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DIPLOMA THESIS

The Use of Cultural Stereotypes in Narratives about Native Americans in Selected Literary Works

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Využití kulturních stereotypů v narativech o původních amerických obyvatelích ve vybraných literárních dílech

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I have authored this diploma thesis titled "The Use of Cultural Stereotypes in Narratives about Native Americans in Selected Literary Works" under the guidance of my supervisor doc. Mgr. Josef Fulka, Ph.D. independently using the cited sources and literature. I further declare that this thesis has not been used to obtain another degree.

Prague, July 27th, 2025

David Skála

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ABSTRAKT

Tato diplomová práce nahlíží na problematiku spojenou s reprezentací původních obyvatel dnešní Ameriky v americké literatuře psané bělochy napříč třemi stoletími. Předpokladem je, že vybraní autoři, jmenovitě James Fenimore Cooper, Sarah Margaret Fullerová, Cormac McCarthy a David Grann pracují s kulturními stereotypy. Prvotním cílem práce je však kriticky prozkoumat, jak různé stereotypy vůbec vznikly a proč jsou v literatuře využívány. Podkladovou hypotézou je, že stereotypní vyobrazení souvisí s kolektivní kulturní představivostí. Práce pro tento výzkum využívá komparativní a kontextuální analýzy. Její teoretický rámec vychází zejména z postkoloniální teorie a zahrnuje také historický kontext vzniku jednotlivých stereotypů. Praktická část je pak zaměřena na rozbor jednotlivých literárních děl v návaznosti na představené historické souvislosti, které ovlivnili vznik vytyčených stereotypů. Celkově je tak možné odhalit, jak dějiny autory ve vnímání původního obyvatelstva ovlivnili a do jaké míry vybraní spisovatelé ve svých narativech jednotlivé stereotypy používají, přetváří nebo se od nich distancují. Výzkum je klíčový nejen pro zvýšení porozumění kulturní reprezentaci původních obyvatel Spojených států amerických, ale je zásadní i pro dekonstrukci podobných mylných představ, ke kterým přispívají jak dějiny, tak psané slovo.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA

stereotyp, kultura, původní obyvatelé, narativ, literatura, miskoncepce

ABSTRACT

This diploma thesis addresses the issue related to the representation of Native American people in American literature written by Caucasian authors across three centuries. The premise is that the selected authors, namely James Fenimore Cooper, Sarah Margaret Fuller, Cormac McCarthy and David Grann work with cultural stereotypes. However, the primary aim of this thesis is to critically examine how the various stereotypes originated and why they are used in literature. The underlying hypothesis is that stereotypical depictions are related to collective cultural imagination. Comparative alongside contextual analyses are utilised in the thesis for this type of research. The theoretical framework is mainly influenced by postcolonial theory and includes historical context linked to the emergence of particular stereotypes. The practical part examines the individual literary works in relation to the historical context presented, which influenced the emergence of the delineated stereotypes. Overall, it is thus possible to reveal how history has influenced writers' perceptions of Indigenous peoples and the extent to which the selected writers use, reshape or distance themselves from each stereotype in their narratives. The investigation is not only crucial for an increased understanding of the cultural representation of Native Americans in the United States, but it is also essential for deconstructing similar misconceptions to which both history and the written word contribute.

KEYWORDS

stereotype, culture, indigenous people, narrative, literature, misconception

Contents

1 Introduction

Literature is a great tool for conveying information and has been used for such purpose for thousands of years now. Its usefulness is related to the universality of narratives, which are a central element for the construction of individual and collective meanings. Simply put, stories are a target of interpretation which is bound to influence readers. Having read poetry, novels, fiction and non-fiction featuring Indigenous characters, colonial America, Indian Reservations and life on the American frontier, I have noticed that the portrayal of Native American people can drastically differ. Indigenous authors tend to contradict general notions about people from their ethnic and show readers their diversity but also endured hardships. These themes can be found, for example, in the works of Louise Erdrich, Leslie Marmon Silko or Sherman Alexie. Mainstream literature, regularly referred to as the canon, on the other hand, is known for its usage of reductive and often harmful depiction of the Native American population. Besides, other forms of media, like television and radio, have contributed to the inaccurate representation of the ethnic too. Readers, viewers or listeners can nevertheless form their own opinion using additional information or remain as passive audience which accepts presented ideas without verifying them first.

Before entering the sphere of academia, my own knowledge of the Indigenous inhabitants of North America was quite limited. Through lectures on literature, I learnt about the field of post-colonial writing which includes the Native American Renaissance and authors who succeed it. As a result, my bachelor thesis researched how Sherman Alexie's semi-autobiographical novel *The Absolutely True Diary of a Part-Time Indian* (2007) depicts the life of Native Americans both inside and outside the reservation system. The research showed that Alexie's story matches reality and corresponds to centuries of continuous repression experienced by the Indigenous population. The results were intriguing and hence the matter of Native American literature was explored in another thesis of mine focused on the role of trauma and displacement among selected Indigenous authors. This investigation was slightly more extensive and confirmed that Native American authors reflect trauma together with the effects of displacement in their work through what is called historical consciousness and collective memory.

All four examined literary works exhibited the use of trauma and displacement as key elements in the narration despite the authors being virtually unrelated. Their only common feature was their ethnicity and the fact that their ancestors experienced some form of forced removal or tragic event. It was this finding which led me to the idea of exploring what are the common features of narratives, which include Native American characters, authored by people belonging to majority population in America. Such approach allows for continuation of the already extensive research but from another angle. Correspondingly, I again chose four literary works for analysis with the intention to find similarities among them. Crucial aspect for the research is a wider time span in which the literary works subjected to analysis were published. After reading each book, it became evident that every single one employs some form of cultural stereotype[1], which either glamorises or disparages the Indigenous people, even though the authors wrote their respective books in three different centuries. Close examination of the books published across three centuries should reveal how particular authors worked with stereotypical perceptions. The underlying hypothesis is that stereotypes have shaped public perception of the Indigenous ethnic and contributed to the ignorance of injustices perpetrated against the Natives. More importantly, the presence of stereotypes against Native Americans persists as people across the globe still imagine the group as tribes living in teepees and wearing face paint.

The theoretical framework then therefore seeks to uncover what is characteristic of stereotypes against Indigeous peoples. It further incorporates historical timeline as a tool for contextualising the gradual emergence of cultural stereotypes. Information gathered from academic articles, studies, historians and other scholars are ergo the backbone of the thesis. Once typical features are delineated and historical development of stereotypes against the Native American population is provided, the dominant types need to be addressed in detail. The origin of particular types of stereotypes as well their prominence in literature can consequently be explained. The thesis thus intends to address a research gap by exploring discrete archetypes of stereotypical perception in literature which includes Native Americans as a central theme.

[1] According to Cambridge Dictionary, stereotype is preconceived notion about someone or something, typically associated with inaccurate or misleading generalisations.

Existing research is going to be extended in the practical part of the thesis by analysing how selected authors, namely James Fenimore Cooper, Sarah Margaret Fuller, Cormac McCarthy and David Grann, in different historical contexts work with stereotypical representations. In order to do that effectively, the theoretical framework itself must be firmly underpinned by postcolonial theory, which is an integral part of the critical perspective used. In this case it borrows from the work of prominent authors in the field like Loomba, Vizenor and Ashcroft. These scholars highlight that mechanisms of literary representation are related to the collective cultural imagination which is influenced by history. The practical part, meaning analysis of the examined books, is to confirm or deny it as it will mirror the theoretical background. Furthermore, it is possible to reveal whether the stereotypical portrayal is as popular as it seems from a historical point of view, or whether the authors tried to work with or disprove the stereotypes. One might argue that some authors used cultural stereotypes to evoke irony or even undermine the popular themes. However, naive or less critical readers are not guaranteed to interpret the intent. Instead, people are liable to read fiction as reality.

The importance of this research is therefore in its ability to increase a general understanding of the longer-term challenge which is the cultural representation of Aboriginal people in the United States of America. Recognising the origins as well as reinforcement of stereotypes including painted faces, savagery, scalping, or susceptibility to alcoholism, which are often mistakenly applied to an entire diverse population, is essential to the deconstruction of similar misconceptions.

1.1 Research Questions

Native American representation in all forms of media remains to be a complex issue. It is deeply entangled with historical power dynamics, colonial narratives and shifting cultural perceptions. Since the largest ethnic group in the United States of America is Caucasian, it can be argued that white people have played a pivotal role in shaping societal understanding of the local Indigenous population across the world. With respect to the presented facts, exploration of the North American historical development is a needed component for delineation of the most common stereotypes associated with Native Americans. The research then aims to critically examine the mechanisms of literary representation and demonstrate that stereotypes relate to collective cultural imagination. Additionally, another goal is to explore whether stereotypes are static or dynamic discursive practices. By analysing literary works which were published over a span of three centuries, the investigation seeks to unravel possible interconnections between literature, power but also cultural memory. Nonetheless, the presumptions can be refuted as each of the authors approaches the depiction of Indigenous people in his or her own unique way. The main research question therefore stands as follows:

1. *How does the literary discourse of Caucasian authors construct, reconstruct, or deconstruct stereotypical representation of Native Americans in various historical contexts?*

1.2 Methodology and Literature Review

Choice of adequate research methods alongside corresponding literature is merged in this chapter because of the influence selected works have had on the subsequent analysis. Cultural representation has been an issue for Native Americans ever since the ethnic first appeared in texts and paintings. In the context of the thesis, it was therefore paramount to firstly investigate what is the general perception of Indigenous Americans and how they are imagined in the eyes of the majority society in the present day. Articles dedicated to ethnographic research, like “Of Warrior Chiefs and Indian Princesses: The Psychological Consequences of American Indian Mascots” by Fryberg, are central to the described findings. Other publications explored various aspects of Native American representation in several types of media including motion pictures and press. How were and nowadays are

Indigenous people represented, described and depicted generally varies according to one's knowledge about their culture, which appears one-dimensional owing to examined stereotypical viewpoints.

