplinary power is similar to or an illustration of critical theory's third form of domination, man's domination of himself. Brookfield (2005, p.

45) explains: “Because we learn self-discipline, undertake self-surveillance, and exercise self-censorship, there is little need for dominant groups to force ideas or behavior on us.”

It is important to understand that based on critical theory, not all oppositional movements were/are progressive and worthy of support. Some opposition movements are reactionary, such as, the romantic conservative reaction that occurred in France after the French Revolution (Giddens, 1994) and the more recent conservative reactionary movements that emerged in the 1970s in the U. S. and globally. Recognizing the historical movement for class actors to seize the day as an oppositional movement has disappeared Herbert Marcuse (1964), a contemporary of Adorno and Horkheimer and a member of the original Frankfurt School, was in search of a revolutionary group that would oppose the dominant society. For a time the student movement of the 1960s was one such group. However in Germany, Horkheimer and Adorno did not see any hope of an oppositional movement emerging and for them it certainly was not students. And yet it was one of Adorno’s students, Habermas who did not give up on the Enlightenment and through his work has continued to defend and develop the emancipatory dimension of the Enlightenment against its critics.

What seemed to be lacking in critical theory was a theory of resistance. The work of Raymond Williams (1977), a cultural materialist, offers a significant way of understanding the dynamics of modern society and identifying resistance movements. The importance of Williams work is that he directly addresses the power and ideological relations that are embedded in cultural activities. His cultural materialism contains a useful theory of resistance, which includes counter hegemonic practices. Counter hegemonic practices refer to those cultural practices that are not part of the selective tradition of the dominant culture; they are practices that counter or oppose the dominant culture. Quite often oppositional cultures, including theories and histories,

have been lost and/or marginalized. Within Native American studies, the works of such intellectuals as Jace Weaver, Robert Warrior, Craig Womack, Claudio Saunt, and Leslie Silko, are attempts to rediscover oppositional voices, resistance practices, and to reinterpret cultural activities such as history and literature.

In what follows I will discuss the important ideas of Williams' (1977) cultural materialism. His theory is built on such concepts as hegemony, selective tradition, residual culture, emergent and alternative cultures, and counterhegemony. The term hegemony, derived from the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1971), refers to the process by which particular cultural activities and ideas of the dominant groups come to permeate the total culture or what Williams (1977, p. 17) calls the "whole way of life." From Williams' point of view the cultural hegemony, which the selective tradition helps maintain, is dynamic and open to challenges from various oppositional groups and practices. Williams (1977, p. 115) defines the selective tradition as "an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification." In other words, the selective tradition is part of the hegemonic culture that supports or maintains the present social structure that benefits the dominant groups to the disadvantage of the subordinate groups. The selective tradition, used to maintain the dominant culture, manifests and perpetuates itself through various agents of socialization; thereby becoming embedded throughout society (Gramsci, 1971). Cultural products such as novels, paintings, films, and so forth, contain what Wright (1977) calls modes of action, which are theoretical or conceptual frameworks for guiding social action or practice. This means cultural activities and practices, and the institutions that maintain them, are sites of cultural struggle or sites of contestory differences and resistance. The selective tradition can be and is challenged by what Williams

refers to as residual cultural elements. These are cultural practices formed during an earlier historical period and organized around a different social formation or social structure, but which persist in the present. Examples would be fundamental religions and other forms of cultural orthodoxy. Williams (1977) notes that most residual cultural forms become integrated into the dominant culture. However, there are times when residual cultural practices take a reactionary form, such as the Klu Klux Klan, neo-Nazi groups and anti-Indian movements. It is imperative to note that the dominant groups need to be actively involved in maintaining their privileged position.

Emergent cultural practices are ones that develop out of the dominant culture and become alternatives to the selective tradition. Williams identifies two emergent cultural practices: dissent bourgeois movements and counterhegemonic movements. In his essay entitled “The Politics of the Avant-Garde,” Williams (1989) makes a distinction between modernism and the avant-garde. Modernism is an emergent cultural practice that is an alternative cultural activity, but it is not an oppositional or a dangerous one. For Williams (1989) modernism is associated with the work of dissident bourgeois artists who seek individual and psychological solutions within a bureaucratic capitalist society. The avant-garde represented by the work of the German playwright Bertolt Brecht is an example of a counterhegemonic movement that seeks collective solutions to the problems and social transformation of capitalism (O’Connor, 1989). It is the difference between individual action and collective action that separates alternative cultural practices from counterhegemonic practices. Counterhegemonic practices are located in global and local decolonization movements. Said (1994, p. xii) writes: “Along with armed resistance in places as diverse as nineteenth-century Algeria, Ireland, and Indonesia, there also went considerable efforts in cultural resistance almost everywhere, the assertions of nationalist

identities, and, in the political realm, the creation of associations and parties whose common goal was self-determination and national independence.” Within the context of U.S. federal and Indian relations, Indians nations were granted political sovereignty. And while the Indian tribes that engaged in armed resistance against the federal government were unsuccessful, both cultural and political resistance continued (Warrior, 1995; Weaver, Womack, Warrior, 2006).

In summary, the selective tradition, which is an ideological structure that is used to maintain the dominant groups in society, attempts to marginalize and silence other traditions; traditions or cultural practices, including histories that need to be reclaimed. As I have indicated above and will develop in more detail in chapters three, four, and five. Indians were not completely silenced or marginalized; there were Indian voices and acts of resistance in films, literature, politics, and cultural tourism.

CHAPTER 3

The Filmic Indian: An Overview

We must be free in the most literal sense of the word, ... not sold or coerced into accepting programs for our own good, not of our own making and choice. Too much of what passes for 'grassroots democracy' on the American scene is really a slick job of salesmanship.
---Clyde Warrior (cited in Smith and Warrior, 1996, p. 55)

The struggle for Indian identity and Indian sovereignty did not end with the military defeat of Indian tribes. With their populations in serious decline (Prucha, 1988; Stannard, 1972; Thornton, 1990), Indians continued to resist Anglo domination, culturally, politically and legally (Deloria, 2004). Cultural resistance took the form of controlling, shaping, and manipulating Indian image-making. This cultural resistance occurred in the Wild West shows that emerged during the end of the Indian wars and later in cinema (Moses, 1996; Reddin, 1999). Deloria (2004, p. 105) notes that many Indians who participated in Wild West shows migrated to film-making "to take part in the representation of Indianness." One example was the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch show. In 1911 Thomas Ince, who made around 80 films dealing with Indians, employed the services of the Oglala Sioux who were part of the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch show (Buscombe, 2006).

Films using Indians as their subject matter were made as early as the 1890s. These films were documentary or anthropological in nature; such as showing Hopi Indians participating in a Snake Dance. Documentary films continued to be made during the late 19th century and early 20th century, such as the Wanamaker films and the anthropological films of Edward Curtis, *The*

Land of the War Canoes, and Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North*. It was during the early 1900s that the film industry turned its attention to producing narrative films that told a story from which the audience could learn certain social attitudes and modes of actions as well as be entertained. Buscombe has identified three general types of Indian western films that carry sociocultural messages. They were: "The 'squaw man' plot, about a white settler married to an Indian woman (usually with tragic consequences:), the 'good' Indian who helps white people and is befriended by them, and the all-Indian tale of romance and rivalry" (Buscombe, 2006, p. 87).

Indian Western films are important cultural practices by which messages and modes of actions are learned by members of society. In other words, films are influenced by the social and cultural contexts within which they are produced and consumed while at the same time films influence social and cultural contexts. They are like a mirror reflecting back onto society those things that the dominant culture and its cultural industry deem important (Kaes, 1992). In this sense, films are part of the dominant culture and the content reflects and influences the selective tradition (Williams, 1977) by which the U. S. comes to know about itself and forms a national identity. The 19th century and early 20th century Wild West shows, such as Cody's Wild West show, were also a reflection of the dominant culture of the time (Reddin, 1999). And yet, films do more than reflect back onto society images of the dominant culture; they challenge or are dangerous to the dominant culture (Bernstein, 1992; Said, 1994). As an important aspect of the mass media and popular culture, films are a major agent of socialization. A look at the history of films, including early Indian Western films, indicates that the content of films has been and continues to be the subject of conflict and censorship; a contested area of society (Sklar, 1994). Moral entrepreneurs are at the ready to call for censorship to film content that they find objectionable. In fact there were moral crusaders who were calling for the censorship of films

made by James Young Deer that were subverting the acceptable images of Indian and white relationships.

Strickland (1997) points out that what most Americans know about Native American Indians is what they see in the movies, which is a far cry from the reality, both past and present of Native American cultures. Kilpatrick (1999) informs us that exploring the celluloid Indian can provide insight to Anglo-Indian relationships, especially the interaction between domination and resistance, with the intent to counter the repressive received tradition of Indian images by bringing to light filmic Indian resistance. In the last quarter of the 20th century both White directors and Indian directors have made significant contributions to countering the dominant White Man's Indian to use Berkhofer's (1979) phrase (Bordewich, 1996; Kilpatrick, 1999). To a certain extent, White directors have made films that would be consistent with Williams' (1977) idea of reformist cultural practices; practices that critique the dominant culture but do not really question the power structure and, as such, end up maintaining the dominant culture. For example, Costner's film *Dances with Wolves*, which has been widely discussed, closes with Costner leaving the Lakota people and returning to White society along with a white woman who had been captured by the Lakota. While Costner's film is a sympathetic one, it really is about an Anglo man who goes West to escape the civilizing processes in the East and ends up going native. The film does not really offer counter ideological images of Indians. Swann (1994, p. xxxiii) comments that *Dances with Wolves* is an example of Berkhofer's timeless Indian where Costner perpetuates "such hoary stereotypes as Good versus Bad Indians and the Noble Savage versus the Demonic Savage. . . ." Swann does give Costner credit for the use of the Lakota language.

During the 1980s and 1990s Anglo film makers produced films about Indians that Kilpatrick (1999) defines as sympathetic and extended the positive images of Indians seen in the films of the 1960s and 1970s. Citing such films as *A Man Called Horse*, *Soldier Blue*, and *Little Big Man*, Bataille and Silet (1980) note that in the 1960s and 1970s there was a shift away from a negative image to a more positive image of Indians. While *A Man Called Horse* may have been a sympathetic representation of one tribe of Native Americans, the film is about a white man, who after enduring hardships, such as the Sun Dance, becomes a tribal leader; a theme similar to Costner's *Dances with Wolves*. Many of the films mentioned by Kilpatrick are a continuation of the early 1960s and 1970s sympathetic films that attempted to deconstruct familiar stereotypes of the White man's Indian. Among the films discussed by Kilpatrick are Kevin Costner's *Dances with Wolves* (1990), Ridley Scott's *1492: Conquest of Paradise* (1992), Bruce Beresford's *Black Robe* (1992), Michael Cimino's *The Sunchaser* (1996), and Jim Jarmusch's *Dead Man* (1995), which is the least reformist and most counter hegemonic film of the group. Commenting on *Dead Man*, Kilpatrick (1999, p. 176) writes: "Whether one likes the film or not, there are few undeniable facts about *Dead Man*, one of the most important of which is that Jarmusch's film shows a significant effort to depict a Native existence stripped of the stereotypes of the last hundred years of filmmaking."

Recent Indian directors, whose work parallels resistance literature (Weaver, Womack, and Warrior, 2006), have produced films that call into question the dominant culture or the White man's image of Indians, by producing stories about Indians. In other words while a resistance filmic discourse was developing, a similar discourse was emerging in Native American literature during the late 1960s and 1970s, known as the "Native American renaissance" (Swann, 1994, p. xiv), which includes such writers as Scott Momaday, James

Welch, Gerald Vizenor and Leslie Silko. Indian directors, like Indian writers, began telling stories about Indians. Indian directors were asking themselves if filmmaking were a continuation of and/or compatible with the oral tradition and their answer was yes. A related question Indian directors were asking, and one that would be important for the filmic culture industry, was could films made about Indians by Indians be marketed to a wide audience, “while privileging the Other, Native voice” (Kilpatrick, 1999, p. 179)? Kilpatrick’s answer to this question is yes. Kilpatrick discusses some of the major Indian directors, whose work challenges the White man’s image, and who are making films about Indians. Among some of the directors and their films mentioned are: Gerald Vizenor’s (Chippewa) *Harold of Orange* (1984), Thomas King’s (Cherokee) *Medicine River* (1994), Victor Masayesva, Jr.’s (Hopi) *Imagining Indians* (1992), Aaron Carr’s (Navajo/Laguna) *War Code: Navajo Code Talkers* (1996), and George Burdeau’s (Blackfeet) *Pueblo Peoples: First Contact* (1992) and *The Witness* (1997). Two additional Indian made films are Jonathan Wacks’ *PowWow Highway* (1989) and Chris Eyre’s *Smoke Signals* (1998). Both films Deloria (2004, p. 161) writes “used cars to lay claim to the essential continuity of Native cultures within a shared history,” thereby undermining the image of the vanishing Indian and the Indian who can only live in the past. The development of Indian-made films and sympathetic Indian films has its roots in silent Indian Westerns, where Indians were both the subject and object of film making.

Over 25 years ago, Robert Berkhofer (1979) wrote an important historical work focusing on the social construction of Indianness from the point of view of White European society. His central thesis is that what is considered to be Indian is an invention of the White Man. Berkhofer’s book is about how the outsider defines the culture and the images of the “other” insider for the purposes of control and domination, both physically and culturally. Berkhofer is

cognizant that the views of the Native Americans, (stressing the plural) while present are also absent as White Europeans and then White Americans developed and continued to use unauthentic Native American images that formed the selective tradition of the dominant ideology; an ideology justifying White European colonization of the Western Hemisphere in general and of the U. S. and Canada in particular.

The work of Berkhofer (1979), Pearce (1988), and Francis (1992) illustrates Adorno's and Horkheimer's dialectic of Enlightenment; how the outsider, the colonizer steeped in the tradition of the European Enlightenment, defines the culture and the images of the other (insider) for the purpose of control and domination, and in some cases genocide. Pearce (1988) discusses how certain Enlightenment philosophers, such as Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, constructed their philosophies of the Enlightenment in contrast to what was known about Native American and indigenous peoples at the time. In other words, indigenous peoples were used as the out-group (savages) in the formation of the in-group (Enlightened Europeans, including Anglo Americans). In so far as the Enlightenment contained the dark side of colonialism, Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) would view this as the repressive nature of the Enlightenment. Habermas sees the Enlightenment as an unfinished project, and as such a source of liberation (Bernstein, 1992). Said (1994) would agree with Habermas when he argues that once a set of ideas emerges in a particular cultural and historical setting, such as the Enlightenment, they lose their particular status and become generalized, available for everyone to use.

Berkhofer (1979) discusses the origin of the term Indian. One source of the term is Christopher Columbus, who thought he had landed off the coast of Asia, but he was lost and landed in the Caribbean Islands. He mistakenly called the indigenous peoples *los Indios*. The term became part of the Spanish language and continues to be used today. Images attached to *los*

Indios are found in the writings of Columbus. One image is of the Arawak as uncivilized but happy. Whether or not this image influenced Rousseau's image of the noble savage, the discourse is similar. A second image is of the Carib as cannibal resulting (Berkhofer 1979, p. 7) "in the line of savage images of the Indians as not only hostile but depraved." As these images circulated among the Spanish and other European populations, the Indian came to be seen as the opposite of what they were: Christian and civilized.

The French and English Enlightenment thinkers drew on European explorers' accounts of American Indians (Berkhofer, 1979; Pearce, 1988). Both Hobbes and Rousseau were influenced by these accounts as they developed their opposing political philosophies. For Hobbes, the state of nature was war-like, a hostile place inhabited by savages, much like the wilderness in the New World and the people who lived there. For Rousseau the indigenous peoples of the New World were noble savages. He used the noble savage image to criticize French aristocratic society as corrupt and in need of social change. This Enlightenment use of the Indian other as a critique of society is a continuous theme as reflected in the idea of the ecological Indian (Kerch, 1999).

Not only are negative Indian images part of the received cultural tradition (Williams, 1977) in the U. S. they are also part of the received cultural tradition in Canada as Francis (1992) demonstrates in his book *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of Indian in Canadian Culture*. The images Francis discusses are similar to those found in the U. S. The Canadian portrait painter, Paul Kane, who was in search of the authentic Indian, went west to capture the vanishing Canadian Indian on canvas. When he arrived at Ojibway villages he was disappointed because the Ojibway Indians had been corrupted by white traders and were no longer the authentic Indian for which he was searching. He kept searching for authentic Indians, but to no avail. Consequently, in the end he had to construct the Canadian Indian in his own image. Francis

points out that Kane was not above manipulating his medium to meet his needs. Francis (1992, p. 21) explains that Kane's famous painting "of an Assiniboine buffalo hunt . . . was actually modeled on an Italian engraving of two young men on horseback chasing a bull." Another quintessential Indian image is Benjamin West's painting entitled "The Death of Wolfe" in which Kane painted the noble savage as a Mohawk warrior. Francis notes there were no Indians present when West died, and his death did not take place on the battlefield. One final example is the commodification of the Indian image. In the final section of his book, he mentions how General Motors (GM) appropriated the name of the Ottawa leader Pontiac as the name of one of its cars. Francis (1992, p. 171) writes: "In 1925, when the Pontiac was introduced, there can be little doubt that GM simply wanted to identify a new product with speed, power and the form of nature, attributes long associated with Indians." It didn't matter to the GM corporate executives that Pontiac resisted white civilization; that was a matter for historians; the corporate executives wanted an image that would sell cars. The further commodification of the Indian image was given impetus by the Canadian Pacific Railway in the same way that the Santa Fe Railroad marketed Southwestern Indians and their "authentic crafts" as part of a growing cultural tourism industry.

Vine Deloria's (1980) forward to *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in Movies* makes a similar point to the one Francis made at the end of his book. In discussing the film *Billy Jack*, Deloria (1980, p. x) writes: "Billy Jack is merely a symptom of a much deeper problem in which the image of the Indian seems to form a familiar boundary. Americans are really aliens in North America and try as they might, they seem incapable of adjusting to the continent." It should be said, however, that Anglo Americans are quite capable of dominating the continent. By studying filmic images of Indians Deloria (1980, p. xi) suggests that one is actually studying the "psyche of the American white." He discusses a persistent image of the

“old chief.” The old chief is generally a wise elderly who “recognizes the futility of opposition to progress and he sadly relates this wisdom in every movie scene where the younger men council for war” (Deloria, 1980, p. xi). The old chief image is a stock and trade in John Ford’s western films like *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* and *The Searchers*. According to Deloria the old chief image is part of the White European colonization process or the civilizing process of the “new world.”

Berkhofer (1979) provides a sweeping overview of the history of Indian imagery and White policy from first contact to the last quarter of the 20th century. He persuasively argues that the Indian images first defined by the early conquistadors and used to subjugate the indigenous peoples were later carried forth by U. S. policy makers and political leaders. He (1979, p. 115) writes:

The foundations of White policy were laid during the initial century or so of contact by each of the major European nations. Whether one looks at the social, economic, religious, political, or legal side of that story, one traces the basic approach long pursued by White policy makers back to those early years, for, at that time, Native Americans as ‘Indians’ became colonial subjects in their own lands as Whites advanced toward their goals as imperial powers in the New World. Future generations of Native Americans whether descended from peoples conquered then or subsequently, inherited that subordinate status.

After the military subjugation of the Indians and the closing of the American frontier at the end of the 19th century, the repression and genocide of Indians continued, politically and culturally. The political form took place within Federal-Indian policies and in particularly two related policies: the Indian Boarding School Movement and the Dawes Act. Both of these policies were designed to turn Indians into Whites, to Americanize them. A culture form took place within western films. With the closing of the frontier, the film industry turned to the reel

winning of the west thereby continuing the repressive images of Indians into the 20th century.

What is significant about Berkhofer's (1979) analysis is how Whites imagined Indians to be and how Anglo cultural meanings of Indianness were translated into U. S. policies toward Native Americans; policies that vacillated between extermination and assimilation, both of which would mean the end of Native American life—a self-fulfilling prophecy of the vanishing Indian.

Berkhofer (1979) makes a distinction between Native Americans who he sees as real and Indians who he sees as the White man's construction or invention. The concept of Indian lumps the numerous Indians cultural groups into one group thereby ignoring any differences among the Native Americans. For example, in films Indians are one-dimensionalized as Plains Indians and the tremendous diversity of Indian tribes are reduced to "little more than half a dozen tribes: Sioux, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Comanche, Apache, Kiowa, with an occasional appearance by Seminoles, Utes or Shoshone" (Buscombe, 2006, p. 25). It is Plains Indian culture that becomes equated in popular culture as Indian culture.

Berkhofer's distinction between American Indians as real and American Indians as socially constructed by Anglos carries over to Strickland's (1997) work on the filmic Indian. The Indian in the popular imagination and the Indian most non-Indians come to know about are the reel Indians. Strickland (1997) makes a compelling case that the filmic images of the Native America influence, if not determine, how Americans view Native Americans, arguing that non-Indians and even Indians learn about Indians through films. He (1997, p. 19) writes: "As we begin to explore the image of Native Americans in film, let us ask one key question: What would we think the Native American was like if we had only the celluloid Indian from which to reconstruct history, if our exclusive available data came from motion picture archives?" In short his answer to the question is that the image of indigenous peoples is the image of what white

people think the image of them should be including the degrading stereotypes of Indians that were formed beginning with first contact between Indian cultures and European cultures.

A transitional period between the winning of the real West and the winning of the reel west, is the period of the Wild West shows of which Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West show is the most representative and well known. Another important Wild West show was the Miller Brothers of 101 Ranch (Redding, 1999), which would provide actors for Thomas Ince films. From 1883 to 1933 the year that marks the end of the Wild West shows, "hundreds of North American Indians performed in wild west shows" (Moses, 1996, pp. 4 & 5). Buffalo Bill Cody, himself, is a transitional figure. He was, among other things, employed as a cavalry scout, shot buffalo for the army, helped subdue Sitting Bull, and killed and scalped the Cheyenne warrior Yellow Hair yelling the epitaph: "The first scalp for Custer" (Buscombe, 2006, p. 63). In 1883 Cody started his Wild West show, using Pawnees (Kasson, 2000). His Wild West show performed in front of live audiences in cities of the Eastern United States and in Europe. Real Indians were used to lend authenticity to the shows. While Cody exploited his Indian performers, many of whom were Sioux, Indian performers saw his Wild West show as an opportunity to maintain their Indianness, to travel and be tourists, to meet non-Indians, and to escape imprisonment and the poverty of reservation life (Kasson, 2000).

Not all prominent people, including the historian Frederick Jackson Turner (Etulain, 1999) looked favorably on Cody's Wild West shows. Proponents of assimilation, such as the Indian Rights Association and other humanitarians, objected to the use of Indian performers because such shows degraded Indians and slowed the process of assimilation (Moses, 1996). Other do-gooders, including Christians who were concerned with Indian welfare, objected to Indian participation in the Wild West shows. Even some Indians, such as Chauncey Yellow

Robe (Sioux), who was a “reformer and member of the Society of American Indians (Moses, 1996, p. 6), objected to them because of their “encouragement of native traditions” (Kasson, 2000, p. 164). As a result in the late 1880s, federal officials and Indian reformers attempted to limit the use of Indian performers in Cody’s Wild West shows because his shows were seen as anti-assimilationist. Cody defended his use of Indian performers, in general, and of Sioux performers, in particular. He responded to his critics by remarking: “I thought I was benefiting the Indians as well as the government, by taking them all over the United States, and giving them a correct idea of the customs, life, etc., of the pale faces, so that when they returned to their people they could make known all they had seen” (cited in Kasson, 2000, p. 169). In other words, Cody claimed he was educating the Eastern public about Indians, and educating Indians about modern society, while providing them with a means of subsistence.

When Sitting Bull returned to the U. S. from Canada and surrendered to U. S. military authorities, he was sent to the Standing Rock Agency. Cody was interested in the marketability of Sitting Bull and wanted Sitting Bull to tour with his Wild West show. It turned out that Cody was not the only individual who was knowledgeable about celebrity status and used it to his own advantage. Sitting Bull, who did not suffer fools gladly, manipulated the situation to his own advantage. He agreed to travel with Cody’s show because it allowed him a certain degree of freedom (Deloria, 2004). In addition to Sitting Bull other prominent Indian personalities travelled with Cody’s Wild West show. Black Elk traveled with Cody to England in 1887 because wanted to see firsthand the White man ways. Traditional Indians, who wanted to return to the old ways, toured with the Wild West shows, allowing them to maintain a certain degree of traditionalism (Deloria, 2004). Luther Standing Bear toured with Cody in 1902 “after new Indian Bureau policies made it impossible to support his family as a cattle rancher” (Kasson, 2000, p.

188). A year after the Massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890 where Custer's old unit, the 7th Calvary, massacred over 200 members of Big Foot's band who were on their way to the Pine Ridge reservation, 100 Sioux Indians travelled with Cody's show to Europe. The Indian troupe included former Ghost Dancer leaders, Short Bull and Kicking Bear, who were prisoners of war at the time. Deloria (2004, p. 69) quotes Kicking Bear as saying "'for six weeks I have been a dead man,' Kicking Bear is reputed to have said to Cody. 'Now that I see you I am alive again.'" James Welch (2000) in *The Heartsong of Charging Elk* tells the story of Charging Elk who was on an European tour with Cody's Wild West show and his experiences with culture shock after he was mistakenly left in a hospital after he had fallen during a performance of Cody's Wild West show. Travelling with Wild West shows provided Indian performers with food, shelter, and wages; life sustaining essentials that were in short supply on the reservations during the 1880s and 1890s (Deloria, 2004).

Buffalo Bill Cody was aware of the emerging moving picture industry and he eventually tried his hand at film making. His first attempt was a 1912 film called *The Life of Buffalo Bill*. In 1913, twenty-three years after the Massacre at Wounded Knee, Cody made a moving picture entitled *Indian War Pictures*, which included a re-enactment of the massacre. Cody's intent was to produce a "'historically correct' motion picture about the Indian Wars with the cooperation of some old army friends ..." (Kasson 2000, p. 257). The filming of the re-enactment created tensions between Sioux actors and white actors playing the 7th Calvary. According to Moses (1996, 239): "Yellow Robe claimed that Cody and Miles deliberately allowed themselves to be filmed as if they had been participants at Wounded Knee. Their presence thus defiled that sacred place 'for their own profit and cheap glory'". Drawing on Chauncey Yellow Robe's account, who was a critic of Cody and Wild West shows, Deloria (2004, p. 55, italics in the original)

reminds us that Cody's attempt at historical realism in his filming of the Massacre at Wounded Knee was disingenuous because "neither Cody nor General Miles had actually *been* at Wounded Knee in the critical movements...." As mentioned above, Cody defended himself against his critics, who charged among other things that he was exploiting Indians. Cody made it possible for Indians to travel and experience the world beyond the reservation while earning some money, at the same time he was perpetuating two significant Indian images. The first one was the representations of Indians as Plains Indians and the second one was the stereotype of the bloodthirsty savage (Frances, 1992).

Despite attempts to promote the film, the film was not a popular success. Kasson (2000, p. 263) suggests the following reason for the film's lack of success: "*Indian War Pictures* showed spectacles too painful to be popular: the numbing brutality of the war, the panic of war's victims, and the pretensions of an old man trying to recapture his youth." After Cody's death a shortened version was released entitled "*The Adventures of Buffalo Bill*." It also was unsuccessful and as Moses (1996, p. 250) writes: "It had a limited run."