From a historical point of view, literature and writing continue to have a vital role in defining how Indigenous tribes and nations seemingly live or function. However, as there was no writing system in North America until the arrival of the first colonist, Ashcroft, B., et al. reveal in *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (2013) that Europeans were in control of the written discourse from the very onset of the mutual contact. By examining early colonial texts authored by prominent figures of the past, I was able to demonstrate the mixed feelings colonists had towards the Indigenous inhabitants. In order to further analyse cultural representation of Native Americans in written text, in both fiction and non-fiction, it was crucial to look at history with a critical perspective. Postcolonial theory, provided by prominent names in the field such as Loomba and Vizenor or the aforementioned Ashcroft, is an integral part of the implemented critical viewpoint. Understanding the colonist's power over the colonised then facilitates the deconstruction of stereotypical perception and reveals how some of the stereotypes were formed. The unequal relationship in the colonial environment is scrutinised by Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), which explores the dehumanising effects of colonialism. Acts of white oppression and stereotyping encountered by Fanon are in many ways similar to the Native America experience. Some of Fanon's standpoints have thus influenced the approach to the context of colonial influence in North America.

Having mentioned stereotype, it was necessary to comprehend the scale of the term and its cultural meaning. Since the existence of stereotypes, misconceptions or myths is common and depends on cultural differences, which are here showcased mainly using historical development, there was a need to explain the importance of stereotypes in culture. Lippman's book *Public Opinion* (2017) originally published in 1922 talks about the integral functions of stereotypes in society. Lippman argues that once stereotypes are undermined, it is like "an attack upon the foundations of the universe" (Lippman 2017: 70) because stereotypes are closely connected to human feelings and one's position in society. Lippman's

proposition is here further applied to the field of literature. Especially when the normative[2] function of literature is taken into consideration.

Since scholars agree that stereotypes are an essential factor of human perception, the importance of historical development in North America rose to an even greater extent. At the same time, the field of Native American cultural studies suggests there are innumerable stereotypes connected to Indigenous people rooted in the past. Lopenzina in *The Routledge Introduction to Native American Literature* (2020) and Coward in *Indians Illustrated: The Image of Native Americans in the Pictorial Press* (2016) describe a large number of prototypical Natives. Ergo, a fixed scope had to be used with respect to four commonly reappearing stereotypical perceptions associated with Native Americans. The presumption was that when one understands how each type originated and was reinforced, it is possible to deconstruct the false notions. This is important because stereotypes seemed to have repeatedly determined how were ethnics, minorities or entire cultures regarded and treated in the colonial environment. Moreover, an overlap between the examined stereotypes was expected because literary authors used to conflate distinct Indigenous cultures together. To contradict the generalisations, texts and books by authors of Native American ancestry were utilised in order to clarify the presented clichés. *Everything You Wanted to Know About Indians but Were Afraid to Ask* (2012) by Treuer is a marvellous example of such work, which openly confronts stereotypical assertions and perception.

Having established this, I needed to select particular literary works by non-Native authors where the existence and use of determined stereotypes could be subjected to comparative and contextual analysis. Given the fact that narratives and styles evolve over time, criteria for selection of the books further included variation of the original publication date. Hence, four books by different authors with stories taking place in 18th, 19th and 20th century were chosen as the subjects for the final analysis. The range of three centuries and shift of literary styles provide good enough conditions for unbiased investigation of the proposed stereotypes. Naturally, some of the authors used stereotypical perception as a reflection of their time or popular belief. Others have arguably tried to embody the colonial

[2] Accoriding to Češka's article titled "Proliferační efekty fikce, napodobování literatury jako motivační princip lidského jednání." literature has the power to define or at least suggest what is the norm. Ideas as well as wording in literary works affect creation of cognitive concepts.

practices in the narrative to create purported authenticity. All this had to be examined in order to decide if stereotypical depiction is as popular as it seems from the historical perspective. Alternatively, whether the authors attempted to simply work with the stereotypes or debunk them and make them absurd.

The research is thus highly qualitative, working with academic articles, scholarly publications and literary works of both fiction and non-fiction. The only quantitative aspect relates to the frequency of stereotypical portrayal among the inspected novels. However, in the context of the thesis, it is more important to follow the construction, usage and context of the stereotypes rather than their total count. The assumption was that stereotypes and misconceptions are prevalent among the selected works, and the aim of the research was to either confirm it or deny it. Lastly, the qualitative element of the thesis explored how certain stereotypes came into existence, were employed in literature and presented to the reader.

2 Theoretical Part

2.1 Characteristics of Cultural Stereotypes Against Native Americans

There is a plethora of characteristics associated with the representation of Native American population. The popular elements people commonly envisage whilst describing the North American Indigenous ethnic group contain painted faces, headdresses, scalping, teepees or proneness to alcoholism. The list could certainly be longer as the mentioned qualities represent only a fraction of possible correlations to the image of Indigenous inhabitants in the United States of America. What is important is that most of the qualities and visual representations seemingly related to Native American people are tied to past perspectives. Even then, as Price explains in his journal article titled "The Stereotyping of North American Indians in Motion Pictures", the mainstream assumptions about the demeanour and visuals of Native American people can be applied to roughly "two dozen Plains tribes in the late 1800's, but they are false for the remaining over 500 other Native societies in North America" (153, 154). Misconception about the ethnic groups who have inhabited North America before the arrival of European colonists is therefore a topic which remains present.

What influenced and to a certain degree continues to influence the way people view Native Americans is their portrayal in literature, film and other forms of media. Gercken and Pelletier discuss this issue in their book *Gambling On Authenticity: Gaming, The Noble Savage, And The Not-So-New Indian* (2018). Their effort is essentially to reveal how exactly has the concept of what is typical for the North American Indigenous population been shaped over the years and what are some of the consequences of the stereotypical depiction. The proposition in this thesis is very similar; however, there is an aspiration to extend the research by discerning the main archetypes of the stereotypical perception in literature. Determination alongside exploration of what authors examining media portrayal call "the burden of historical representation" (Stoddard 10) is therefore a crucial aspect here. When we look at the topic of Indigenous representation from a historical point of view, it is obvious which part of the contemporary American population grasped more power in this matter. Colonial progression and subsequent regional hegemony in North America, allowed American non-

Natives together with European visitors and immigrants to gradually seize control of the public discourse (Gercken and Pelletier).

Resultantly, there are recurring portrayals in which Native Americans are depicted, some more common than others. A rather frequent element of these portrayals is the usage of terms encompassing too many cultures. Ashcroft et al. discuss the issue of proper naming in *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. The terms invented by "explorers, adventurers or seamen" (Ashcroft et al. 3) virtually became the mainstream. This can be seen not only in North America, but practically everywhere the colonial empires expanded. Denominations comprising savage, Indian, Eskimo, Aborigines are among some of the most frequently used (Ashcroft et al.). Since the likes of the mentioned labels fail to "distinguish and discriminate among the great variety of peoples who were lumped together" (Ashcroft et al. 3) by colonial powers, they heavily contribute to the general incomprehension of Indigenous cultures.

Lexical marginalisation is then accompanied by the already acknowledged visualisation of Indigenous groups. Fryberg in her journal article named "Of Warrior Chiefs and Indian Princesses: The Psychological Consequences of American Indian Mascots examines several spheres of Native American imagery. The research suggests that cultural stereotypes are greatly strengthened by visual explicitness. Both literary and journalistic descriptions side by side with visualisations have served as means of conveying information for hundreds of years. Nevertheless, mass spread of visualisation via printed images and photographs in newspapers and books dates only to the first half of the 19th century. Coward calls the period a "part of a visual revolution in nineteenth-century journalism" (3) in his book titled *Indians Illustrated: The Image of Native Americans in the Pictorial Press*. The opportunity to visualise topics addressed in the newest issues of contemporary press naturally included the portrayal of the formerly still quite exotic frontier inhabitants. Thus, concrete images of Native American people were projected into the minds of non-Native American people (Coward). The author also claims that "these Indian illustrations were an important source of visual information about Indians and Indian life in the second half of the nineteenth century, pictures influential enough that traces of these images can be found in American popular culture to this day" (Coward 3). Coward's statement, especially its argument about the ongoing impact, resembles the established proposition that cultural

stereotype, which has been shaped by the cultural hegemony[3], largely determines how mental images of Indigenous people are formed in the present.

The professed authenticity derived from narratives, which are partial and tendentious, in conjunction with constrained depictions induce significant misunderstandings. Postcolonial theory of Ashcroft et al. warns that acceptance of stereotypical perception usually creates archetypal societies which are seemingly stuck in time. In order to illustrate it, we can look at Price's example above stating that basic characteristics associated with Native Americans are archaic and correspond just to a limited number of Indigenous people. As a result, "the tendency to employ generic signifiers for cultures that may have many variations within them may override the real difference that exist within such cultures" (Ashcroft et al. 23). The very existence of broad generalisations in regard to dominated cultures is well explained by another author writing about postcolonialism. Loomba in her publication *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (2015) clarifies that by classifying certain groups of people as inferior or different the colonisers were able to construct their true European or newly American identity. Yet, it is safe to state the effort to clearly distinguish between the colonisers and the colonised was never fully accomplished.