The Indian as a Plains Indian and the Indian as bloodthirsty became stock and trade images of western movies along with the vanishing Indian image. However, during this period, Indians moved from being seen as savages and a threat to White society to having commercial value in the emergent capitalist economy and in particular in the area of show business. Bataille and Silet (1980, p. xxii) write: "Since the Indian had high entertainment value, it seemed only natural that Edison should have shot film vignettes of Indians dances for his early penny arcade peep shows. Edison's machines showed such films as the *Sioux Ghost Dance* (1894) and the *Parade of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (1898)." The *Sioux Ghost Dance* was shown only a year after Frederic Jackson Turner announced the closing of the American Frontier. With the closing

of the American West and the forced assimilation of Native Americans, it was left to the movie industry to create a mythical west, one that Ralph and Natasha Friar refer to as filmic cultural genocide (Bataille and Silet, 1980).

CHAPTER 4

Domination and Resistance in Indian Westerns

This is the West, sir. When the legend becomes fact we print the legend.

---The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance, 1962.

Four years after the Massacre at Wounded Knee, which occurred in 1890, the Edison Company made the earliest Indian film called the *Sioux Ghost Dance* (Simmon, 2003). It was a 20 second kinetoscope film; using Oglala and Brule Sioux, who were on tour with Cody's Wild West show. This was one of several Indian subject films or documentary films produced by Edison (Simmon, 2003). There is some disagreement as to when the first Western film was made. Simmon (2003) argues the *Sioux Ghost Dance* is the first western film, western films being the genre in which Indians are found. He points out it is commonly assumed the first western was Edwin S. Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* (1903). After a gang of bandits rob a train and escape into the woods, a posse is formed that gives chase, successfully capturing and killing the bandits. What is striking about the film is the closing shot where a cowboy points his pistol at the audience and pulls the trigger. In Griffith's *Battle of Elderbush Gulch* there is a similar chase scene, a scene which is also found in his film *The Birth of Nation*. In both films, the Calvary came to the rescue. In the case of *The Birth of a Nation*, the Calvary saves a group of Southern Whites from African Americans, and in the case of the *Battle of Elderbush Gulch*, the Calvary saves a group of White settlers from savage Indians. However, Simmon (2003) correctly points out that these "western" films ignored earlier films whose subject matter was

Indians. In addition to *Sioux Ghost Dance*, Edison Company produced such films as *Serving Rations to the Indians* (1898) and *Carrying Out the Snakes* (1901). The Edison Company also produced other westerns where Indians were absent or if present were on the margins. Simmon (2003, p. 8) writes: “Occasionally glimpsed at the margins of these rudimentary narratives is the figure of Indian, notably in two relative epics of 1903 directed by Wallace McCutcheon for the American Mutoscope and Biography Company: the roughly nine-minute *The Pioneers* and twenty-nine-minute *Kit Carson*.” This earlier marginalization of Indians continued in Westerns made during the 1920s, such as James Cruze’s *The Covered Wagon* (1923), to be discussed below.

William Selig, another early pioneer in making Indian films, had a studio in Chicago. He hired Harry H. Buckwalter, a Colorado Business booster, to help him make “western” films in Colorado. In 1901 Selig provide Buckwalter “with a polyscope camera and one of his employees, Tomas S. Nash, to help operate it” (Smith, 2003, p. 13). The early Buckwalter films, as they were called, included such films as *Indian Fire Dance* (1902), *Shoshone Indians in Scalp Dance* (1902), and *Ute Snake Dance* (1902) (Smith, 2003). Smith notes that Buckwalter used these films to promote cultural tourism in Colorado, while at the same time assuring the viewing public that Indians were no longer a threat. Smith (2003, p. 18) explains:

In the catalog description for several of the dance films, Buckwalter explained that the government had either prohibited the activity in question or insisted that it be held in such a manner that federal agents could quell any resulting disturbances. The Denver booster therefore used his Indian dances to celebrate an exotic and uncolonized Colorado, while his accompanying oral explanations assured whites—with the Ghost Dance still of recent memory—that social disturbances caused by American Indians were a thing of the past.

It is worth pointing out that while Buckwalter combined the violent Indian past with Colorado's scenic beauty to attract tourists, Buckwalter ignored the current labor unrest in Colorado. To draw attention to Colorado's labor problems would undermine his objective of promoting tourism. Buckwalter did make crime films in which racism played a prominent role. After a few years he turned away from making violent films and called for their censorship.

During the late 1900s, Selig's company was in financial trouble. Because Selig had made earlier promotional films for Philip Armour, he came to Selig's rescue. He wanted to use film to counter Upton Sinclair's expose of the dark side of the meatpacking industry in his novel *The Jungle* (Smith, 2003). By the end of the 1900s Selig himself played down the violence in his westerns, so he, like Buckwalter before him, could promote Colorado tourism. The attempt to decouple violence from western films was unsuccessful, as such, violence and the beauty of the Western landscape remained part of Western films. The use of films to demonstrate the beauty of the West would continue to be an important part of western films, if not Indian western films.

By 1906-07 Western and Indian subject films were experiencing a decline and there was talk in the movie media of the death of the Westerns. And yet the Western did not die. From 1908 to 1913 twenty percent of films being made were Western and Indian films (Buscombe, 2006; Simmon, 2003). This was also the period of time when Indian filmic stories were being told in favorable ways by both Indian and non-Indian film-makers. White directors, like D. W. Griffith and Thomas Ince, were making sympathetic Indian western films. The Indian director James Young Deer was making resistance films that subverted normal Indian-White ethnic and gender relationships. He also down played the theme of violence, instead focusing "attention on the problems of post frontier modernity: how were Americans to think about contemporary Indian people" (Deloria, 2004, p 108). However, by the mid 1910s and continuing into the

1920s Indian film making, Indian subject films, and the number of Indian actors declined with the emergence of the industrial studio system (Simmon, 2003; Smith, 2003), and old negative stereotypes re-emerged. In addition to the narrative films being produced, there was a continuation of the early descriptive films in the works of such “documentary” film makers as John F. Dixon, Edward Curtis and Robert Flaherty, whose films will be discussed below. The motifs of the vanishing Indian and assimilation are evident in their documentary films.

During the late 1900s and early 1910s D.W. Griffith, considered be the father of U.S. cinema, directed several Indian subject films. They included films such as *The Call of the Wild* (1908); *The Redman and the Child* (1908); *Comata, The Sioux* (1909); *The Redman’s View* (1909); *The Girl and the Outlaw* (1908); *The Red Girl* (1908); *Romona* (1910); *A Pueblo Legend* (1912); *Iola’s Promise* (1912); *Massacre* (1912); and *The Battle of Elderbush Gulch* (1913). These films were being produced at the same time that French and Italian film producers were usurping America’s dominance in film-making. The one significant thing the U. S. film industry had going for itself was the Western, including Indian subject films. There was some competition from French film companies, most notably the Pathe’ Company who hired the Winnebago Indian film director and actor James Young Deer for a short period of time.

The early Indian subject films tended to reflect the themes of the vanishing Indian, Anglo progress, and Anglo supremacy, themes consistent with the ideology of social Darwinism. Simmon (2003, p. 11) explains: “The actor playing an Indian on the early silent screen might run through a wide range of presentational gestures—of anger, threat, stoicism, self-sacrifice, heroism—but the image always also came trailing that more elaborate and purportedly inevitable story about the progress of civilization and native decline.” The filmic representation of the vanishing Indian has its roots in early 19th century literature and paintings (Buscombe, 2006).

The discourse of the vanishing Indian is found in 19th century and early 20th century photographs, paintings, and sculptures. A well known sculpture is James E. Fraser's "The End of the Trail." It is on display at the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma City. A giant size replica greets visitors as they walk down the entrance inside the Museum. In 1855 Thomas Crawford created a sculpture entitled "The Dying Chief: Contemplating the Progress of Civilization". Other examples of artists and their paintings, who contemplated the vanishing Indian, include John M. Stanley (1857) "The Last of Their Race," Frederic Remington (1897) "The Twilight of the Indian," and Charles M. Russell (1899) "The Last of His Race." Both Edward Curtis and Rodman Wanamaker produced photos reflecting the vanishing Indian, such as, Curtis' (1900) "The Vanishing Race," and Wanamaker's (1913) "Sunset of a Dying Race" (Dippie, 1982).

The early Indian films (1890s and 1900s) were shot in the East, reflecting the pastoral image of Indians. Simmon (2003) notes that Eastern westerns were pastoral signifying an earlier period, a less developed period, a less complicated time, and a society that is childlike. Later Indians films (1910s) were shot in the West, reflecting growing tensions and conflict between Indians and Whites. This shift from a pastoral image to a conflict image is represented in the work of D.W. Griffith. D. W. Griffith started his film-making career in the East as did many of the directors and film-makers. His early East Coast westerns featured Indians, some of whom were childlike (Simmon, 2003). For example, in *The Redman and the Child* the Indian male is coupled with a child indicating the childlike status of Indians. In this film, the Indian and child he saved, paddle off in his canoe "across a placid lake" (Simmon, 2003, p. 13). This is the East Coast equivalent of riding off into the sunset. The filmic presentation of Indians as childlike is a continuation of Thomas Jefferson's discourse of Indians as children (Drinnon, 1997). Simmon

(2003, p. 24) notes: “A friendship between Indian and White is at the core of Griffith’s eastern-filmed Westerns” Furthermore, Simmon argues that Griffith also represents Indians as women-like, but never the equal of white men. Indian Westerns made in and around 1910 bring together white men and Indian men through a white woman. The introduction of a white woman into the White and Indian relationship “is a violation of expected norms” (Simmon 2003, p. 25). In this triad relationship it was the norm for the woman to be an Indian. In fact, many white explorers and Mountain Men, who spent time in Indian Country, took Indian wives. However, the idea of a white woman having a relationship with an Indian male was subversive, a violation of gender norms, to say the least.

Other films of this period, including Griffith’s *Comata*, *The Sioux* (1909), begin and end with a stoic Indian staring off into the landscape. Simmon (2002, p. 18) explains:

The iconography evoked here had evolved in American paintings until this simple image of the Indian staring off into the middle distance was alone enough to imply an entire narrative of civilization’s advance and the native’s demise. . . . In eastern-filmed Westerns of this era too, a whole narrative of progress can be implied by the single gazing figure.

These types of films reflect the ideology of social Darwinism; an ideology that supported White Anglo hegemony.

Deloria points out that Indians performed in both Wild West shows and the early film industry, representing Indians in both positive and negative ways for a variety of reasons. He (2004, pp. 55-56) asks: “Why would Native people agree to represent themselves, particularly when so many representations cast Indians in a negative light? Some motives, of course, are simply unknowable. Others cluster together in identifiable clumps: escape; adventure; economic need; cultural celebration; educational outreach.” Some Indians performed, especially in the film industry, as acts of resistance to the negative stereotype of the vanishing Indian. For example,

Deloria (2004) notes that the message behind *The Squaw Man* stories was either to disappear or assimilate; neither options allowed for an Indian future. The filmic genocide of Native Americans was countered by the resistance films of James Young Deer and his actress wife, Lillian Red Wing, for a short period of time during the early part of the 1910s. This occurred at the same time earlier sympathetic filmmakers like D.W. Griffith were moving away from positive images to negative images of Indians as dog-eating, bloodthirsty savages who couldn't be civilized (Buscombe, 2006).

A consistent theme in *Squaw Man* stories is that a White man journeys into the wildness leaving behind a White woman lover. The White man takes up with Indian woman and they may or may not have a child. The White woman comes in search of her White lover only to find him married to the Indian woman, who realizes that she has no future and ends up committing suicide so her White husband will be free to return to civilization and marry the White woman. If there were a child involved, the child will become assimilated in white society. This was the story of Cecil B. De Mille's *The Squaw Man* (1914). While the theme of miscegenation was not always well received by Anglo audiences, it did maintain the dominant relationships between men and women and whites and Indians. Strickland (1999, p. 25) notes that the idea "save a bullet for yourself" or "save the last bullet for yourself" in reference to women who are under siege or surrounded as in John Ford's *Stagecoach*, reflects the fear of miscegenation or the cross sexual relationships between Indian men and white women. Save the last bullet for the woman is evident in Griffith's *The Battle of Elderbush Gulch*. Toward the end of the film, when the white settlers are being attacked by Indians, inside the besieged house a white woman is sitting on a stair case. A pistol pointed at her head appears on the screen. The last bullet is not used because the Calvary came to the rescue.

Before I discuss the narrative resistance films of *Young Deer*, I want to return to a discussion of the films made by D.W. Griffith whose work during this period reflects both a sympathetic view of Indians and a reactionary view of Indians. Armando Prats (2002) reads Griffiths 1909 film, *The Redman's View* as representative of the vanishing Indian motif. In the first part of the film, there is an idyllic scene, where a young Indian chief, Silver Eagle son of the Old Chief, and Minnewanna fall in love and agree to be married. Then there is a scene identified by the intertitle "The Conquerors", where a group of white men attack the village and disrupt this romantic view of Indian life. This scene signifies the discourse of social Darwinism and the civilizing process. After negotiations with the Old Chief, "the young chief agrees to lead his people in the exodus" (Pratt, 2002, p. 123). However, the white men hold Minnewanna captive, and the Indians move on in a westward direction followed by an intertitle that reads "The West sea before us [...] Is there no land where we may rest our head?" (Pratt, 2002, p. 123). As soon as the Indians locate a place to establish a village, the white men appear again demanding the Indians once again move on. Meanwhile the Old Chief dies. Silver Eagle returns to the white camp to rescue Minnewanna. They make a run for it, but their escape is unsuccessful. Silver Eagle pleads with the White man, who was Minnewanna's master, to let them go. Instead of letting them leave he pulls out a pistol and threatens to kill them. At this point an elderly white man intervenes and the young Indian couple is allowed to leave the white man's settlement. They walk past the burial place of Silver Eagle's father and the scene ends with both Silver Eagle and Minnewanna bowing their heads, signifying the end of the trail or the vanishing Indian and the privileging of social Darwinism an ideology important for the process of civilization.

In 1912, D. W. Griffith directed *The Pueblo Legend*, a representation of the noble savage, which Kilpatrick (1999, p. 22) refers to as “the primitive but noble stereotype.” *The Pueblo Legend* was filmed at Isleta Pueblo in Northern New Mexico, using Isleta Pueblo Indians with Mary Pickford playing the part of a Hopi girl. Not all Isleta Pueblo Indians appreciated his portrayal of their way of life. It is a romantic view of Indians, not unlike the view held by Eastern Anglo Artists living in Santa Fe and Taos and maybe even anthropologists working in the Southwest, such as Kenneth Chapman who wanted to preserve “traditional” Pueblo arts, most notably pottery making (Chapman and Barrie, 2008). In *The Pueblo Legend*, Griffith portrayed Indians as childlike. In addition to *The Pueblo Legend*, in 1912 Griffith made a film called *Massacre*, a film about Custer’s Last Stand. In this film Griffith moved away from his sympathetic view of Indians where Indians were childlike to a view of the bloodthirsty savage. In the *Massacre*, Indians were seen as standing in the way of progress or civilization. What we find in Griffith starting in 1912 is the re-emergence of the noble savage and the bloodthirsty savage. Kilpatrick (1999, pp. 23-24) writes:

During the same year, Griffith perpetuated the other popular stereotype of Native peoples through his film *Massacre* (Biograph, 1912), a film about Custer and his last stand in which the Indians were definitely not portrayed as primitive children of *A Pueblo Legend* but surfaced once more as blood-thirsty savages standing in the way of civilization.

This image became the dominant Indian representation during the 20th century. There were other films that symbolized the movement away from sympathetic films to negative films. Two significant films that reflect the move away from sympathetic Indian films to a negative view of Indians were Griffiths’ *The Battle of Elderbush Gulch* (1913) and Cecil B. De Mille’s *The Squaw Man* (1914).

In 1912, in addition to *The Pueblo Legend* and *Massacre*, Griffith made *Iola's Promise*. The film opens with the scene of an Indian woman/maiden who has been captured by three unsavory men fighting over her. Bill Kenyon, who is described as a simple miner, appears at the camp site and saves her. He takes Iola, played by Mary Pickford, back to his cabin where he takes care of her and offers her something to eat. Kenyon reads a letter from his sweetheart that she will be arriving by wagon train shortly. He is also seen playing with a nugget of gold. Iola falls in love with Kenyon. Kenyon's prospecting partner appears and Iola is fearful of him. After Kenyon's partner leaves, he shows Iola a gold nugget and asks her if she knows where there are other gold nuggets. Then they both wander off looking for gold. Kenyon sends Iola back to her tribe, although she wants to stay and be a crossed-heart people; a term by which she refers to white people. The scene shifts to the Indian camp where Indians are presented as savages. Meanwhile the wagon train carrying Kenyon's bride appears and the Indians attack the wagon train carrying off Kenyon's bride and her father. They are tied to a tree and bushes are piled around them to imply they will be burned at the stake. Iola wanders by and puts on the bride's clothing and sets them free. Meanwhile, Kenyon has organized a group of prospectors to come to the rescue of the wagon train, but they arrive too late. They then attack the Indian village. While this is happening, Iola wanders off disguised as Kenyon's bride. Indian warriors see her and follow her. One warrior fires his gun and a bullet strikes her in the chest but does not kill her. She rolls down a hill and discovers gold at the bottom of it; thereby keeping her promise to find gold. With the Indians being driven off and his soon to be father-in-law and wife rescued from the Indians, Kenyon finds Iola. She has sacrificed herself for gold and the white couple. But she has kept her promise. The death of Iola allows Kenyon to strike it rich in terms of gold, and allows his reunion with his bride to be uncomplicated by Iola's attraction to him.

Deloria (2004) points out that the tragic love story between a white man and an Indian woman is representative of dominant ideology which maintained colonial relationships. He (2004, p. 85) writes: “The standard colonialist structure—white man-Indian woman—matched gender domination (men over women) with social domination (European over indigenous).” The inverse gender and racial relationships evident in James Young Deer and Red Wings films raises questions about gender inequalities and ethnic inequalities. Deloria makes an interesting point illustrated by the Griffith’s *Call of the Wild* (1908). In this film George Redfeather is a successful player on the Carlisle Indian Industrial School football team. He and a white woman become attracted to each other. He asks her to marry him, but he is turned down. Deloria (2004, p. 85) explains: “Hearing, in his anger and disappointment, ‘the call of the wild,’ Redfeather tears off his fine clothes, beats his chest, grabs a bottle, and returns angrily to his tribe.” All of these actions are full of stereotypical imagery. The woman is later captured by members of Redfeather’s tribe. Redfeather seeks revenge but the woman appeals to Redfeather’s sense of civilization (religion) and she is spared. Although Redfeather returned to his tribe because he heard the call of the wild, implying the Indians cannot be assimilated, he does retain some aspects of his socialization into Americanism. Deloria notes that Redfeather confused ethnic/racial equality with civilization, which Griffith apparently wants to point out is not the case. In fact, in *The Battle at Elderbush Gulch* (1913), Griffith is quite clear that Indians are not the equal of Anglos. They are a barrier to civilization because of their savage ways and they need to either disappear or be marginalized. This is to say the earlier sympathetic view of Indians dissolves into an image of the savage that needs to be contained and can’t be assimilated. The civilizing process is a colonizing one, which is not to be equated with gender and ethnic equality, let alone class equality. In other words while Federal Indian policy was based on assimilation,

assimilation did not mean full acceptance into American society or acculturation. The social forces of American expansionism, social Darwinism, capitalism, imperialism, and so forth, were not based on equality, nor were they intended to establish equality.

Young Deer and Red Wing, who were married, for a brief time produced counter-hegemonic stories that inverted these dominant miscegenation relationships. As a means of illustration six films will be analyzed. The first is the film *The Falling Arrow* (1909). In this film Young Deer plays an Indian hero and Red Wing plays a Mexican woman, Felice. Young Deer saves her from an evil outlaw, Jim. Later on Young Deer's character saves Felice again from Jim. Felice's father offers Young Deer money, but he "refuses the money and insists on marrying Felice" (Deloria, 2004, p. 97). They marry with the blessing of Felice's father. The mode of action or the lesson to be learned in this film is a positive one. Deloria (2004, p. 97) writes "the marriage at the end of Young Deer's film offers the promise of an Indian future and the willingness of non-Indians to accept Young Deer in their society." In *Indian Bride* (1909) Young Deer has a White woman marrying an Indian. While, as mentioned above, it was acceptable, albeit not without protest, for a White man to marry an Indian woman, it was seen as scandalous for a White woman to marry an Indian. In *Young Deer's Return* (1910), Young Deer continues his critique of White society and culture with a turn toward Indian nationalism. In this film, Young Deer, who has attended Carlisle Indian School, saves a prospector. The prospector gives Young Deer his watch as a symbol of gratitude. Later on Young Deer and the prospector's daughter fall in love. The daughter brings Young Deer home to meet his father who rejects the idea of his daughter marrying an Indian. Young Deer recognizes the father as the prospector he saved and shows him the watch. Remembering his debt of gratitude the father agrees to the marriage. However, unlike in *The Falling Arrow*, "Young Deer refuses the offer and returns to

his own tribe, where he will marry an Indian woman . . . affirming the potency and the future of tribal culture independent of white society” (Deloria, 2004, p. 99).

In *White Fawn's Devotion* (1910) Young Deer presents a narrative about a white settler or frontiersman married to an Indian woman; they have a child, a young girl. He leaves their home and meets a white man on a horse who delivers a written message to him, indicating that he is heir to a fortune and that he should claim it as soon as possible. The White man returns to his home where he informs his Indian wife, White Fawn, of the fortune and indicates that they should leave and collect it. White Fawn refuses thinking that he will leave her. The daughter has gone off to get water. Her husband takes off his knife belt and leaves it on a bench outside the house. Meanwhile White Fawn is distraught and takes the knife from the knife belt and stabs herself. He comes outside and finds his wife on the ground, thinking she is dead. As he picks up the knife, the daughter arrives and thinks her father has killed her mother. The daughter goes to her mother's Indian village, informs the Chief of her mother's murder. The Chief summons warriors to find the white murderer. There follows a chase scene in which the white man is captured, tied up and dragged back to the Indian village where he is placed on a flat stone. The Indian chief wants the daughter to kill her father while Indians, at least one has drawn his knife, are dancing around the white man. She refuses and is struck by the chief. White Fawn is not dead, and looking quite well, enters the Indian village and saves her husband. The family is united and the Chief then sends them back to their home. In this film the Indian woman attempts to kill herself, but is unsuccessful. The white man gives up his fortune to stay with his Indian wife and child near an Indian village; an action that deviates from the norm. We do not see a white establishment.

In *The Prospector and the Indian* (1912) Young Deer has “a white prospector marrying an Indian woman, White Star” (Deloria, 2004, p. 99). White Star leaves her husband after the white community in which they had been living rejects them. She unsuccessfully attempts suicide. The prospector and White Star are united and go to live in an Indian village. The message of this story is that the prospector’s loyalty is to his Indian wife rather than to his white race.

In *Red Eagle, the Lawyer* (1912), Young Deer places his Indian protagonist in modern society. As Deloria (2004) tells the story, White Feather seeks the assistance of Red Eagle, an attorney, because her father Chief Iron Claw is about to be swindled out of his land. Red Eagle is successful in stopping the white men from taking advantage of Chief Iron Claw. However, white men take revenge on Red Eagle and, then, they are successful in getting Chief Iron Claw to sign over his land to them. Red Eagle returns to action and is able to convince the government agent of the illegal activities of the white men. The government nulls the deed and the white men are arrested. Reflecting Indian nationalism, the film closes as “White Feather and Red Eagle pledge their love and stake an Indian claim to the future” (Deloria, 2004, p.100).

In summary, there were a series of films made by Young Deer and starring Red Wing that undermined the dominant stereotypes of the day, presented Indians in a favorable light, and presented Indians who had a future. Indians did not have to vanish and did not have to assimilate to survive. Smith (2003, p. 72) writes:

Before filmmakers had firmly established the conventional cinematic image of Native Americans as a ‘vanishing’ people, Young Deer created strong, willful, and individualized Indian characters. Sometimes the director’s heroes defended themselves and their tribes from the abuses of whites. Other times they wanted to assimilate into the dominant society but as equals and on their own terms.

It should be noted the dominant gender roles were also being challenged in real life. There were prominent Indian men who subvert them such as Ely Parker, Charles Eastman, Sherman Coolidge, Carlos Montezuma, and Antonio Lujan, all who married white women (Deloria, 2004).

By the mid-1910s both Young Deer and Red Wing's careers were on the down side and the filmic resistance movement was waning because of larger socio-economic and socio-political forces at work in the U.S. The forces of urbanization, mass immigration, and industrialization were changing the American landscape. The Jeffersonian idea of yeoman farmers, which informed the Dawes Act and other assimilationist policies, was being undermined as the U. S. emerged as a major capitalist industrial power and a growing international power. The film industry reflected this societal change and the filmic Indian changed. Indians came close to vanishing from the silver screen and certainly their images were changing as reactionary Indians images returned to the dream machine.

During the same period as sympathetic Indian Westerns were being made, Joseph K. Dixon was also photographing and making films about the "authentic" vanishing Indian. Joseph Dixon was employed by Wanamaker Department Stores of Philadelphia from 1906 to 1926, whose founder, John Wanamaker, symbolized the Horatio Alger story. He opened a small men's store in the 1860s and went on to create the famed Wanamaker Department stores first in Philadelphia and then in New York. Wanamaker was self-made man who brought together consumer capitalism, civic duty, and nationalism. As Trachtenberg (2004, p. 215) writes: "He conceived of his store as the epitome of the nation and a model of the future." In keeping with the U.S. imperialistic ideology of his time, Wanamaker preached and practiced the slogan

“civilization follows the flag” (cited in Trachtenberg, 2004, p. 216). The display of consumer items in the Wanamaker department stores were similar to displays at the Centennial Exhibition and in cultural museums. Wanamaker saw his department store as the Nation, showcasing the idea of department store-as-nation. In other words, the Wanamaker Department stores brought together patriotism, religion, consumer capitalism, and nationalism as well as acculturation. Trachtenberg (2004, p. 225) explains: “A place of consumption, the store was also a machine for acculturation and Americanizing the foreign-born not yet American. For Wanamaker’s sold not just merchandise but also a look, the appearance of belonging to American and to modernity.” The educational function of the stores represented to an older generation of Americans and to immigrants what modern American could and should be. As such, John Wanamaker, his son Rodman, and Dixon, undertook projects to educate Americans about the First Americans, as Wanamaker and Dixon preferred to call American Indians. They also saw their mission as a way to Americanize reservation Indians, by conducting and filming flag raising ceremonies. Their view of the American Indian assumed the oneness of all Indians.

Joseph K. Dixon went to work for Wanamaker in 1906 and by 1908 “launched the project that would be his life’s work, the Rodman Wanamaker Expedition to the North American Indian” (Trachtenberg, 2004, p. 229). Rodman Wanamaker sponsored Dixon’s work and he, also, took the credit. Unlike Edward Curtis, who held the copyright to his photos, Dixon did not hold copyright to his work. Rodman Wanamaker held the copyright. In all there were eleven Wanamaker expeditions to Indian country. In carrying out these expeditions, Dixon had support from and access to cultural materials from the Bureau of American Ethnology and also the support of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Like Curtis, Dixon set out to document

American Indians; thereby preserving an older and primitive way of life through photos and moving pictures of the cultures of vanishing Indians.

In 1908, Dixon made his first expedition to Indian Country. He filmed various ethnographic scenes on the Crow Agency, the Crow reservation, in Eastern Montana. They were produced under the title *The Last Great Indian Council (1908)*. Dixon had Crow Indians dress in “traditional” clothing and carry out traditional activities one of which was a council.

Trachtenberg (2004, p. 248) explains: “This council was an assemblage of about a hundred old chiefs under Dixon’s directorial command. He had them don full regalia, build a council lodge, light signal fires, powwow with each other in sign language, reenact Custer’s last stand as their own last moment of glory.” He apparently did not realize or did not care that the Crows had participated on the side of General Custer in the Battle of the Greasy Grass.