Instead, one can encounter overlaps between the dominant and subjugated cultures. These are known primarily as hybridity and liminality (Loomba 113). Both are typical for representing ambivalent feelings towards a person's own identity. The fact that the existence of liminal people was and sometimes still is disregarded in favour of clear distinction between civilisations is not surprising when we examine the history of the humankind. For instance, the enemies of early European empires were often labelled as barbarians, pagans or philistines. With the spread of Christianity and its rise to religious ascendancy, the concepts slightly changed but the principles remained the same (Loomba 98). The only major difference was the role of the Bible, which a first failed to explain the existence of independent pagans and pantheists within the colonised territories (Loomba 113). The role

[3] Cultural hegemony is a concept related to philosophy and sociology introduced by Antonio Gramsci, according to whom it is a spontaneous consent of the broad masses to the general direction, which the most dominant group imposes on social life (Lears 593).

of colonial religion is therefore immense and its contribution to the construction of former and still ongoing cultural stereotypes is to be examined.

2.1.1 Shaping Native American Stereotypes in North America

Despite some shortcomings of Biblical passages[4], a sense of religious superiority from the colonial sides emerged almost immediately after first contacts happened. With regard to North America, it was manifested through various practices including mockery of spirituality, attempts of conversion or condemnation of any alternative religious perspectives. Vizenor in his *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence* (2008) devotes particular attention to the mentioned disdain in one of the book's chapters. He claims that among the worst aspects of non-Native religions in colonial America was the intolerance of the missionaries (157). At first, Native people scarcely converted to colonial religions because they wanted to. Instead, Indigenous societies typically opted to retain their beliefs, irritating many colonisers and disproving their religious narratives (Ashcroft et al. 158). Both Ashcroft et al. and Loomba expound the argument that the colonial subjects were repeatedly interpreted as people punished by God on the basis of the Christian texts. Accepting the European God would to some extent actually signify the colonial right to inhabit the newly explored lands.

Pearce's publication *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (1988) grounded on research about the perception of Native people in America suggests the level of stereotype differed according to certain generations and waves of colonists. Religion and its intensity repeatedly determined whether the coexistence of the settlers and Native inhabitants was feasible or not (Pearce 32). First colonial populations, who had to endure a significant change of lifestyle after travelling from Europe, maintained a relationship of mutual respect with the Indigenous tribes (Pearce 71). Once the colonial settlements managed to be successful in terms of their survival rate, to which friendly Native Americans contributed by providing them with provisions and farming advice, more colonists were sent from Europe. The second colonial wave included the Puritans, who came

[4] Loomba mentions that Bible had to be adjusted for Native populations in British colonies because to them many passages did not make sense (175).

to America in masses during the 17th century, and sought to escape religious prosecution in England. For them, life in the colonies seemed a perfect opportunity to embody the City upon a Hill idea declared by John Winthrop aboard a ship arriving in colonial America (Chase). The biblical allusion meant actualising the covenant with God to create a perfect Christian society with fixed morals.

Aboriginal populations were thus considered subjects who needed to undergo religious conversion as part of the Puritan mission (Pearce 214). The Indigenous way of life was deemed unholy and devilish, a stark example illustrating why Christian morals must be upheld. Emergence of diseases, proneness to alcoholism or unfavourable trading conditions with local tribes were all indicated as part of God's wrath because of the "failure to Christianize the heathen" (Pearce 32). Inconveniences related to Native American inhabitants henceforth became entangled in the Christian doctrine, which allowed for creation of stereotypes recorded in colonial texts. Heike in his *The Myths That Made America: An Introduction to American Studies* (2014) mentions contradictory attitudes towards the Native people in historical texts. For example, the Plymouth colony governor and author of the journal *Of Plymouth Plantation* (1651) William Bradford both sympathised with Indigenous inhabitants and deplored them. In one passage Bradford stated the former New England was 'fruitful and fit for habitation, though devoid of all civilized inhabitants and given over to savages, who range up and down, differing little from the wild beasts themselves' (Heike 146). In another excerpt he interpreted Native Americans alongside his relationship with them rather positively.

Bradford's contemporary and later successor in the role of Plymouth governor Edward Winslow offers an additional perspective on the coexistence with Indigenous societies in a letter written in 1621. Winslow defined them as atheists with zero knowledge regarding God, trusting and very simple in terms of their apparel (Heike 148). He also mentioned that the interaction with local tribes was frequent. Regardless of the regular contact and constant Puritan efforts to alter the lifestyle of their Native counterparts, the local inhabitants failed to conform. "An ordered civil life was the basic condition of a holy life" (Pearce 29) and its general rejection from Aboriginal side ultimately led to frustration of the Puritans. It is reflected not only in the attitudes of the Plymouth colony settlers, but similar statements

were uttered by other prominent figures of the 17th English colonists. The founder of Rhode Island colony Roger Williams, who presented himself as a nonconformist and a mediator between the English settlers and Native tribes, too was distrustful of his neighbours[5] (Stern).

What sparked the need for warfare was not just the clash of ideologies reinforced by Puritan stereotypes. The eruption of land disputes played a pivotal role in this matter. Both the 1636 Pequot War and the 1675 King Philip's War proved genocidal for the disunited Native Americans (Stern 575). Those who opposed the white man were considered "devil's instruments" (Stern 577). Conversely, Indigenous groups allied with the colonists used their position to prevail over other Native tribes (Heike 157; Stern 577). In essence, the two first major armed conflicts "had hardened Puritan hearts" (Pearce 29) as far as the possible salvation of Native American people was concerned. The Puritans realised that finding a common ground, especially in the matter of territorial expansion, with the Indigenous population was not going to be easy. Allied Natives, some of them Christian converts, suffered inside or in a close vicinity of the colonial settlements regardless of the Puritan intentions. Partly because the colonial dwellers spread new European diseases and the non-Puritan traders introduced alcohol (Stern). The limited success of religious conversion alongside deterioration of the Native lifestyle marked by premature deaths indicated a failure of the Puritan efforts and beliefs (Heike; Pearce; Stern).

With the turn of the 18th century, "faith in the Promised Land was severely shaken, if not quite lost" (Heike 158). At that time, France, which operated on a larger North American territory than Britain, was more efficient in handling the coexistence with Indigenous people. Zitomersky in his article titled "The Form and Function of French-Native American Relations in Early Eighteenth-Century French Colonial Louisiana" explains that the French cooperated with "the Native peoples in a close and binding fashion" (157). One of the reasons was the higher population density in the British colonies. Leaders of French Canada and Louisiana knew they were outnumbered so the alliance with Indigenous nations was highly desirable. Their colonist and soldiers were more willing to live among the Natives while being respectful of their claim to the land (Zitomersky 155). Furthermore, both sides

[5] Historical viewpoints of famous colonial figures are repeatedly misinterpreted, and Stern confronts the 17th century attitudes in his article "A Key into The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution: Roger Williams, the Pequot War, and the Origins of Toleration in America".

benefited from fur trade, exchange of provisions or even military cooperation. In terms of religious conversion, French missionaries learnt from their attempts that the success was very limited and adopted a generally more respectful approach to the issue (Usner 166).

Since the French and many Indigenous populations lived in amity, the British recognised it as another negative imperfection of the Native Americans (Usner 167; Zitomersky 177). Still, as Brasseaux remarks in his journal article "Franco-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley 1754-1763: Prelude to Pontiac's Uprising", the British maintained their ties with neighbouring Natives and even attempted to provoke a conflict of allegiances in the region. Indigenous nations consistently cooperating with the French included the Choctaw, Huron, Sioux, Iroquois and others. The British, on the other hand, had more of an unstable support from the Native Americans because of the aforementioned disputes, forceful missionary efforts and local conflicts linked to the British settlers (Brasseaux 56). The selectiveness exercised by both the Natives and the colonists has affected the shape of future relationships. Notable is for instance the Iroquois Confederacy dating to 1570 which was originally formed by the nations of Mohawk, Seneca, Oneida, Cayuga and Onondaga (Brasseaux 58). In 1722 the Tuscarora joined and according to Parmenter's article "After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns, 1676-1760" they became known as the Six Nations. The Iroquois Confederacy members had various experiences with the European settlers and the formation of one of the oldest democracies[6] in the world meant reduction of "Iroquois-on-Iroquois violence" (Parmenter 40) alongside collective effort to withstand colonial transgressions.

The group troubled both New France and New England as the respective colonies strived to have them on their side. Initial refusal to participate in the colonial clashes between the French and British helped the Native American confederacy to preserve "political independence and freedom of movement between European colonial spheres of influence" (Parmenter 50). Although the French had generally better relationships with the Natives, British colonies maintained a more stable partnership with the Iroquois Confederacy (Parmenter 51). French ties with the Iroquois were hindered by the abovementioned

[6] Lewis Henry Morgan, an 18th century anthropologist, studied the distinctive organisation of the Iroquois Confederacy and attempted to explain how the seemingly savage people handled politics and regional governance. Morgan reviewed his findings in the *League of the Iroquois* (1851).

cooperation with nations like the Huron, who were enemies of the Mohawk. As reported by Williams's article titled "The Iroquois Confederacy", the fact Indigenous groups did not unify and instead fought their long-term Native American foes in company with new colonial powers heavily contributed to the future shape of North American civilisation. Had the Iroquois Confederacy together with other nations joined New France during the Seven Years War, today's America could have been "French in manners, customs and laws, if not race" (Williams 18). For example, the Oneida and Laurentian Iroquois agreed with the French on "aggressive intentions exclusively against the English" (Parmenter 68) in 1756. Yet, rest of the Confederacy was later associated mainly with the British side. Similarly, "lucrative British trade offers" (Brasseaux 60) undermined the loyalty of the Choctaw in French Louisiana in 1759. Indigenous side switching thus indicated certain corruptibility.