In 1913 Dixon and Rodman Wanamker filmed numerous Indian tribes carrying out flag raising ceremonies, symbolizing the process of Americanization. The flag raising ceremonies were captured on film and released under the title *The Rodman Wanamaker Expedition of Citizenship to the North American Indian—Carrying the Flag and a Message of Hope to a Vanishing Race (1913)*. In this film Dixon is seen participating in the ceremonies. This film shows the Rodman Expedition bringing the U. S. flag to numerous Indian tribes who then participate in three rituals associated with it. The rituals are: (1) explaining the purpose and symbolism of the flag, where Indians are shown holding the flag; (2) raising the flag, where Indians participate in the raising of the flag; and (3) signing ceremonies, where Indians are seen signing their declaration of allegiance to the U.S. government by making a mark on the document with a thumb print. Some Indians are seen dressed in traditional Plains Indian attire and others are dressed in White man’s clothing.

Griffiths (1996) describes these films as “quasi-ethnographic” to distinguish these documentary films from documentary films produced by professional anthropologists. However, documentary film-makers, like Dixon and Curtis, attempted to link their descriptions of Indians with anthropology “by establishing links with prominent anthropologists and institutions” (Griffiths, 1996, p. 81). For example, Curtis was associated with the anthropologist George Bird Grinnell (Cardozo, 2005). In fact, Cardozo (2005, p. 22) writes that “George Bird Grinnell invited Curtis to join him on another expedition, in the summer of 1900, to witness the Sun Dance ceremony in Montana.” To be exact it was a Sun Dance held by the Blackfeet on their reservation in Northwestern Montana.

Francis (1992) discusses the work of Edward Curtis including the movie *In The Land of the Headhunters*. This film and Indian photos taken by Curtis are noted for their authenticity. However as Francis (1992, p. 41) writes: “If the camera never lies, neither does it tell the whole truth. Critics praised the authenticity of Curtis’ photographs. People admired the way they showed Indians ‘as they really were.’ But in fact, the photographs were carefully posed rendering designed to convey a particular view of the Indian.” It is a view that resembles Rousseau’s noble savage. Curtis was in search of the authentic Indian and if the photographs and moving films had to be salted, so to speak, so be it.

Not only did the documentary film makers do this, but narrative film-makers enlisted the support of professional anthropologists and organizations. For example, Edison “enlisted the aid of the Bureau of American Ethnology” (Griffith, 1996, p. 81), which gave its support to Edison’s *Moki Snake Dance by Walpi Indians* (1901). This one-minute film features a Walpi Snake Dance which is part of a ritual performance of Hopi Indians. The film not only captured the snake dance, it also captured White tourists watching it.

Edward Curtis, both in film and in photographs, attempted to represent American Indians as authentic Indians. Curtis, whose projects were assisted and sponsored by J.P. Morgan and Theodore Roosevelt (Cardoza, 2005), viewed *In The Land of the HeadHunters* as an ethnographic scientific film (Griffith, 1996), recreating the vanishing culture of the Kwakiutls. In other words, as Griffith (1996, p. 88) writes: “For Curtis ‘real Indians’ are American Indians who remained ethnographically pristine and uncontaminated by Whites.” Curtis, like anthropologists, such as Franz Boas and his students, was interested in documenting American Indians before they vanished. And like the Canadian photographers and painters (Francis, 1992) Curtis sought to portray American Indians as he thought they were in the past—frozen in time.

The Wanamaker expeditions and Curtis’ work were a continuation of the earlier silent films made at the turn of the 20th century. They could be classified as documentary or anthropological films that are descriptive studies of a vanishing Indian way of life. Both Dixon and Curtis were interested in framing Indians in the past, for the purpose of the present and they engaged in stage-making to create the illusion of the authentic Indian.

During the same period as sympathetic and counter films were being made, films that reflected the stereotypical Indians were being produced. One of these is *The Squaw Man* (1914) directed by Cecil B. De Mille. It is based on a stage play and is “shot primarily in the town of Hollywood itself and it anticipates in several ways the future of the Indian in the silent feature as it played out its sad history in Hollywood” (Simmon, 2003, p. 80). This film is considered to be one of the first full length Hollywood films (Simmon, 2003). It, along with Griffith’s *The Battle at Elderbush Gulch*, marks the re-emergence of reactionary Indian westerns or what Williams (1977) refers to as residual cultural practices.

The film opens in England (London) where three members of the English upper class are involved in a relationship. The wife of one man and another man (Jim) fall in love. The husband sets it up so that the Jim is accused of stealing from the firm, which forces Jim to leave England for America. In New York City, Jim meets, a new character, Bill, at a New York restaurant where he has just prevented Bill from being a victim of a pick pocket. Bill and Jim become friends and head out West. We quickly meet the Chief of the Utes, who is seen at a bar, and his daughter, Nat-U-Ritch, who is played by Lillian Red Wing. Jim buys a ranch where he forbids his workers to drink. A feud develops between the outlaw Cash Hawkins and Jim. Meanwhile the Indian Chief is drunk hanging out in a bar and his daughter appears (she always seems to be lurking in the background). He strikes her and a white man in the bar attempts to kiss her, but a man steps up and stops him. Later, Cash Hawkins attempts to shoot Jim, but before he can do so, Cash is shot by Nat-U-Ritch, who then says to Jim "Me Kill Um." In a later scene Jim and Bill are at an Indian village and Jim becomes snow blind. He wanders around in the snow and falls down an embankment. Nat-U-Ritch goes in search of Jim and rescues him. He is taken to the Chief's lodge where a medicine man, dances around, trying to healing him. Nat-U-Ritch is in Jim's house where he is recovering and she places the gun with which she shot and killed Cash Hawkins in a dresser drawer. Jim and the Indian woman fall in love and several months later they are married. At first the Justice of Peace will not marry them, but is forced to do so by the barrel of gun. It is now six years later and Jim and Nat-U-Ritch have a six year child. Jim informs his hands that he is broke and he pays them off with a rifle and other material items. Jim and the Indian Chief smoke a pipe. Meanwhile back in London, Jim is discovered to be innocent of any wrong doing and people from England travel to the West to inform him and bring him

home. Meanwhile, the local sheriff is trying to find the man, who he thinks is Jim, who killed Cash.

The sheriff finds the gun used by Nat-U-Ritch to kill Cash. He and a posse set out to arrest her. The Indian chief, lurking in the background overhears that the sheriff with a posse is going to arrest Jim. He rides off to his Indian camp, informs them of the injustice and they ride off to save Jim. The sheriff's posse and the Indians arrive at Jim's ranch at the same time. Around this same time the people from England have arrived. The scene switches to Nat-U-Ritch who is seen praying and then pulls out a gun. The Indian Chief rides up behind her, but before he can save her, she shoots herself. The Chief brings her dead body to Jim and the film ends. We can only assume that Jim now unburdened by an Indian wife, is free to return to England with his son and regain his rightful place as a member of the British Aristocracy.

This film, similar to *Iola's Promise*, is representative of the Indian Western romantic genre where the white man and Indian woman fall in love, but in the end the Indian wife has to die to let the white man return to civilization. Smith (2003, p. 98) notes that in this film Red Wing plays the "role of the self-sacrificing Indian Maiden she and Young Deer had done so much to challenge."

Consequently with the rise of the studio system in the mid 1910s, old images return to the silver screen. The resistance films of *Young Deer* and *Red Wing*, and the sympathetic films of Griffith and Ince are marginalized. In addition, Indian actors continue to disappear. The reel Indian film *Ince* indicated to Luther Standing Bear that they should make turned out to be empty rhetoric (Deloria, 2004). Indians continued to be portrayed in Western films, but more often than not, it was white actors playing the part of Indians who are either marginalized or seen as savages. For example, James Cruze used hundreds of Indians in his film *The Covered Wagon*

(1924), a filmic representation of westward expansionism. The two prominent representations of Indians in this film are Indians as savages, and unsuccessful ones at that, and Fort Indians when making their appearance, do so, on the margins of the screen. The first Indian scene in the film is one in which warriors have captured a plow and it is being displayed outside the Chief's lodge. The plow is symbolic of white empire building associated with Jeffersonian yeoman farmers. The warriors are talking of going to war if civilization continues and it does continue. Later in the film Indians do attack the wagon train, but in the end the wagon train is saved by a group of white settlers who had earlier split off from the original wagon train. They arrive in Calvary style fashion and send the Indians fleeing.

Another film that symbolizes the return of older negative images is *The Vanishing Indian*, (1925) produced by George Sietz and adapted from Zane Grey's novel of the same name. This film is sympathetic to the plight of American Indians and laments the abuses of the reservation system, and yet the imagery of the vanishing American is coupled with the noble savage. Kilpatrick (1999, p. 30) writes: "*The Vanishing American* illustrates the noble but doomed Native stereotype, the brave warrior who loses the Darwinian struggle for survival." The film is different from the Grey's novel in that there is a prologue showing the various stages of human evolution starting with cave men. Indians are further advanced than cave men, but are not as advanced as white men (Kilpatrick, 1999). The film is in keeping with social Darwinism, Anglo progress and domination, where Indians must give way to the superior ways of White Europeans (Simmon, 2003) either by assimilation or by vanishing.

Simmon (2003) points out that the end of the silent Indian Western is marked by the film *The Silent Enemy*, featuring an Indian cast, produced by Paramount in a documentary style (Buscombe, 2006). It is a film set in Ontario, about Anishinabes (Ojibwa Indians) surviving

hunger in a Pre-Columbia period (Simmon, 2003). The film producers attempt to represent the Indians in an authentic way, although as Buscombe (2006, pp. 165-166) writes:

Much was made by the producers, W. Douglas Burden and William C. Chanler, of the authenticity of their film, which claimed to pay close attention to costume and customs in recreating scenes of Indian life from the age before whites arrived. No matter that the leading Indians hired to re-enact these scenes were drawn from a variety of different Indian nationalities, none of them Ojibwa; the presence of real Indians would serve to legitimate the spectacle being offered.

While this film is a story of survival, it is one that indicates that survival is in the past and not in the future, as Weaver (2006) notes. The Indians survived but they did so by moving further into the wilderness of Northern Ontario.

Western films came to reflect middle-class values, resulting in the decline in Indian films and Indians working in the emerging dream factory of Hollywood (Smith, 2003; Simmon, 2003). Indians as a group and as individuals could assimilate by becoming yeoman capitalists and by becoming Americanized through Indian Boarding Schools. And yet Indians did survive as tribes and as individuals by becoming both “capitalist” and “Americanized,” and by engaging in acts of cultural and political resistance designed to maintain Indianness. Cultural survival is evident in the rise of important Indian filmmakers as described above (Kilpatrick, 1999) and is evident in the tremendous growth of the Native American Film and Video Festival over the past several years. For example, Toensing (December 27, 2006) notes that the recent “festival screened 130 films and shorts by Native directors, producers, writers, actors, musician and technicians.” Toensing (December 27, 2006) goes on to point out that over the past 25 years there has been substantial increase in the number of Indian directors telling stories about Indians; a shift from non-Indian directors consulting with Indian communities to Indian directors telling Indian stories so in the words of Weaver (1997): “... the people might live.”

With the filmic Indian either becoming assimilated or vanishing, Southwest tourism was reviving Indian culture. During the early years of cinema, as mentioned above, ethnographic films were used to attract tourists to Colorado. With the expansion of the railroad lines westward and eastward from California, and to the Southwest by the Atchison, Topeka and the Santa Fe it was now possible for cultural tourism to develop and it did develop particularly in the Southwest through the efforts of the Fred Harvey Company, Anthropologists, and Eastern upper-class women living in Northern New Mexico. These actors played an important role in shaping the images of Southwestern Indians, most notably Pueblo Indians. Southwest cultural tourism is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Cultural Tourism in the Southwest

I hear many voices here on the grounds of the mission,
and I ask my daughter, 'what do you think happened to
the mission Indians?' She says, 'Oh mama, they all died.'
Then I tell her to go look in the mirror.
---Tish Hinojosa, cited in Bremer, (2004, p. 121)

In contemporary society, cultural tourism is a growth industry, with the objective of aiding economic development in certain areas that have experienced economic dislocation. Bryan (2003, p. 140) comments: "Tourism is big business and getting bigger. It's the second-largest industry in the Southwest," noting that "tourism is a \$12-billion-a-year industry" in Arizona (Bryan 2003, p. 161). Cultural tourism of the Southwest emerged during the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century at the time the U.S. was becoming a consumer society. As such, the growth in cultural tourism is linked to the emerging growth of consumer capitalism (Rothman, 2003). Sharing this view, Dilworth (2003, p.109) writes: "The desiring, roving, spectating, consuming tourist is the embodiment of the late capitalist individual." And yet, tourism is not a new phenomenon. It has been around as long as there were places to visit and sites to see (Franklin, 2003).

At the same time Edison and Sileg were making Indian films in the 1890s, themselves a form of tourism (Benjamin, 1973), and Wild West shows were touring in the Eastern U. S. and in Europe, Southwest tourism was an emerging industry. Shortly after the end of the Indian wars in the Southwest, this region became a tourist destination. Cultural tourism, like films,

marginalized Indians or recreated them in their own images of class and racial/ethnic hierarchies. The same images of Indians that appear in films are also evident in Southwest cultural tourism. Cultural tourism in the Southwest (1) reflects the image of the vanishing Indian represented in films and in other forms of popular culture; (2) romanticizes the past in which Indians, including the Navajo and the Pueblo Indians, were viewed as premodern and pre-industrial peoples; (3) links authenticity to premodern or primitive cultures and in some cases erased the memory of indigenous peoples, such as in Texas and California; and (4) represents Indians as childlike. And yet, both the Navajos and the Pueblo Indians continued to survive and grow, taking advantage of the growing tourist trade during the period of forced assimilation. Indians were not passive objects in the production and consumption of cultural tourism. Both Navajos and Pueblo Indians were active participants in the cultural tourism trade, shaping the interactions to the own advantage (Bsumek, 2008; Dilworth, 1996; Watkins, 1990). Like the Jews who survived the Holocaust, the act of survival was or is a form of resistance.