Since the conflict, often marked as the first ever world war, was won by the British, the formerly French Native allies were not to be trusted after the regional hegemony of the North American colonies changed in favour of Britain and Spain. France's departure from North America also meant British colonists no longer needed the support of Indigenous people. Moreover, British representatives claimed all the land of Canada and Louisiana legally belonged to the crown as declared in the 1763 Treaty of Paris. Naturally, the once French allies disliked the audacity of the colonisers and in many instances fought back. Probably the most notorious case is that of Pontiac's War. Being of Ottawa descend, Pontiac wanted the British to know his people were never conquered, nor their land bought from the French (Brasseaux 62). According to Treuer's book *Everything You Wanted to Know about Indians But Were Afraid to Ask* (2012), he then staged a fierce rebellion during which he tricked an entire British garrison at a fort taken by the British near Michilimackinac. Another seven forts were later invaded by Pontiac's forces, who consisted of joined tribes the chief assembled against a common enemy (Treuer 61). There was even hope the French would return to aid Pontiac's forces. Although it did not happen, the uprising redefined the way the British treated the Indigenous people, especially in the region of the great lakes (Treuer 61). King George III. together with the British government were well aware of Pontiac's achievements. Royal Proclamation was thus issued in order to end the hostility between the British colonists and the Native Americans (Brasseaux 87). The Appalachian Mountains marked a clear demarcation beyond which the white settlers were not officially permitted to

go. Furthermore, Grant's journal article "Pontiac's Rebellion and the British Troop Moves of 1763 traces consequences of Pontiac's War" and states it "even reinforced the decision to provide a large force of British regulars for protection of the colonists" (Grant 79).

Nevertheless, the situation in the colonies started to change in the years after the Seven Years War. The mentioned proclamation disappointed British colonists who sought to acquire new land. Great Britain also needed to economically recover from the global conflict and imposed further taxes such as the 1765 Stamp Act or 1767 Townshend Acts on its American colonies (Willard). These precautions stirred the settlers to take action against the unwanted taxation. Tension thus rose and Native American population again found itself between the European empire and the settlers. There were people who chose to befriend and those who deliberately antagonised different Indigenous groups. Lappas in his journal article "Native American Roles in the War for Independence" writes about a quite famous British immigrant William Johnson. He was a so called "Indian Agent […], an Anglican convert who became a mentor to the loyalist Mohawk warrior Joseph Brant" (Lappas 351). Johnson is an example of how influential certain individuals in the matters of Native American affairs were. People like him fractioned the unity of tribes and nations by promising them untouched land, rights to trade or materialistic gifts. As Pearce describes it, "British agents and administrators were skilled in handling Indians" (53). Situations akin to Johnson's impact led to instances when Indigenous alliances disbanded owing to different views about the promises of the white population (Lappas 353).

Colonists who considered themselves American rather than British, on the other hand, strived to build a new society equal to the one ruling on the British Isles. This "new society could find a place in it for the Indian only if he would become what they were" (Pearce 53), meaning settled, steady and civilised. British coaxing worked better than the imposition of ideals by colonial society, which has been noticeable since the arrival of the Pilgrims and the Puritans. In the area of Florida and Louisiana controlled by Spain, the attitude towards the Natives too became slightly more complicated. Spanish demography surpassed the Native one, fur trade became limited and dominated by the merchants (Usner 171). Furthermore, the new exchange patters introduced larger quantities of imported alcohol,

which was traded with the local tribes. However, the traded amounts often exceeded the limits Native Americans could afford, making them susceptible to unfavourable deals (Usner 174). What followed were losses of land, mutual distrust or even "acts of banditry" (Usner 190).

Having examined the initial centuries of the first sustainable British colonies and their rivals in America before the 1775 to 1783 American Revolution, patterns of stereotypical perception of Indigenous populations can already be clearly delineated. Native Americans were mostly sceptical of foreign religion. Many of them "believed that missionaries cared about them only if they quit being Native in terms of religion" (Treuer 74). Even when the forced or voluntary conversion brought sympathy for the local inhabitants, spiritual beliefs were generally treated with contempt. Hence, labels as savage, devilish, beastly and wild denoted the Indigenous demeanour as well as their ways of living. Incomprehension and open disrespect of Native American values evoked a sense of colonial superiority, which together with the Christian doctrine, interpreted certain Natives unworthy of the land they occupied. Equally, in the case of land disputes, Native tribes and nations were still eager to fight for what belonged to them by ancestral rights. However, in cases of a conflict, Indigenous weapons were inferior to the ones of the colonists which made them, and their tactics look primitive. On the contrary, supply of rifles, horses and gunpowder was an efficient method how to negotiate with the Natives, making them prioritise self-interest over tribal or national integrity. Some alliances would then disband; sides inclined towards particular colonies would be switched and Indigenous people perceived as easily corruptible opportunists. Lastly, there were two more prominent impressions of Native Americans before the end of the 18th century. The first one is related to alcohol trade with regard to excessive Indigenous consumption in certain cases. The second is linked to a gradual dissipation of Indigenous people in areas they previously inhabited.

Native Americans thus remained in a complicated situation and were oftentimes regarded with suspicion or even abhorred. Yet, the situation was about to become a lot more complicated in the last three decades of the 18th century. A chronological timeline named "History Through a Native Lens" by a Choctaw nation scholar Walters outlines the onset of a new political era which changed the lives of Indigenous people forever. In 1775, British

colonies declared war on their mother country, leaving Native Americans in that region amid two factions (Walters).

The previously examined British influence over particular tribes was a bit of a predicament for the revolting settlers. As Pearce puts it: “Americans hoped to neutralize the Indian’s power and to settle with him later. The British, on their side, tried to convince him that a victory for land hungry colonials would mean the end of his way of life” (53). Decision whether to join the American rebels or the British cause further depended on the level of territorial proximity and relationships established prior to the revolutionary war. “Many of the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Mohawk were convinced to fight actively for the British, by either British officers from Fort Niagara or by Brant[7]” (Lappas 352). The rest of the Iroquois confederacy, namely Oneida and Tuscarora, sided with the revolutionists. Lappas believes it happened because of two underlying factors. The first reason was an influential figure of Samuel Kirkland who was a missionary “at the Oneida village of Kanonwalohale” (Lappas 352). Kirkland was not a typical proselytiser. He learned how to speak Indigenous languages and gradually earned trust of the Oneidas and Tuscarora through diplomacy (Lappas 352). The second explanation, according to Lappas, is a consequence of the status the Oneidas had within the Iroquois Confederacy. “They had special political and even ceremonial roles” (Lappas 351) and served as initial supervisors of the Tuscarora nation within the Iroquois Confederacy.

Despite the now known affiliation of the Oneida and Tuscarora nations with the American faction, scholars like Wunder reveal additional difficulties of the period. In his article "Merciless Indian Savages and the Declaration of Independence: Native Americans Translate the Ecunnaunuxulgee Document” Wunder explores the conflicted views of Indigenous people. One of the inspected utterances captures initial reluctance of the Oneida to enter the conflict: ‘We cannot intermeddle in this dispute between two brothers. The quarrel seems to be unnatural’ (Wunder 67). Most common reason for joining the revolutionary forces was the past maltreatment by the British settlers or soldiers. Chance to repel part of the invaders gave them hope of reclaiming lost territories. Nations and tribes

[7] Brant was the Native American convert of Mohawk nation who closely cooperated with the William Johnson (Lappas).

sharing such ideology consisted of the Passamaquodies, Penobscots, Maliseets, Catawbas but partly also the Chickasaws and Creeks (Wunder 69).

Given the turmoil in which the colonies were during the war for American independence, both Native Americans and the colonial factions faced uncertainty. Some Natives, like the mentioned Oneida, found themselves in situations where they were in fact tasked to participate in an attack on their kin. There was usually a strong disinclination to similar acts, but the forces of the white man did indeed manage to turn the once related people against each other. Lappas again uses the instance disharmony within the Iroquois Confederacy:

> The situation for the Iroquois got much worse following the events of 1778. In retaliation for British and Iroquois attacks in the Wyoming Valley, German Flatts, and Cherry Valley, George Washington ordered what became the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779, where the Americans, accompanied by some Oneida, destroyed Cayuga and Seneca villages in Western New York. The Oneida's reluctant participation in a campaign that destroyed villages and food supplies of their alienated brethren led to retaliation against the Oneida villages (Lappas 353).

The contest for tribal allegiance or neutrality during the revolutionary war commenced an almost century long era of treaties between the Natives and the new American nation (Walters). Key instruments of the American nation building focused on the issue of Native American affairs. One of the founding fathers, Thomas Jefferson, included the following passage in the 1776 Declaration of Independence as one of the grievances against the British monarch George III.: "He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions" ("Declaration of Independence: A Transcription"; Wunder 72). Additionally, the 1777 Articles of Confederation, approved by the Continental Congress firstly organised two years prior, introduced the first official department for issues related to the Indigenous population (Walters). Notwithstanding the aid of several Native American nations to the revolutionary cause, the founding fathers were wary of the aboriginal inhabitants. Instead of planning further cooperation, the founding fathers prepared for removal of Indigenous people from

formerly British territories. When the war ended in 1783 with Treaty of Paris, previous treaties between the Brits and the Natives were disregarded and Indigenous rights ignored.

With the colonies united under the new banner of a republic, tribal nations had no official rights recognised from the legal point of view (Walters). The status of Native Americans was formally diminished. Moreover, "the official American view was still the British colonial view: that Indian land was to be considered as conquered territory" (Pearce 54). Pearce's statement showcases that the foundation of stereotypical perception and general antagonism towards the Natives was present throughout the whole existence of the British colonies. Only the degree of its display changed depending on the political situation in North America. A relative tolerance appeared once the Indigenous people could support the British in the war with France, with the revolting colonists or alternatively help the settlers fight against the British. Wunder uses the words of an American historian Calloway to explain the Indigenous struggle for respect and recognition: 'Indian patriotism did not earn Indian people a place in the nation they helped to create' (Wunder 70). No matter to which cause they contributed, Native people were perpetually subjected to unfair treatment.

Accordingly, many governmental acts of the newly established country targeted Native Americans in order to have a grip on the population. The tribes may have been identified as sovereign nations but that meant Native ownerships and trade had to be regulated. One of the first declarations was the abduction of all the land east of the Mississippi river (Walters). Tribes allied to the British during the revolutionary were punished in this matter for supporting the American enemy. Conversely, Native associates of the revolutionists, Oneida, Tuscarora and Stockbridge people were given money by the government for education (Wunder 70). Other tribal nations were lucky to negotiate treaties in which they received some kind of payment for ceding their ancestral lands to the US. Notwithstanding Aboriginal presence, the first half of the 1800s and the corresponding American presidents mostly prioritised territorial expansion. With that being stated, there were innumerable instances of illegal land seizure by the United States. Among the effects of land confiscation were aggression, frustration, alcoholism, defeatist attitude and gradual disappearance of Native Americans. All of which degraded the image of the Indigenous inhabitants and reinforced negative sentiment many white settlers held against them. White settlers noticed it and

President George Washington even called for a civilisation campaign, laying the groundwork for future assimilation policies (Walters).

Yet, "there was no time to civilize. Americans moving westward in effect forced the Indians to try, however vainly, to hold on to those ways of savage life which civilizing theoretically would end" (Pearce 54). Hence the series of broken treaties by the settlers. The Doctrine of Discovery introduced by the British colonists and their Catholic Church was still in place despite the U.S. Constitution's prohibition of "a state religion" (Treuer 72). Intermittent unwillingness of Native American people to sign unfavourable land treaties brought both threats of American violence and Indigenous uprisings. When the United States soldiers burned down the village of Prophetstown built by Tecumseh, the chief used his influence and united several tribes against the Americans. Tecumseh later joined the British during The War of 1812, boasting a military success in both Battle of Brownstown and Siege of Detroit (Pearce 175; Treuer 63; Walters). Similar military blunders together with commonplace underestimation of Indigenous wits were not enough to convince the Americans to treat the Indigenous population more fairly. Rather than respectful and unbiased treatment, white population decided removal of Indigenous people "to a place where they would be out of civilization's way, where they might have a chance to survive as savages" (Pearce 56) was the optimal approach.

The United States of America ultimately determined that individuals of non-Native descent have a greater entitlement to the land in dispute than Natives, who were broadly considered uncivilised savages. Whether it was the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 or the policy of the 1830 *Indian Removal Act*, Rosen argues in her work *American Indians and State Law: Sovereignty, Race, and Citizenship, 1790-1880* (2007) that these were the official means of claiming and purifying American soil from unwanted people. Native Americans were not considered equal neighbours to the white population and became a prominent impediment to the American expansion (Rosen 261). Curiously, the emerging newspapers of the era were not always so sceptical of the Aboriginals. Many of course informed the public of the maladjusted beings of the frontier but others showed compassion. Coward lists an example from 1834 when Tennessee weekly reported the sight of a grief-stricken Indigenous woman crying on graves of her husband and child. Stories analogous to the humane depiction of a

Native American women were, nonetheless, overshadowed by narratives portraying the "struggle between civilization and savagery" (Coward 18).

Efforts to demonise and discredit the Natives worked well and their social status was significantly diminished in the antebellum[8] period (Rosen 269).

> […] legislation, which often had roots in the colonial era, distinguished between whites and Indians in a variety of contexts, including marriage, crime, trials, juries, and voting. None of these laws could reasonably have been seen as protecting Indians, as the statutes prohibiting Indians from selling land or making enforceable contracts were justified at the time (Rosen 109).

Cruel federal policies and the far-fetched public image of savagery associated with Native Americans thus more than anything reinforced the notion of Indigenous people being an obstacle of the frontier. What was essentially a dehumanisation of the Native population made it easier for the settlers to deal with their Native counterparts as they pleased. During the final phase of the *Indian Removal Act*, for example, around sixty thousand Indigenous people were forced to walk from their southern territories to today's Oklahoma as if they were cattle (Vizenor 109). While the non-Native population grew in terms of territory and community, the Aboriginal inhabitants faced decline on all fronts. Brown in his book *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (1991) mentions that by the half of the 19th century white people "were the dominant race and therefore responsible for the Indians—along with their lands, their forests, and their mineral wealth" (7). Deposits of rare metals and minerals, 1848 end of Mexican-America War, 1851 Indian *Appropriations Act* instituting the reservation system and the American Civil War of 1861 all contributed to additional displacement of Indigenous people (Brown). According to Walters, the California Gold Rush reduced the number of local Natives by seventy percent owing to forced relocation, violence and transmittal of deadly diseases. The conflicts of between white men, on the one hand, gave tribal people hope that their position within the United States might improve. On the other hand, the experience of previous major conflicts indicated the opposite. Some tribal nations, like the Apache, utilised the opportunity and

[8] Refers to the time before the American Civil War

began a resistance campaign during the Civil War (Brown 197; Walters). Resultantly, Native opposition in New Mexico, Texas, California and Mexico stimulated hostility in the regions.

A measure aimed to tackle the threat of disobedient Natives was introduced in form of a bounty system (Brown 208; Walters). Scalping, which can be tracked back to at least 17th century, was required by non-Natives as to provide evidence that a belligerent Indigenous person was slain (Treuer 67). Although the bounty system is mainly associated with the second half of the 19th, Madley's article titled "Reexamining the American Genocide Debate: Meaning, Historiography, and New Methods" mentions its first instances in the context of the 1673 Pequot War. Madley then remarks that "policymakers offered bounties for Native American heads or scalps in at least twenty-three states or their colonial, territorial, or Mexican antecedents" (114). The reward for a scalp differed according to time period, state or territory but also person (Walters). In areas near Mexico, women and children scalps were valued around one hundred fifty dollars and male up to two hundred and fifty dollars. It is therefore not an exaggeration that Native Americans were deprived of dignity and treated as wild animals. Whether it was massacres[9], involuntary relocation, the bounty system or plain ethnic antipathy, the 1800s witnessed a gradual deterioration of Native American life while the majority population benefited from their demise.

The final hurdle of the century the Indigenous inhabitants faced was perhaps the assimilation movement. The establishment of the reservation policy was one of the starting points for Americans to finally acculturate the Native inhabitants. Ratification of the 1871 *Indian Appropriations Act* then meant the United States government ceased to recognise Native Americans as individual tribal nations (Walters). Indigenous people were henceforth subjects of the federal government and separate treaties were no longer possible to sign. Adams' book *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience* (2020) declares that rather to indefinitely fight the Aboriginals, uprooting and educating their children en masse in distant boarding schools was chosen as a more effective and economical alternative. Indigenous children were virtually kidnapped from reservations to undergo the process of forced assimilation (Adams 122; Walters). Boarding schools did

[9] Both Walters and Brown acknowledge more than twenty massacres of Indigenous Americans in the 19th century.

not allow any contact between children and parents, every child had to conform to the Euro-American norm and any traces of Indigenous lifestyle were to be eradicated.

In addition, boarding school teachers, many of them missionaries, typically overzealously hated the Native American way of life. Negative stereotypical perception was thus the hallmark of every boarding school. The work of Kan, Sergei, et al. named *New Perspectives on Native North America: Cultures, Histories, and Representations* (2006) delineates the main aspects of Native children which had to be changed with the intent to fulfil the ideal set by Richard H. Pratt. His famous quote "Kill the Indian, save the man" became the embodiment of the boarding school era. Anything just remotely typical of Indigenous people had to be dissociated from the children (Adams; Kan, Sergei, et al. 370). Assimilated children were taught English, their hair cut, dressed like the majority population and uncoupled from the culture of their families (Adams 128; Walters). Nevertheless, the pressure of assimilation was omnipresent, and the rest of the Native peoples faced it too.

> In trading posts and in boarding schools, in prisons and in churches, Indian people were apprised that their economies, marriage customs, hair styles, clothing, religions, and languages were at once different from and inferior to their Euro-American counterparts. In these same institutions, Indians were invited, under varying modes of duress, to exchange their customs for those of Euro-Americans (Kan, Sergei, et al. 370, 371).

"By 1900, it was a matter of expedience and cultural survival to become literate […]" (Kan, Sergei, et al. 216) since assimilation efforts were reinforced by the 1887 *Dawes Act*. The bill instituted redistribution of the land reserved for Native Americans among Natives and non-Natives alike (Walters). It was hoped to shatter the Native communality and incite individualism. This was later counteracted by the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, which reinstated a degree of self-determination for the tribal nations (Treuer 194). As U.S. administrations changed, so did the policies and the fate of the Indigenous population. The Termination policy of 1950s aspired to finish the process of assimilation and end the recognition of tribal nations forever, making Native Americans just Americans. Treuer reports that more than a hundred tribes had been officially terminated and never reinstated. Concession to the American pressure against their Indigenous inhabitants finally came with the *Self-Determination Acts* instated by John F. Kennedy and later by Richard Nixon. At that

point, majority of Native Americans have undergone acculturation. Still cultural tension remains and so do the stereotypes developed throughout the centuries after the first contact.

There is a plethora of preconceived notions which falsely or incompletely capture the nature of Native American Aboriginals. Among the recurring ones are the Savage, Noble Savage, Drunken Indian or Assimilated Native. Each type is characteristic for its partiality and format in which they depict the Indigenous people.