The chapter will explore the dialectic of domination and resistance as it played out within the structure and processes of cultural tourism in the Southwest. First, this chapter will discuss the marginalization of Indians in California and Texas, as both states used their Spanish missions to glorify their Hispanic past as a transitional past to Anglo domination in order to promote tourism. Next, the chapter will discuss the role played by the Harvey Company with its hotels and tourists shops, the Santa Fe railroad, and Indians Traders in this process. Finally, the chapter will close with a discussion of the role played by Eastern upper class women, who moved to Santa Fe and Taos, in fostering the development of Indian art, especially the production of high quality products, and in cultural tourism. They intended to present the Southwest and the cultures of the Navajo and Pueblo Indians in their own and often time conflicting images.

Bremer (2004) writing in *Blessed with Tourists*, which is a study of the relationship between religion and tourism in San Antonio, points out that the area now known as San Antonio, was always a destination for early travelers, including Paleo-Indians and a group of indigenous people known as the Payaya. The first group of tourists to visit this area was a Spanish colonial expedition, known as the Teran expedition, who came upon a group of Payayas living along the river banks of the San Antonio River. According to Fray Damian Massanet, writing in his diary on June 13, 1691, it was “a place that the Payaya people called Yanaguana” (Bremer, 2004, p.12). The Spanish expedition declared this site as a Spanish place and forever changed its meaning. As Bremer (2004, p. 12) writes: “This place of abundance waters on the broad plain of the Texas space became something new on that June day; indeed, the Spanish expedition made it a Christian place, a European place, a colonial place.” It was no longer seen as a Yanaguana place. The intention of this expedition was to Christianize indigenous people. The Indians, who originally lived in the area and attacked the missions, and who later worked in the missions for the Spanish, tend to be erased from the memory and history of San Antonio.

Over the centuries San Antonio was threatened, in turn, by hostile Indians, the countries of France and England, and then the U.S. As a result of these threats, Spanish authorities (1) issued an order to exterminate the Apaches and (2) designated San Antonio as the capital of Texas. After Mexico won its independence from Spain, the religious town of San Antonio and its missions became secularized. The San Antonio mission lands were distributed to local residents and by the time Texas became a Republic, the missions were no longer religious sites.

With the missions in ruins, they became historical sites, and yet they became important tourist attractions as the return of religious tourism helped to establish San Antonio as a modern city by relying “on the romantic imagining of a premodern time when conquistadors and

missionaries traversed the Texas landscape” (Bremer, 2004, p. 35). As is well known, the Alamo, a symbol of the Texas fight for independence against Mexico, became a sacred site and a tourist destination almost immediately after the battle. The Alamo came to represent a tourist site that underwent a religious conversion, if you will, from a military site to a sacred site. Bremer tells the story of how The Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DTR) gained ownership and control over both (1) the physical location of the Alamo and (2) the story of the Alamo. The story of the Alamo became a source of local, state, and national identity with reference to such words as “liberty, freedom, courage, bravery, sacrifice, perseverance, determination, and honor” (Bremer, 2004, p. 40). This selective story, which was at the same time anti-Mexican, anti-Catholic, and non-Indian, was consistent with what tourists held as core American values. This story is similar to the one story told by W. D. Griffith in his film *The Birth of a Nation*. One version of this film closes with the showing of the American flag and it is in color. The implication is that the Klu Klux Klan not only saved the South from liberals and Blacks, they saved the nation and its core values, such as freedom, from the tyranny of Northern liberals and emancipated Blacks. In similar fashion, the Alamo has come to represent American freedom. The DTR kept the remembrance of the Alamo focused on the church building, the sacred place where tourists are told the official story. However, from the beginning of the Alamo tourist experience, counter stories were being told; one by Senora Candelaria, who claimed Jim Bowie died in her arms. Bremer (2004, p. 44) writes: “She told a tale that represented an alternative imagining of the battle and its significance, subverting the anti-Mexican subtext of the dominant versions being circulated in San Antonio and across the nation.” Her story and alternative ones were marginalized by the gatekeepers of the official story. One story about the Alamo that has been marginalized has to do with seven men who surrendered. This story contradicts the official

story that the men defending the Alamo fought to the last man. Anderson (2005, p. 109) writes: “A few Texans (supposedly, seven) surrendered. Reputed to be among them was the former congressman and American folk hero Davy Crockett.” They were put to death the next morning.

The preservation of the other four San Antonio missions provides alternative narratives to the militaristic, nationalistic, and triumphant story of the Alamo. During the late 19th century, Father Francis Boucha, who served the faithful living outside the San Antonio missions, sought to preserve the missions of San Antonio for religious reasons. He also saw the restoration of missions as having tourist value. Not only did the Catholic Church recognize the tourist value of restoring the mission, but Aduba De Zavala a member of the DTR was interested in preserving the missions. De Zavala was a young school teacher who in the late 1880s organized a group of local women to become involved in preserving the past, so that the history of missions would not be lost. De Zavala’s group later joined the DTR and worked to restore the historical heritage of the missions. But it was not until the 1930s that historical restoration of the missions came to fruition and it was coupled with turning the missions into tourists sites as well as religious ones (Brenner, 2004).

Bremer recounts how the DTR, the Franciscans, and the Arts and Crafts movement were major players in the preservation movement, albeit with differing interests. However, Rodriguez (2003) is critical of the notion of cultural preservation. She (2003, p. 191) writes: “Preservation, whether Anglo, Indian, Hispano, or some combination, does not really counter tourism but can only raise the market value of that which it ‘preserves’.” Rodriguez notes that tourism can be a source of cultural identity as ethnic groups try to appropriate it for their own interests, and yet it can be exploitative and a source of ethnic conflict. And they are, as evidenced by the Alamo and the California missions. In order for the San Antonio missions to be

seen as authentic historical sites, it was necessary and important to include religion in the re-creation story, reflecting a Colonial Mexican heritage. And at the same time, the missions were practicing religious sites for the local parishioners who worship at them. Sometimes, tourists would participate in local mission services.

Texas was not the only state to see the value in the reinterpretation of old Spanish missions. During the early part of the 20th century, the state of California turned rundown Mexican missions into a romantic tourist trade that ironically recalled a glorified Mexican past, combined with an image of the vanishing Indian, to produce a cultural image of White California progress (Kropp, 2003). The California mission savers played a similar role in preserving California's Spanish missions that the DTR and others played in the restoration and historical memory of the mission at the Alamo. In both cases the historical narratives attached to the Spanish missions privileged the colonial past, while neglecting the Indian past.

In California the cultural myths of El Camino Real became part of the received tradition through which White Californians legitimated their dominant position within the structure of ethnic relationships. It was done so within the logic of Enlightenment progress and social Darwinism, linked to the myth or ideology of the vanishing Indian at the turn of the 20th century. Kropp (2003, p. 49) explains: "The march of civilization appeared unstoppable, a force of progress that gradually emptied the landscape of its native inhabitants and logically led (white) Americans to possess the land." The narrative told in the mission guidebooks reflected social Darwinism and imperialist nostalgia. When mentioned, the California Indians were romanticized, while at the same time they were degraded and seen as an inherently inferior race, Diggers. California Indians were placed at the bottom of the racial stratification system, destined to die out because of their own doing. Kropp (2003, p. 48) comments: "When tourists visited

California missions, they rarely saw Indians.” However, the mission priests were held in high esteem for their work to save the Indians. Kropp (2003, p. 50) writes: “Even Nolan Davis, on the same page that he labeled California Indians the ‘most stupid’ of all American natives, complimented the Franciscans for trying to ‘turn them into self-respecting, moral, law-abiding citizens’.” One of the reasons given for the decline of California’s mission system was the 1830s Mexican policy of secularization, which placed control of the missions in the hands of private owners and released the mission Indians. In addition to Indians’ innate inability to become civilized, White Californians also blamed the Mexican government and its “dreaded order of secularization” for the demise of the mission Indians. There was no mention that the doctrine of manifest destiny and genocidal practices played any part in the vanishing of the Indians and in the case of California the almost physical vanishing of Indians. Not only was the vanishing Indian a central motif in the filmic Indian it was an important theme in the development of mission tourism and Indian Country tourism as well.

The discourses of the vanishing Indian, the Indian frozen in the past, and the Indian as childlike, were an important part of the Harvey Company’s cultural tourism and of Indian traders, such as Lorenzo Hubbell (Bsumek, 2008). The Santa Fe Trail, which brought early Anglo explorers and traders to Santa Fe, also brought tourism to the Southwest in the late 19th century. The Fred Harvey Company in association with The Atchison, Topeka and the Santa Fe (ATSF) railroad brought both civilization and tourism to the Southwest and in so doing presented an image of the Indian Southwest, which “Renato Rosaldo has called ‘imperialist nostalgia,’ a sense of longing for what one is complicit in destroying or altering, in which the feeling of nostalgia is ‘innocent’ and what is destroyed is simply rendered as ‘lost’” (Dilworth, 1996, p. 79).

By the 1880s the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad was the leading railroad company doing business in the Southwest and as a result it facilitated regional economic development. It opened up new markets and increased industrial production primarily in such areas as logging and mining, and limited tourism (Bsumek, 2008). It also increased social mobility resulting in people migrating to the Southwest to seek employment opportunities in emerging industries. During the economic depression of the 1890s, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company fell on hard times and it was necessary to reorganize in order to survive. Railroad executives came to the conclusion that the future of the railroad was in tourism and they embarked upon an advertising campaign. Bsumek (2008, p. 31) explains: “Beginning in the 1890s, the railroad initiated its first attempt to attract eastern and European tourists to New Mexico and the Southwest. In 1896, the railroad spent millions of dollars on an advertising campaign of unprecedented size and scope.” The advertising campaign targeted the moneyed classes—the middle and upper classes. The campaign strategy helped to create the romanticized view of the Southwest Indians, especially the Navajo and Pueblo Indians, as primitive Indians who were pacified and basically harmless. In the case of the Navajo, the recreation of them as primitive Indians rather than as savages was initially a hard sell. However not to be deterred, the Santa Fe railroad and other tourists interests re-imagined the Navajo. Bsumek (208, p. 31-32) writes: “Beginning in the 1890s and continuing into the 1930s, the railroad and affiliated tourist industries created a romanticized vision of the Navajos as nonviolent, naturally talented, innocent, and beautiful ‘primitives,’ the so-called Navahos.” Bsumek uses the term Navaho to refer to the White man’s image of the Navajo.

In order to attract tourists to the Southwest, the Santa Fe Railroad formed a partnership with the Fred Harvey Company. The Santa Fe Railroad Company would build hotels along its

railroad lines so the tourists could stay in them for several days. The Harvey Company would decorate and operate these hotels. It was a partnership that lasted for 30 years. “These Hotels included: the Castaneda in Las Vegas, New Mexico (opened in 1899); the Alvarado in Albuquerque (1902); El Tovar, Grand Canyon (1905); El Ortiz, Lamy (1910); El Navajo, Gallup (1923); and LaFonda, Santa Fe (1926)” (Dilworth, 1996, p. 81). The women who worked for the Harvey Company at these hotels were known as the Harvey Girls (Poling-Kempes, 1991). The Harvey girls were young White women who were initially from the Midwest. The employment of Harvey girls came to an end after World War II. While the Harvey Company was not interested in addressing gender inequality issues, it did provide employment opportunities for mid-west farm women at the turn of the 20th century; although the Harvey girls had little chance of career mobility within the Harvey Company.

In order to promote tourism in the Southwest, the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe railroad undertook a massive campaign to market Southwest Indian culture. Part of the campaign involved employing artists such as Robert Henri and Ernest Blumenschein whose paintings of Pueblo Indians represented romantic realism. Stout (2007, p. 22) explains: “Portraits of Pueblo Indians by Robert Henri in the 1910s and 1920s, for example, combined realism with romantic heightening. Wistfulness for a vanished time and a supposedly vanishing people were cultivated by the Santa Fe Railroad in its patronage of artists who painted the Southwest.” However, the Harvey Company was not interested in promoting all Indian cultures. The Harvey Company promoted Navajo and Pueblo Indians who were seen as the most primitive and peaceful Indians in the Southwest. In other words, the company fostered a one-dimensional view of Indians in the Southwest. Apaches were not included because they were seen as too hostile or savage. To assist in developing the cultural tourism of the Pueblo Indians and the

Navajo the Harvey Company employed two individuals. One was Herman Schweizer. He “was instrumental in forming the collections of Indian material culture for the Harvey Company” (Dilworth, 1996, p. 83). His collections included high quality Pueblo art that private collectors wanted to buy. Schweizer also sold some of his collections to museums, such as the Field Museum and Museum of Natural History. Dilworth (1996) tells the story that William Randolph Hearst wanted to buy some high quality Navajo rugs that were in Schweizer’s collections, but Schweizer would not sell them. The other individual was Mary Colter who designed the interiors of the hotels. She, also, designed the main room of the Indian building in Albuquerque. It was designed in such a way that suggested to tourists that this is the way to present their cultural objects when they returned home. Colter’s design of the main room of the Indian building was masculine. Not only were Indian crafts and arts displayed and sold, but Indians themselves were on display; demonstrating such arts and crafts as how to weave rugs and construct pottery. The Indian artisans were part of the tourist experience. They were not allowed to talk to the tourists and tourists were discouraged from speaking to them. [Several years ago, my wife and I visited the Hubbell trading post in Ganado now operated by the National Park Service. There were one or maybe two Navajo women weaving rugs. As I recall there was a sign indicating that we should not speak to the women.]