2.1.2 The Noble Savage

In literature one of the underlying causes linking barbarism with insufficient humanity is the concept of noble savage which, as Rounds mentions in her journal article "The Noble Savage", originated in the work of John Dryden called *Conquest of Granada* (1672). The notion was later adopted by other significant authors of the past including Jean-Jacques Rousseau or James Fenimore Cooper (Rounds 64). The idea itself is built on a theory that a person who is not an active part of the dominant social group is in many ways admirable (Rounds 64). Such quality means that "man is good by nature and corrupted by civilization" (Rounds 65). "The noble savage, therefore, sought only what was necessary for life" (Rounds 65) and was never preoccupied with habits not considered crucial for one's basic survival needs. Hence, a person considered a noble savage lacks interest in economic modernisation, religious conversion or voluntary assimilation (Gercken and Pelletier 175). However, when the seemingly inferior culture finally assimilates, either deliberately or forcibly, Gercken and Pelletier explain that a sense of uniqueness connected to their former customs disappears. The ultimate result of acculturation is then a romanticised depiction of the once wild, dangerous and usually Indigenous person.

One might think the concept of noble savage in context of Native Americans would have been made obsolete by the enforced assimilation policies of the 19th and 20th century. Yet, it has remained relevant in the consciousnesses of the majority population until today. The relevance or rather interpretation of the noble savage concept simply evolved with time and led to common misconceptions about the nature of Indigenous people. Native Americans are vastly acculturated to the hegemonic culture and yet, as Schwarz indicates in her book *Fighting Colonialism With Hegemonic Culture: Native American Appropriation Of Indian Stereotypes* (2013), many people have failed to notice it.

Consequently, Indigenous organisations like the Native American Rights Fund, NARF for short, attempt to tackle the view of the hegemonic culture (Schwarz 5). Although Native American communities are mostly aware that their "time-worn images created by non-Indians" (Schwarz 5) cannot be easily replaced, they can offer more accurate alternatives to the general public thanks to organisations such as NARF, American Indian Movement or National Congress of American Indians. The very existence of these institutions illustrates that Indigenous people continue to grapple with their American counterparts in order to make their voices heard. In terms of history, it is obvious when and how has the "popular and aesthetically pleasing Noble Savage" (Coward 3) stereotype emerged. Its longevity, on the other hand has affected generations of Native Americans; however, there are other factors which made the concept popular. Pearce reasons the stereotype of noble savage has remained relevant across centuries because of its function to distinguish between people officially labelled as civilised or savage. The nobility, which distinguishes one from absolute savagery, is ergo laid not only in the Native preoccupation with essential human needs but also in the ability to negotiate treaties and use foreign language. Many colonisers and later Americans were shocked the Aboriginal inhabitants were so adamant about retaining their way of life while being able to communicate and more importantly confer with their white contenders.

What can be described as civilised, and savage were essentially two different worlds. Be that as it may, it was the civilised men who had the power to define and control the characterisation of savagery, including the noble savage (Coward 187). Similarly, the exact same people defined what is civilised and modern. A stark contrast was oftentimes implemented to highlight superiority or inferiority of the respective realm. Concerning the stereotype of noble savage, Euro-American authors bestowed primitivism, nostalgia and idealisation upon the image of Indigenous people as the dominant features (Coward 198; Pearce 136). James Fenimore Cooper's narratives, one of which will be examined in detail, are a prime example of the established dichotomy between the civilised and savage, alongside the noble variant. Cooper had allegedly limited personal experience with actual Native Americans and constructed their literary images according to the antebellum trends and his own liking (Coward 16). In a comparable manner, Benjamin Franklin, one of the American founding fathers, framed the clarity of the Natives as a virtue to mock the contemporary 18th century society. Franklin's *Concerning the Savages of Nort America*

(1782), which is really a parody, nonetheless contributed to the formation of the noble savage through contradiction of Indigenous and colonial social values (Pearce 136).

Another influential figure in the construction of the noble savage was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Coward; Pearce). The 19th century poet is arguably best known for his *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855), an epic poem about a Native American warrior and his loved one (Coward). Lopenzina argues in *The Routledge Introduction to Native American Literature* (2020) that Longfellow's work is based heavily on misinformation and cultural embellishment. Vizenor is of the same attitude and criticises the 19th century narrative for changing nearly everything history has to offer but the names of people and places (16). Among the reasons for such inaccuracies were again the assumed simplicity of the Indigenous nations and the gradually built physical distance between them and the settlers. With defeats and removals of the Native inhabitants came the remembrance of the conquered beings, which was defined by the triumph of the expanding majority population (Lopenzina 59). Illustrating Native Americans as noble savages, "above and beyond the vices of civilized men, doomed to die in a kind of absolute, untouchable goodness" (Pearce 169) then slowly evolved into one of the mainstream depictions of the ethnic. Loomba finds the phenomenon of tendentious depiction typical for any colonial scenario. Conquerors, whether it was Britain, Spain, France or the Netherlands, repeatedly attributed misleading qualities to Indigenous subjects all across the globe (Loomba 85).

Subsequently, texts and images featuring the one-sided perceptions did not merely introduce different cultures as different but became "early ethnographies that simultaneously note, blur and produce the specific features of different non-European peoples" (Loomba 115). Hence, the case of the noble savage has undeniably undergone the same process. Authors, journalists and illustrators[10] all partook in it, making the concept noble savage widely emblematic of the 'good Indian' (Coward 3). Overall, the period was heavily influenced by the artistic movement of Romanticism, which peaked in America during the first half of the 19th century (Coward 47). For Native people it was a period of rapid and more importantly drastic changes. They were thus in a transition period when individual

[10] Art depicting Native Americans as noble, yet savage humans too saw its biggest prominence in the decades before the American Civil War when artists like "Charles Bird King, George Catlin, and other artists travelled west to paint Indians" (Coward 47).

treaties with the still somewhat new United States of America were being signed, and governmental Acts were being imposed. Correspondingly, there was not a unified image of the Indigenous population as every tribe and nation handled the situation according to a multitude of factors. Despite the variations in Native American demeanour, the notion of noble savage was "absorbed and reconstituted" (Pearce 170) which resulted in its continuous usage. Romanticism has in fact utilised the concept of noble savage in a similar fashion to wildlife, a theme popular among both European and American romanticists (Tanner). Animals, plants and insects do not share the civilised problems and neither does the noble savage. Therefore, the readers might find Native Americans as wonderful creatures, unburdened modern problems and in their natural state. Such assumptions are unfortunately shaped by preconceived notions about the Indigenous population which results in attribution of conventional qualities to a heterogenous mixture of American Aboriginals.

Literary characters embodying the noble savage archetype, or rather stereotype, have therefore never fully represented actual Native Americans. Instead, they were supposed to evoke amazement and contradict the norms of modern society, which held different cultural values (Loomba 74). The presented differences were in fact supposed to be disastrous for people displayed as noble savages, which literary authors used to stimulate pity among their readers. "As stated by Pearce: "[…] American literary men, sensitive to the feeling of their readers, cultivated such pity" (Pearce 169, 170). Ultimately, the concept of noble savage reached such prominence that its assertions must be challenged not only by Native people themselves but also anthropologists and other researchers (Gercken and Pelletier 84; Pearce). Indigenous individuals, let alone their communities and organisations openly disapprove the noble savage myth and as Gercken and Pelletier put it: "the myth of The Noble Savage continues to fuel resistance to recognizing tribal economic development as an expression of sovereignty, resistance, and resilience" (84).

2.1.3 The Vanishing Indian

Fryberg remarks that today's North American Indigenous people "exist beyond the reach of most Americans" (209). The distance is caused primarily by several types of ongoing segregation and historical decline of the Native American population (Fryberg 209). The segregation as such is a very complex issue, especially in the case of the so-called Indian

reservations. On the premises of the federally reserved lands for the Native tribes, hence the label reservation, no one was to bother the inhabitants. As idyllic as it may sound, the process of relocation to reservations was often unvoluntary and violent. Perhaps the most notorious instance is the already mentioned 1830 *Indian Removal Act* thoroughly explored by many publications including Martinez's *Documents of American Indian Removal* (2019). The Act started and entire relocation era and achieved notoriety for uprooting Indigenous groups from their ancestral land to newly allocated areas during the Westward Expansion[11]. Successfully relocated Native Americans subsequently became less of a burden for the non-Native settlers and their policy makers (Martinez 94). Whether it was voluntary of forced removal, the absence of Aboriginal societies contributed to the myth of the vanishing Indian as the ethnic was seen less often.

Notwithstanding the effect of forced relocation, the notion of disappearing Indigenous people manifested itself in other forms as well. Berry's article "The Myth of the Vanishing Indian" delves into the problematic concept and reveals some of its aspects. For instance, disintegration of Native communities was a recurring phenomenon ever since the first contact with the colonial settlers (Berry 50). Traditional rivals of Indigenous descend, who were many times allied with their colonial counterparts in order to decimate their natural enemies, too contributed to the collapse of various tribes and nations (Heike; Stern). Scenarios of mutually hostile tribes can be tracked during all major conflicts on the North American soil. "Huron vs. Iroquois: A Case Study in Inter-Tribal Warfare" by Otterbein serves as an example of such occurrence. The prominent Iroquois had better access "to guns and ammunition" (Otterbein 150) owing to their cooperation with the British and subsequently prevailed over the Hurons. Naturally, similar situations led to displacement and sweeping downfall of the defeated groups. Decline of Indigenous factions which were opposed to colonial efforts was of course more than welcome. Still there was a question what was to become of the Indigenous persons once their guidance in the forests, knowledge of the environment or connections are not needed (Berry 51). "The answer: He will disappear.

[11] Martinez explains "[…] Indigenous nations witnessed a steady downfall in their status as politically distinct entities, as their confederacies, nationhood, and kinship ties were slowly decimated by westward expansion, leaving individual survivors in legal and political limbo—neither citizen nor alien" (54).

His only salvation lay in his becoming 'civilized,' but it was only visionaries who really believed them to be capable of that" (Berry 52).

The gradually implemented policies of the United States were, as explained before, purposefully unfavourable towards the Native American population, especially in the 19th century (Martinez 53; Lopenzina 101). Many of them offered either relocation, assimilation or extinction. The situation was mirrored in the "American imaginary to the extent that nearly every depiction of an indigenous person found itself echoing the formula and typically leaning in favour of extinction" (Lopenzina 67). An extreme alternative contributing to the seeming vanishment of Native Americans was systematic extermination (Brown 40; Walters). Accounts of systemised but also unplanned massacres and instances of ethnic cleansing, like the bounty system or the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre, naturally reduced the number of Natives (Brown 70; Walters). When the general public noticed the decrease of possible threats the reputedly dangerous tribes and nations formerly represented, the thought of the 'vanishing race' (Coward 41) gained even bigger popularity. Later, with land, children and Native rights under control of the government on account of the 1871 *Indian Appropriations Act*, the very existence of Indigenous population was suppressed for decades.

American and European authors, however, believed the Natives started to disappear since they were not compatible "with ambivalent forces such as 'modernity,' 'civilization,' and the 'changing times,' "(Lopenzina 68). Little relevance was attributed to displacement, genocidal intents and acculturation, which truly caused the overall Indigenous decline. Recollections of the 19th century Native Americans, like the Indigenous author Zitkala-Sa, put a whole new perspective to the era when the theme of vanishing Indian gained fame (Lopenzina 103). Zitkala-Sa's writing describes how boarding school methods altered her identity and estranged her from her culture. Luther Standing Bear "recalls experiencing a loss of identity" (Lopenzina 74). Practically every child subjected to boarding school education was supposed to make a part of the Native culture disappear. The policy therefore effectively reinforced the idea that Indigenous population was shrinking because all aspects even remotely signifying Native American identity were replaced (Walters). Physical punishment or even death was a common element in the process (Walters). Such measures have, without a doubt, conveyed the impression that the Natives really could not withstand

modernity and civilisation. This makes the assumed conclusions about Native American inability to persevere in adapting to Euro-American lifestyle wrong because the Indigenous people could have adapted had they wanted to. Instead, they had to for the sake of avoiding eradication.

Claim that the Native population of today's America was supposed to go extinct can hardly be rebutted. Mentioned instances of systematic killings, illegal lands seizures and broken treaties are all frequent factors which precipitated the decline the Aboriginal people. The entire situation must be, of course, viewed in a larger scope since the dissipation of Native communities happened over several centuries, but the stereotype of the vanishing Indian was established roughly during the peak of American expansion (Berry 53). The prevalence of the particular depiction in narratives can be thus attributed to the gradual deterioration of Native American status until the first decades of the 20th century (Berry). Furthermore, the first fifty years since the invention of photography showcased Indigenous people usually as entities evoking contrast between advanced and tribal societies (Coward 53; Lopenzina 121). According to Niezen's paper "The Origin of Indigenism" there were also liminal societies, which were stuck somewhere between savagery and modernity. Yet, they also remained impoverished and were destined for extinction in the eye of the white man (Niezen 37).

What is crucial to realise is that the discourse surrounding Indigenous people hardly ever cared about the development of Native American misery because it was scarcely attributed to the settler treatment (Lopenzina 93; Pearce 87). Most narratives, paintings or pictures communicated just a one-sided view. The Native's failure to comprehend and willingly accept a different way of life remained the official cause of the progressive disappearance (Lopenzina 94; Vizenor 15). On the contrary, when the blame was put on Native Americans themselves, the public could not reproach the colonial powers for negatively impacting the Indigenous demography. Poets, writers, painters and photographers were thus able to capture the burdened beings of America as something outdated. Romanticists often lamented the Natives and photographers captured them as the last remnants of the frontier's past (Coward 12). The concept of the vanishing Indian effectively established itself as one of the most frequent depictions of the ethnic even though some of

its features were fabricated (Niezen 34). Nevertheless, the stereotype vastly contributed to the manifold problems which to this day occur in the lives of both reservation and urban Native Americans. The descendants of American and European colonisers know virtually nothing about the current Native American affairs or their cultural status. The lack of awareness is in part a result of the prominent stereotypes like the one just addressed.

2.1.4 The Drunken Indian

Problematic alcohol consumption has been linked to Native American communities for centuries now. Research articles, including the "Native Americans and Alcohol: Past, Present, and Future" by Szlemko, William J., et al., track the claim using data from agencies like the Indian Health Service. Nevertheless, statistics related to the problem fail to provide a comprehensive overview, which could be applied to the entire Indigenous demography. The descendants of the Aboriginal inhabitants are widely dispersed over the United States of America and there are regions with undeniable history of alcoholism but also areas characteristic for their alcohol abstinence (Treuer 225). Alcohol avoidance or its moderate consumption has not, however, effectuated prevalence of a perception contrary to the stereotype called the drunken Indian. Instead, professed proneness to alcoholism can be traced to the settler-Native trade repeatedly mentioned in this thesis since that is when large amounts of the substance became broadly available. Alcohol's influence had ever since the 18th century been used as a leverage around the white settlements until the US legislation intervened a century later (Treuer 224). Szlemko, William J., et al. illustrate the impact by quoting Benjamin Franklin's comment about rum having proved to a be compelling method of Native American annihilation.

Alcohol was capable of damaging Native individuals but also entire communities who dealt with addicts, violence or prostitution within them (Lopenzina 186). Importance of alcohol was noticeable in a plethora of societal spheres and subcultures of both the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary America. The sole difference between alcohol usage of the settler society and the Native one was that the Euro-American people were better acquainted with the substance. Therefore, a significant change in Indigenous behaviour alongside lifestyle were easier to observe. Yet, there was a popular belief arguing the problem with Native drinking is a result of a genetic variation, which later evolved into

hereditary alcoholism (Treuer 225). Comparable theories generalising Indigenous alcohol consumption were applied on the bulk of Native American people even though the "use rates among tribes" (Szlemko, William J., et al. 437) have always greatly varied. Furthermore, when Native individuals, whole enclaves or regions really suffered from alcohol abuse, the underlying causes were typically neglected (Treuer 226). Problem of Indigenous intoxication is thus quite complex. Fondness for tipsiness is one aspect but then there are "environmental elements, historic factors and issues of poverty" (Treuer 225) together with psychological issues and generational trauma, all of which play a role. Once all these aspects are taken into consideration, the stereotype of drunken Indian can finally be more clearly understood (Szlemko, William J., et al. 438).

For a particular proportion of the Indigenous population alcohol has undeniably manifested itself as a struggle, method of payment or a coping mechanism. The very fact that alcohol gave some of the generally maltreated Native Americans the opportunity to deal with sorrow over their declining status still does not prove they are an ethnic of drunkards. The emergence of this stereotypical perception can be attributed to mainly to Euro-American merchants and speculators (Coward 113). A 19th century newspaper with a cartoon by C. S. Reinhart depicted a salesman apprehended by an American militia soldier with the following caption: 'You Rascal! How Am I to Keep Order on the Frontiers with You Selling Rum and Rifles to the Indians! If I Can Get Rid of You, the Sioux Will Be Quiet Enough' (Coward 144). The Sioux Native in the picture was, on the other hand, portrayed as a gullible creature corrupted by his thirst for rum and subsequent proclivity for violence on the frontier (Coward 114). Despite the accountability regarding the assumed Indigenous alcoholism being at least partly shifted onto the non-Natives, most writings and graphics presented it as solely Native flaw (Coward 144; Treuer 225).

The Graphic, a weekly newspaper founded in Britain, interpreted a male Native American character in one of its issues as "wild and alcoholic" (Coward 138). Such depiction unequivocally aligned the Natives as adversaries of civilisation and modernity. The consequence is ergo analogous to the stereotype of noble savage, which also marks incompatibility with the Euro-American way of living. Regardless of the correlation, there is a difference in each perception. Noble savage is regularly lamented and romanticised,

whereas the drunken Indian is a scandalous debauchee unworthy of sympathy. In a comparable manner, the stereotype of vanishing Indian is related to the assumed alcohol abuse. Research following actual cases of chronic alcoholism within Indigenous communities exhibits the concepts are closely connected. The "folk-urban divide[12]" (Martinez 192) of Native people prompted many of them to experiment with certain substances. Inside the reservations, the factors contributing to alcohol usage have been the isolated locations themselves, poverty, lack of infrastructure and dependence on the legislators (Martinez 193). In opposition, the urban Natives have commonly been experiencing racism, detachment from their culture and economic hardships (Martinez 192). Whether these seemingly vanished people were relocated to reservations or to urban environment, it is likely some of them suffered from alcoholism because of the introduced reasons.

Another reinforcement of the drunken Indian stereotype is the existence of Native American gaming, namely tribal land casinos. Native American casinos are frequently present in American states only within tribal territories, namely reservations, because American states regularly forbid gambling and the tribal land can override it owing to its today's sovereignty (Gercken and Pelletier 165). The majority American population as well as other people do not always understand why casinos are legal on Native American land. To summarise the issue concisely, the U.S. officials recognised the impoverished status of the reservation people is related to the rather harsh treatment and displacement. Had not the Natives faced relocation to desolate landscapes, considerable repression and undeniable maltreatment, they might have obtained a better social status. Allowing the tribal nations to profit from gambling was basically a governmental concession[13]. Unfortunately for the Indigenous image, casinos connote taboo topics. Excessive betting, smell of tobacco, alcohol or addiction can all be recalled in connection to the business. The ostensible privilege in the matters of gambling facilities therefore augments the drunken Indian stereotype and adds new features to it. Ironically, there are Native American casinos where alcohol consumption

[12] What Martinez hints here is that both the reservation dwellers and the town or city residents of Indigenous decent often feel a sense of alienation (328).

is prohibited but such occurrences are mostly overlooked, just as in the case of alcohol abstaining tribes (Gercken and Pelletier 119).