Dilworth (1996, p. 87) mentions two Indian women artisans who “were promoted as celebrities by the Harvey company: Elle of Ganado, a Navajo weaver, and the Hopi-Tewa potter Nampeyo.” This was an early attempt to individualize communal art for the tourist trade. They were promoted as part of the tourist experience. Elle was on display in the Indian Building in Albuquerque and Nampeyo was on display and was “the star of Hopi House, which was built near the El Tovar Hotel at the Grand Canyon” (Dilworth, 1996, pp. 88-89). The Hopi House was

designed by Colter to show tourists how the Hopi lived; ignoring the fact that this was not how the Hopi actually lived. Although Elle and Nampeyo were the featured Indian artists, the Harvey Company employed other Indian artists to make pottery, weave rugs, and engage in silversmithing (Bsumek, 2008). They were making what became known as Indian-made arts and crafts; arts and crafts made in the “traditional” style and not mass produced by mechanical reproduction. Bsumek (2008) describes the actions of Oliver La Farge, who was instrumental in establishing “standards of genuineness,” when he discovered that Navajo silversmiths were using modern tools to which he objected. La Farge was not the only individual to protest the introduction of modern tools into the making of Indian-made products. “Anthropologist and regional promoter Edgar Hewitt; authors Mary Austin, Mabel Dodge Luhan, Ruth Bunzel, Elizabeth De Huff, and D. H. Lawrence; artist John Sloan; and many others in the southwestern intelligentsia advocated the preservation of indigenous production methods to save ‘primitive’ cultures” (Bsumek, 2008, pp. 36-37). In the case of the Navajos, as Bsumek (2008) points out, the production of Indian-made products by primitive methods existed in tourist literature and not in the real manufacturing of the cultural products.

In partnership with the Santa Fe railway, the Fred Harvey Company played a major role in the commodification of Indian art and other cultural products, as did the activities of upper class Eastern women. On one hand, these social actors helped to revise and recreate Indian arts and crafts that were disappearing. On the other hand, they turned communal artists into individual artists, while at the same time contributing to the image of authentic Indians as not modern Indians but pre-modern Indians frozen in the past. With the increase of tourism to the Southwest, Indian-made products became commercialized to meet the interests of tourists. Tourism supported the image of the vanishing Indian through the concept of authenticity. What

was considered authentic Indian art (for example, pottery) was made in the traditional style. A case in point concerns the individuals from the School of American Research who encouraged Maria Martinez and her husband, Julia, to reproduce pottery in the prehistoric polychromatic design (Chapman and Barrie, 2008; Howard and Pardue, 1996). They later developed their own style of pottery making and design which was “the highly polished black pottery that brought attention to the village of San Ildefonso Pueblo and changed the path of many southwestern potters” (Howard and Pardue, 1996, p. 74). The story is told that the Maria Martinez, the well known San Ildefonso potter, would sign pottery that she did not make. There are apparently three different signatures on her pottery: (1) her signature on pottery that she made, (2) her signature on pottery she did not make, and (3) her signature on pottery she made, but it was signed by someone else. They continued their association with the Harvey Company over the years and would welcome Harvey tourists when the Harvey Company organized “Indian Detours”. Other important artists who worked for the Harvey Company included: Paul Saufkie (Hopi), a silversmith; Fred Kabotie (Hopi painter), who gave tours and painted murals; and Margaret Tafoya (Santa Clara), who made small pottery items for the Harvey Company to sell at the La Fonda Hotel in Santa Fe.

The other major group of people who played a role in Southwest tourism was the Eastern upper class women who came to the Southwest and shaped Indian art into their own image (Mullin, 2001). Two important women were Amelia Elizabeth White and Martha Root White. They were wealthy Easterners who graduated from Bryn Mawr. They had supported the women’s suffrage movement and had “developed interests in Anthropology and American Indians before the First World War” (Mullin, 2001, p. 11). The White sisters were part of a group of well educated women from the East who purchased property in Northern New Mexico.

The Whites purchased property on a hillside in Santa Fe. They later donated this property to the School of American Research. This group of women sought to develop the idea of a national culture they saw that was being undermined by the industrial transformation of American society, with its increasing urbanization and growing immigration problems.

During the turn of the 20th century, as mentioned previously, there were numerous ethnic groups living in the urban cities each with their own particular culture. Cultural nationalists, Mullin (2001) notes, argued that if the U. S. were to become great, it needed a national culture. A national culture not sullied by (1) the commercialization of culture, (2) mass market consumers, and (3) the cultures of ethnic and racial groups. The cultural nationalists disliked the Chautauqua Society for its attempt to sell culture to the masses by providing educational opportunities by which the raising middle class could become cultured. Instead they argued, along with such anthropologists as Ruth Benedict and Edward Sapir, for an elitist view of culture, but one that would form a “common identity and purpose and a concern for the welfare of all members of the national community” (Mullin, 2001, p. 21). This cultural nationalism would transcend social antagonisms centered on class and ethnicity.

Other women associated with the Whites included the authors Mary Austin and Wilma Cather, Mabel Dodge who lived in Taos and later married Tony Luhan of Taos Pueblo, and other alumni of Bryn Mawr who had developed a sense of social responsibility. One of whom was Elizabeth Sergeant, whose “interests had shifted from helping the poor to land rights, art, and religious freedom among Pueblo Indians” (Mullin, 2001, p. 35-36). These women were social reformers. They were interested in the welfare of Indians and the development Indian art, but they did so by imposing their own perspective. They were concerned that tourist art promoted by the Harvey Company would result in the degradation of Indian art. As such, the Indian art they

promoted was in reaction to tourist art which Margretta Dietrich viewed as “*garish* and *restless*, *gaudy* and *cheap*,” that “are heavily class-laden terms” (Mullin, 2001, p. 124). As mentioned above, the Harvey Company did collect fine Indian art to sell to well-heeled customers. It was the tourist trade items to which Dietrich and others objected. Many of these women, like Dietrich, dressed or played Indian, but more often than not “they were interested in having Indians, play Indian” (Mullin, 2001, p. 71) especially in the area of Indian art. Dietrich and the White sisters were instrumental in the development of Indian art markets, not only in Santa Fe but on the East and West coasts. These women found New Mexico a place where women were at home; it was not a masculine space, but a landscape where women could reinvent their own identities (Stout, 2007). Not only did they promote Indian art, they also advocated for religious freedom and religious pluralism.

While recognizing there were different cultures, nevertheless, the White sisters and their friends, as mentioned above, sought to develop a national culture whose setting was in the Southwest in general and in the Pueblo Indians in particular. These Eastern upper class women who had settled in Taos and Santa Fe in the early part of the 20th century held a one-dimensional view of Indians (Bsumek, 2008). These women, who moved to Northern New Mexico, described it as “a place apart.” They had left New York City and the East Coast to escape the corrupting forces of modernity. Along with anthropologists, such as Hewett and Chapman, they were instrumental in the development or rediscovery of “traditional” Indian Art, including pottery, jewelry, and Navajo blankets. Their objective was to promote the making of high quality Indian art and especially Pueblo Indian pottery which could be sold at Indian market in Santa Fe and marketed and sold in well-heeled East and West coast galleries. These women supported the efforts of anthropologists to preserve traditional Pueblo culture and challenged the

Federal Indian policy of forced assimilation. They did so by using the traditional Pueblo culture as a measure to evaluate what they saw was the malaise of an emergent capitalist consumer culture. John Collier, who spent some time with Mabel Dodge in the early 1920s, saw the collective values of the Pueblo Indians as being superior to the individualistic values of a capitalist market economy (Watkins, 1990). He continued to hold to these ideas when he became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. East Coast women attempted to manipulate the image of Pueblo Indians in order to critique middle class society, a middle class that the tourist trade, in including the Harvey Company, was cultivating.

In short, Eastern upper class women were drawn to the Southwest in general, and to New Mexico in particular, in order to escape the ethnic working-class masses and the underdeveloped culture of an emerging industrial society. They sought to establish a cultural nationalism that was a pre-modern one, encouraging Indian Art in their own elite image and fostering Indian markets where high quality work was sold not only in Santa Fe but in well-heeled art galleries in the East. This cultural nationalism as Swentzell notes (2003) simplified Pueblo culture and was inconsistent with the multiple realities of Pueblo cultures. Swentzell's (2003) discusses how the intentions of members of the Taos Society of Artists created a one-dimensional view of Pueblo life and commercial art in the service of the Harvey Company.

Not only did the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe railroad maintain and celebrate imperialist nostalgia, but upper class educated woman, which Mullin (2001) refers as Bryn Mawrters engaged in imperialist nostalgia as well. The Bryn Mawrters, continued the trend of Easterners defining the West. The Harvey Company and the railroads promoted tourism and the buying of Southwestern artifacts or tourist objects. The women from Bryn Mawr rejected tourist

culture and trinkets items for sale in favor of a more “authentic” Indian art. Both of these movements brought changes to Southwest Indians and both reinforced previous images and stereotypes, such as the vanishing Indian and the noble savage. And yet Indian artists did engage in acts of resistance by shaping cultural products to reflect their own interests.

The dialectic of domination and resistance was at work with the establishment of tourism in the Southwest, including the commodification of Indian art. Fred Harvey, in partnership with the Santa Fe Railway, played a major role in this process, as did the activities of upper class Eastern women. On one hand, these social actors helped to revise and recreate Indian arts and crafts that were disappearing (Chapman and Barrie, 2008). On the other hand, they turned communal artists into individual arts, while at the same time contributing to the image of authentic Indians as not modern Indians but pre-modern Indians frozen in the past. With the increase of tourism to the Southwest, Indian-made products became commodified to meet the interests of tourists. Tourism supported the image of the vanishing Indian through the concept of authenticity. What was considered authentic Indian art (pottery) was made in the traditional style.

Rodriguez (2003, p. 187) presents a counter tour of the Southwest selective tradition of what she calls Indianism which “is the romantic idealization, appropriation, and commodification of Indians, Indian culture, and all things Indian by white people since before the beginning of the 1900s.” She argues that the tourist gaze is a White gaze, which renders Anglo culture in the Southwest (New Mexico) invisible. Furthermore, she claims that triculturalism and Indianism are antimodernist in that they turn away from or “flee” from modern industrial society, with its fragmentation and alienation. The theme of anti-modernism or flight from modernity is reflected in the arts and crafts movement and the Bryn Mawrers’ activities.

The arts and craft movement was “an ambiguous antimodernist response to the increasing fragmentation and rationalization of modern urban-industrial living” (Shaffer, 2003, p.81). The creation of the Southwestern tourism industry and tourist culture was a search for authenticity or an authentic experience as defined by upper class Eastern women who fled the modern East for what they saw as the pre-modern Southwest symbolized by Pueblo Indians.

CHAPTER 6

Findings

Where there is power, there is resistance.
--Foucault (cited in Bernstein, 1992, p. 160)

The question this chapter addresses is how well critical theories explain and help us understand the patterns of domination and resistance among Anglos and Indians that are found in Western Indian silent films and Southwest cultural tourism during the period of forced assimilation. Although Theodor Adorno's and Max Horkheimer's critical theory is useful in helping explain and understand broad patterns of domination, their view of domination particularly after World War II lacks a theory of resistance.

The theoretical ideas of Michel Foucault are helpful in that they do provide a critique of domination and a theory of resistance, in particular Foucault's notion of the rhetoric of disruption (Bernstein, 1992). A serious limitation of Foucault's theory of resistance is that his theory does not allow us to make a distinction between types and degrees of resistance. Raymond Williams' cultural materialism (1) allows us to overcome Foucault's limitation and (2) allows us to overcome Adorno's and Horkheimer's lack of a theory of resistance. In other words, Williams' dynamic theory of cultural materialism allows us to identify patterns of domination and resistance and provides us with categories to distinguish between types and degrees of resistance.

I conclude that Williams' theory of cultural materialism is the most useful of the theoretical frameworks discussed and that the ideas of Adorno and Horkheimer and Foucault can be incorporated in his cultural materialism. In what follows, I will evaluate the usefulness of

these theoretical approaches in the understanding and explanation of Indian representations in Western Indian films and cultural tourism. I will first assess Adorno's and Horkheimer's theory of domination and the culture industry, followed by an assessment of Foucault, and close with an evaluation of Williams' cultural materialism, including how the other two theories can be subsumed under his theory.

It was during and after the World War II that Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) undertook a sustained critique of the dialectic of Enlightenment where the forces of liberation turned into forces of domination. The Age of Enlightenment that brought about the modern European society and freed modern society from the shackles of Feudalism, resulted in the domination of non-European cultures, including the indigenous populations of North America. As modern society developed, the forces or patterns of domination rather than the forces of liberation came to control social life. Technical rationality, a central feature of modern society, came to be equated with rationality and reason, manifested in the Weber's (1959) iron cage of bureaucracy and later in what Habermas (1987) referred to as an administrative society and what Marcuse (1964) referred to as a one-dimensional society. The unifying theme in their work is the increasing bureaucratization of society. In fact, Foucault's (1977) view of the birth of prison with its panoptical principle is consistent with the rationalization of modern industrial society. Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) turned their attention to the cultural industry of which both film and tourism are examples. They argued that the cultural industry had erased the distinction between high culture and low culture. This was because the processes of technical rationality, with its increasing division of labor, specialization and growth of experts, have colonized the cultural industry, including film and cultural tourism, leading to the standardization of everyday life, as well as social and cultural institutions. Horkheimer and Adorno (1977, p. 120) write

“...for culture now impresses the same stamp on everything: Film, radio and magazines make up a system which is uniform as a whole and in every part.”

Using critical theory as conceptualized by Horkheimer and Adorno (1977), Indian representations in both Western Indian silent films and cultural tourism are processes of domination. In fact both Western Indian silent films and cultural tourism are part of the culture industry (Adorno, 1991; Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972), a cultural industry that creates and recreates patterns of domination and resistance (Williams, 1977). Films and cultural tourism represent the dialectic of the Enlightenment, in which the original emancipatory forces of the Enlightenment, including science and reason, turn into their opposite, forces of domination. Based on the ideas of Horkheimer and Adorno, Western Indian silent films, with the exception of the films directed by James Young Deer, and cultural tourism reflect and support through the use of negative Indian images the cultural domination of Anglos over Indians. As I have indicated above, the European Enlightenment thinkers, such as Hobbes and Rousseau, drew on the images of the both the noble savage and the bloodthirsty savage to critique European aristocratic society. These images and others, such as the Indian as childlike, the Indian living in the past, and the vanishing Indian expressed in Western Indian silent films, reflect patterns of domination consistent with the bourgeois values of individualism, achievement, progress and socio-cultural evolution (social Darwinism) embedded in the Federal Indian policy of allotment and forced assimilation. A similar pattern is found in the cultural tourism of the American Southwest and the commodification of Indian-made tourist items and art. The Harvey Company and Indian traders (Bsumek, 2008; Dilworth, 1996; Mullin, 2001) encouraged Pueblo and Navajo artists to produce traditional artifacts that could be sold to tourists. In California the Spanish missions were turned into tourist sites in which the role played in the missions by the California Indians

was marginalized (Kropp, 2001). In San Antonio, Texas, the DRT gained ownership of the story of the Alamo, a story that was anti-Mexican, anti-Catholic, and non-Indian, and a story that became a source of local, state, and national identity (Bremer, 2004). The Eastern upper class women who moved to Northern New Mexico continued the patterns of domination. They recognized the collective values of Pueblo Indians, and yet they used these values in their attempt to keep Pueblo Indians tied to their past while at the same time turning their traditional cultural products, such as pottery making, into commodities to be sold in high quality boutiques and in high end markets, such as the Santa Fe market that they created (Burke, 2008; Mullin, 2001). The Eastern women were individuals who valued high culture and despised mass culture, including the Indian-made tourist art sold in Harvey Company stores and railroad stops. These are cases in which the culture industry reflected and maintained Anglo domination over Indians. And yet, as I have discussed in chapters 3, 4, and 5, Wild West shows, Western Indian films, and Southwest cultural tourism provided counter stories that reflect patterns of resistance.

So while the critical theory of Horkheimer and Adorno illuminate the various forms of Anglo domination, it is not very useful in explaining forms of Indian resistance. In fact, one gets the impression from reading Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) on the dialectic of Enlightenment, as well as Marcuse's (1964) one-dimensional man, that any type of resistance is futile and will be co-opted. This is why it is beneficial to bring into the discussion Foucault's views on power and resistance. Foucault does not view power from a top down perspective. He sees power circulating throughout society and it can be used by dominant groups as well as by subordinate groups to counter their oppressors. In other words, for Foucault power is both positive and negative and it is repressive as well as constitutive (Baert, 2001). The films of James Young Deer are an illustration of how Indians can use film as a source of power to their own advantage

and interests, using film to counter the negative stereotypes or images of Indians that circulate throughout society. The films of James Young Deer, the alternative story of the Alamo told by Senora Candelaria, and the alternative stories of the other missions along the San Antonio River (Bremer, 2004) illustrate Foucault's concept of the rhetoric of disruption by which he means "deliberately using hyperbolic rhetorical constructions in order to compel us to disrupt and question our traditional *understandings* ... (italics in the original, Bernstein 1991, p. 155). This is to say, the films of Young Deer calling into question or challenging the dominant filmic repressive images of Indians are illustrations of Foucault's rhetoric of disruption. For example in Young Deer's *Indian Bride* an Indian has married a white woman. In *Young Deer's Return*, Young Deer's protagonist refuses an offer by a white woman's father to marry his daughter who he had previously saved, and returns to his tribe to take an Indian bride. The rhetoric of disruption is evident in Bremer's (2004) account of Senora Candelaria's claim that Jim Bowie died in his arms and in the account by Anderson (2005) that several defenders of the Alamo surrendered.

The limitation of Foucault's rhetoric of disruption is that all types of resistance groups, including ones that are in conflict with one another, are grouped together. Resistance groups vary from reactionary ones to revolutionary ones. In other words not all oppositional or resistance movements are emancipatory. Resistance groups can be and often are reactionary forces of oppression. For example, the resistance activities of Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, Chief Joseph, and Geronimo were not emancipatory, but were self-defeating. This is the problem with Foucault's use of the rhetorical of disruption and resistance (Bernstein, 1992). He does not provide us with a mechanism to judge whether resistance to or disruption of the dominant culture is reactionary or progressive. Bernstein (1992; 160) explains:

For there are the subjected knowledges of women, Blacks, prisoners, gays who have experienced the pain and suffering of exclusion. But throughout the world there are also the subjected knowledges of all sorts of fundamentalists, fanatics, terrorists, who have their own sense of what are the unique or most important dangers to be confronted.

This is where the work of Raymond Williams (1977) becomes quite useful because Williams allows us to differentiate among different types of resistance from reactionary to reform to revolutionary. While Chauncey Yellow Robe argued that Cody's Wild West show allowed Indians to remain traditional Indians and not assimilate, other Indians like Sitting Bull did participate in his show as a means of countering reservation life and did provide Indians a mechanism to escape from the poverty of reservation life. This reflects a pattern of social reform which is neither reactionary nor revolutionary. In much the same way as the emerging silent film industry provided show Indians employment as the Wild West shows were coming to an end. While cultural tourism emphasized traditional Indians cultures, cultures that were in the past, they also provided employment for Pueblo and Navajo Indians, allowed the Pueblo Indians to recreate an art form (pottery making) that was close to extinction, and also allowed Pueblo Indians to create non-traditional or contemporary Indian pottery. And yet the individualization of Pueblo pottery introduced and supported by anthropologists and by Eastern upper class women undermined the collective identity of Indian tribes.

The films of James Young Deer for a short period of time represented Williams counter-hegemonic movement. Young Deer made Indian films that subverted the dominant pattern seen in other Western Indian films. As the movie industry changed to the studio system, the role of Indians in Westerns declined. Films reflected the dominance of technical rationality, and the bureaucratization of the movie industry in the form of the studio system. There was little room for innovation in the stories being told, they tended to be formulaic.

Horkheimer's and Adorno's discussion of the three types of domination and the increasing colonization of social institutions by technical rationality are illustrations of Williams' selective tradition. The selective tradition is the process by which Anglos select certain cultural images, such as the noble savage, the bloodthirsty savage, the vanishing Indian, from the totality of images available and then use these images to maintain Anglo control over Indians. As Williams (1977) as well as Giddens (1994) point out the selective tradition is a dynamic one that is constantly being challenged and needs to be maintained. Foucault's discussion of the circulation of power, the rhetoric of disruption and resistance are used to challenge the selective tradition. The problem with Foucault's views on resistance is that he does not provide a mechanism by which one can identify types and degrees of resistance. For example, if we take certain Western Indian films of D. W. Griffith and view them as representing oppositional images of dominant Anglo-Indian relations and compare them to the films of James Young Deer from Foucault's perspective there is no set of guidelines or principles to differentiate between the reform, *Iola's Promise*, and reactionary, *the Battle of Elderbush Gulch*, films of Griffith, and the counter hegemonic films of James Young Deer. However, the beauty of Williams' theory of cultural materialism is that he provides us with a conceptual framework with which to identify types and degrees of resistance. There are reactionary movements, which are culturally traditional that are holdovers from a previous past, and are represented by D.W. Griffiths' film of *The Battle of Elderbush Gulch*. There are reformist movements which are cultural practices that engage in piecemeal change of the selective tradition. Examples would be Griffith's sympathetic films, the cultural work of the Eastern upper class women living in Northern New Mexico, and the alternative stories of the San Antonio missions other than the Alamo. Then there are counter-hegemonic practices that question and challenge the dominant culture and its supporting social

institutions, illustrated by the films of James Young Deer and the oppositional stories about the Alamo. Returning to the idea that critical theory is a theory with a practical intent (Held, 1980), Williams' cultural materialism provides both a theoretical framework to identify dominant, repressive and progressive Anglo-Indian cultural practices and a guide to engage in social activism.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

This thesis explored Indian images and Indian representations in silent films and in cultural tourism of the Southwest during the Allotment and Assimilation period of U.S. Indian Federal policy (1887 – 1928). The two significant federal policies designed to bring about Indian assimilation into Anglo society were the Dawes Act passed in 1887, which resulted in Indian Reservation lands being divided into individual allotments, and the Indian Boarding School movement, which was a policy of forced assimilation; Americanizing Indians through education. These federal policies formed the backdrop to the study of Indian images in silent films and cultural tourism. It was during this period that the U. S. was undergoing a major social transformation from a Jeffersonian agrarian society to an industrial capitalist society, including the emergence of a consumerism. The prevailing representations of Indians were the vanishing Indian, the historic Indian, the Indian as a cultural artifact, the Indian as primitive, and the continuation of two previous images: the Indian as a bloodthirsty savage and the Indian as the noble savage. The latter two have their origins in the European Enlightenment (Berkhofer, 1979; Francis, 1992; Pearce, 1988). These images and representations were ideological structures that continued or justified the domination of Indians after the end of the Indian wars. And yet, during this period there were counter images and counter representations of Indians that challenged the dominant cultural views of them. These counter images are found in early silent films especially in the work of James Young Deer (Buscombe, 2006; Simmon, 2003) and to a certain extent in the images associated with cultural tourism of the Southwest (Bremer, 2004).

The mode of inquiry that guided this thesis is the tradition of critical theory. Critical theory is a theory that is both interested in explaining and understanding how society operates and interested in making society a better place to live for all peoples (Held, 1980; Horkheimer, 1972). It is a theory with practical intent. It is also a theory that changes as society changes. My use of critical theory is a broad one, drawing not only on the Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, but contemporary theorists, such as Jurgen Habermas, Michel Foucault, and Raymond Williams.

Shortly after the end of the Indian Wars, symbolized by the Massacre of Wounded Knee in 1890, both film and cultural tourism of the Southwest emerged as important cultural activities and forces. The dialectic of domination and resistance found expression in both the emerging film industry and in cultural tourism. While Anglo domination of Indians was the prevailing relationship between Anglos and Indians both within the film industry and the cultural tourism industry, there were times when Indian resistance, in varying degrees, emerged. Resistance also occurred in Wild West shows, including the Wild West shows of Buffalo Bill Cody (Kasson, 2000). Certainly, Wild West shows exploited American Indians and represented Indians in stereotypical ways. However, many of the Indian performers saw Wild West shows as an opportunity to maintain their cultural identity, to travel, and to escape imprisonment and reservation poverty. The shows also provided Indians the opportunity to learn about Anglo society. With the rise of cinema, Indians who performed in the Wild West shows migrated toward films (Simmon, 2003; Smith, 2003).

The first Indian film, entitled the *Sioux Ghost Dance*, was made by the Edison Company in 1894. During the 1890s the Edison Company made several other descriptive Indian films. In the early 1900s, other film makers tried their hand at making Indian Western films. One such

individual was William Selig who hired a Colorado businessman, Harry H. Buckwalter, to make western films in Colorado. Buckwalter, who wanted to market Colorado as a tourist site, made several descriptive Indian films to encourage tourism (Simmon, 2003; Smith, 2003). By 1906-07, Indian Western films were declining, but they did not die as predicted. From the period of 1908-1913 twenty percent of films made were Westerns and Indian Western films. It is this period in which we find sympathetic and counter-hegemonic films being made. They included films made by D.W. Griffith and the Indian director James Young Deer. D. W. Griffith's films were both sympathetic and reactionary. By 1913, Griffith's *The Battle of Elderbush Gulch* signified his shift to portraying Indians as bloodthirsty savages and representing Indians as unable to assimilated into White society. His representation of Indians in *The Battle of Elderbush Gulch* is similar to his representation of Black Americans in *The Birth of a Nation*. James Young Deer, along with his wife Lillian Red Wing, made a series of films that (1) subverted the dominant miscegenation relationships, (2) advocated Indian nationalism, and (3) pointed to an Indian future. However, the release of Cecil B. De Mille's *The Squaw Man* in 1914 marked the decline of Indian-made films and the return of reactionary Indian westerns. In addition to the narrative films being made, there are image makers who were producing both ethnographic photos and films about the vanishing Indian. They included Joseph K. Dixon, Edward Curtis, and Robert Flaherty. James Cruze's *The Covered Wagon* (1924) and George Sietz's *The Vanishing Indian* (1925) returned to older negative images of Indians. The end of the silent era in Indian Western films is symbolized by the film, *The Silent Enemy*. In this film, set in a pre-European contact, the Anishinabes are starving and in order to survive they push further into the wilderness of Northern Ontario in search of food. They find food and survive by living in traditional ways.

Cultural tourism of the Southwest emerged shortly after the Indian wars. Like film makers, the promoters of Southwest tourism created images of Indians based on their own cultural definitions of what Indians should be (Burke, 2008; Dilworth, 1996; Mullin, 2001). Cultural tourism continued the previous representations of Indians found in popular culture, including films. In Texas and California the Spanish missions became historical sites that reflected a romantic view of the past; a view that glorified the Spanish past, but denigrated the Indian past, and promoted White Anglo progress. To be sure there were counter narratives of the missions, such as the one told about the Alamo by Senora Candelaria, but the dominant narrative linked the missions to the good works of Catholicism and marginalized the role the Spanish played in the elimination of Indigenous peoples from Texas (Bremer, 2004). A similar narrative is found in the cultural tourism of the California missions. During the turn of the 20th century, tourist promoters glorified the Spanish past reflected in the missions, ignoring the Indian past, in the service of Anglo Californian progress (Kroop, 2001).

The development of cultural tourism in the Southwest undertaken by the Santa Fe Railroad and Fred Harvey Company, and the promotion of Indian art by Eastern upper class women continued the theme of the vanishing Indian (Burke, 2008; Dilworth, 1996; Mullin, 2001). Furthermore, Southwest Indians were seen as authentic Indians producing authentic primitive Indian art, assisted by anthropologists who reintroduced these art forms to Indians (Chapman and Barrie, 2008). The idea of primitivism was also encouraged by the Eastern upper class women who moved to and lived in Taos and Santa Fe. All of these social actors perpetuated the one-dimensional view of Southwest Indians by focusing on the Pueblo Indians and the Navajo. Many of the Eastern upper class women came to Northern New Mexico to get away from modern society; they saw Taos and Santa Fe as a world apart from the cultural

elitism of New York. As such they saw themselves as a new cultural elite who want to develop a feminist alternative view to the masculine world. They did so by encouraging primitivism and high quality Pueblo art to criticize the alienation and degradation of modern society. This criticism was based on a view of cultural nationalism that emphasized returning to a pastoral primitive past, instead of looking forward to an emancipatory future.

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