2.1.5 The Savage

Although there is a deluge of stereotypes associated with the Native American ethnic, the vast majority includes qualities which are related to savagery, or as Pearce puts it to savagism. The term is linked to the meaning of savage while both the lexical units imply the opposite to civilisation (Pearce 258). Many of the cited authors attempt to delineate what is meant by savage and civilised. Pearce's explanation is perhaps the clearest to understand as the author defines civilisation, savage and savagism, which is not widespread term, at the beginning of his work. Savage is:

> A human being in his native state of rudeness, one who is untaught, uncivilized or without cultivation of mind or manners. The savages of America, when uncorrupted by the vices of civilized men, are remarkable for their hospitality to strangers, and for their truth, fidelity and gratitude to their friends, but implacably cruel and revengeful toward their enemies (Pearce ii).

The description resembles the historical attitudes thoroughly explored in the previous chapters. While the positive qualities can be spotted especially in the case of the noble savage, the professed flaws have been revealed to be present throughout the whole coexistence of the settlers and the Natives. Civilisation, characteristic for "being refined in manners" (Pearce ii) and associated with art and education, has repeatedly been identified as virtually incompatible with the Indigenous inhabitants. Measures used for acculturation have brought mixed results ever since the Puritans tried to implement vast religious conversion in the region. Indigenous reluctance to accept foreign religion and adopt Euro-American lifestyle has ultimately underlined the idea of Native American savagism. The term describes people "in their native wildness and rudeness" (Pearce ii), a state that is contrary to established notion of civilisation. Indigenous non-conformity with the settler standards thus created the aforementioned dichotomy between what is savage and what is civilised. Any Native American practice, custom, habit or language could have been labelled as savage because of its cultural difference. Indigenous savagism thus represented a sense of otherness, which was exotic but rarely respected. Moreover, the disregard for Native American

otherness simplified the variety and uniqueness of tribal nations since every aspect of Native American population was regarded as inherently savage (Fryberg 213).

Subsequently, savages were a rather monolithic group of people, unlike the actual Indigenous communities (Fryberg 213; Lopenzina 10). Their racial distinction was another reason for disdain. Racial slurs alongside slang were used to address those Natives considered as savage (Fryberg 212). Redskin, squaw, Indian and Injun are typical examples of derogatory terms used by the majority population (Coward 214; Martinez 318). Each of them was used to antagonise the Native Americans. Such instances are trackable in old newspapers, literary works but also in historical records (Coward 214). By undermining the variety and sophistication of Indigenous nations, the colonisers and later American citizens used the theory of savagism to limit the Native American presence. When the Aboriginal people were the majority on the North American continent, compromises or even concessions were made by the colonial powers. After Britain and subsequently the United States gained a significant power over the country, the situation, as illustrated before, drastically changed.

Wilbur in her book *Project 562: Changing the Way We See Native America* (2023) emphasizes that the Natives had to be "merciless savages, ripe for the killing and raping" (548) in order for the United States of America to come into existence. A common enemy, a threat of the frontier sabotaging the advancement of civilised and Christian society was a crucial part of the nation building process (Wilbur 14). With it, the savage embodied a living obstacle for the governing forces but also for the poor settlers seeking land. Objectification of otherwise a heterogenous ethnic exhibited Indigenous Americans as people stuck in the past, sometimes long forgotten. Nowadays the consensus is that 'Native Americans were and are real, but the Indian was a White invention and still remains largely a White image' (Coward 4). It is henceforth rather poignant that the title Indian evolved into a mainstream expression symbolising the Native Americans. Moreover, interpretation of the word Indian has remained very close to savage, at times denoting virtually synonymous meaning (Coward 210). Lopenzina demonstrates the closeness of the terms by revealing what readers generally expect and often receive when an Indian is mentioned. Quintessential Indian is daring, ferocious, connected to nature, unable to lie, feels little to zero pain is not afraid of

death and is sometimes noble (Lopenzina 66). The definition of savage provided by Pearce does not check all the literary attributes but nearly every dictionary definition specifies the rest. Indian and savage therefore greatly overlap and can be equally problematic when used by non-Native authors.

Nevertheless, the Native American community gradually accustomed to the title of Indian, and its members actively use it. Mostly because of its pertinence to Columbus "who gave the people the name Indios" (Brown 1) and practically commenced the Euro-colonial discourse on Native Americans. Still, in context of non-Native addressers, the word remains a generalisation and functions as a cover term. Indigenous people widely prefer the names of the sovereign nations they represent (Wilbur). Hence, the usage of Indian by non-Native people unfamiliar to the Indigenous struggle with identity a global perception can be considered disrespectful because of its close connection to savagery and savagism in not only American rhetoric (Martinez 329). The previously mentioned famous quote of the boarding school era stating to kill the Indian and to save the man is the epitome of the established argument. Indian repeatedly symbolises the savage and vice versa. At other times the examined lexemes are found in collocational patterns. Howe, LeAnne, et al. in the book *Seeing Red—Hollywood's Pixeled Skins: American Indians and Film* (2013) exemplify the assertion. The authors reveal recurring features of "savage Indian invaders" (Howe, LeAnne, et al. 16), who are evil in nature as opposed to the developed Euro-Americas, who are victimised.

Correspondingly, the popularity of the savage interpretation is convincingly showcased using the famous Indigenous leader Geronimo. The book *Imagining Geronimo An Apache Icon In Popular Culture* (2013) by Clements examines the manifold existing views on Geronimo and his legacy. Clements argues that Geronimo's public persona has been in extreme positions over the years. For some, he was the "consummate incarnation of savagism, a 'red devil' who represents what it means to be 'Indian' in the popular imagination" (5). For others, he is a legendary warrior or an iconic freedom fighter (Clements 5). In literature, however, he is oftentimes a "nebulous representative of savagery against which Euro-American characters find themselves pitted" (Clements 192). Every now and then his visage is used as an eye-catching frontispiece, remotely related to the literary work

in question. When Geronimo is actually an active part of a narrative, his depiction tends to be “flat and underdeveloped” (Clements 192). Geronimo is ultimately the archetype of the savage stereotype because his portrayal mostly revolves only around his acts of Apache resistance.

Limits of Geronimo’s representation can be applied on the whole Native American population, which is culturally diverse. As a result, Indigenous Americans “suffer from an identity crisis that is difficult to escape even in the twenty-first century” (Gercken and Pelletier 17). The fundamental issue is that the non-Natives were able to define what is and what is not typical for the Natives (Lopenzina 321). Global “audiences were literally bombarded with narratives and images that” (Lopenzina 67) defined differences between savagery and civilisation. This trend is commonly overlooked and only a change in the current cultural paradigm might alter how readers perceive cultural representation.

3 Practical Part

3.1 The Last of the Mohicans

The Last of the Mohicans (1826) by James Fenimore Cooper is arguably the most popular novel of the author's literary series *The Leatherstocking Tales* (1823). To support the claim, one may examine virtually any school curriculum or anglophone literature course and see that Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* is most like going to be on list. The 1992 edition of the novel includes an introduction by David Blair from University of Kent who confirms the fact and presents valuable information. For example, Cooper is described as the pioneer of the "American historical novel" (Cooper 1992: VI) and is juxtaposed with Sir Walter Scott. Both authors have worked with the history of their countries and constructed popular narratives read until today. The main difference is that Sir Walter Scott often attempted to mitigate or reconcile the problematic relationship between England and Scotland. Whereas if one looks at Cooper's *The Leatherstocking Tales*, the advanced white population is always dominant, and the Indigenous characters idealised. Still Cooper deals with "ethics and imperatives of white American expansionism" (Cooper 1992: IX) through which he laments the Natives. This is where Cooper's employment of stereotypical and rather homogenous perspective is felt the most and this chapter is to illustrate it.

Paper by May "The Romance of America: Trauma, National Identity, and the Leather-Stocking Tales" supports what was explained in the theoretical part regarding the role of Native Americans in early United States of America. When the novel was written and later published in the 19th century, the Americans were still constructing their national identity. Cooper, just like the government officials and the American society, used the image of Indigenous people to define it (May 170, 171). The North American Natives were a matter with which most Europeans, except for the British in Canada, did not have to deal with and that made the US unique (May 171). An article "The Indians of the Leather-Stocking Tales" by Paine, however, reveals Cooper and many of his contemporaries had little experience with actual Indigenous people. Yet, Cooper has remained an influential author who is renowned for his depiction of the ethnic, especially in the romanticist style.

When Cooper introduces the colonial setting, he does not hesitate and almost immediately mentions the role of colonial "Christendom" (Cooper 1992: 3), which keeps the

colonists save and gives them hope. At the same time, “the alarmed colonists believed that the yells of the savages mingled with every fitful gust of wind that issued from the interminable forests of the west“ (Cooper 1992: 3). The cited passage promptly suggests the Native inhabitants represent danger and that shouting and savagery are closely associated. Cooper thus begins his initial construction of the novel’s world by defining what is civilised and what is not. He then creates a generic idea recognised by the colonists that some of the Natives are known to be “barbarous actors” (Cooper 1992: 3) of a massacres and murders. This passage resembles Wilbur’s statement emphasising Native Americans were historically depicted as “merciless savages, ripe for the killing and raping” (548). Cooper’s initial pages therefore fit the notion of the savage stereotype established in the theoretical part and the characterisation of Indigenous individuals remains relatively negative until the Indigenous protagonists enter the narrative. Yet, it is Magua, the main Indigenous antagonist of the story, who is the first introduced Native with a distinctive personality. Characters around Magua change their attitude towards him as the novel progresses. At first, he is typically described as Indian, “savage” (Cooper 1992: 8) or by his initial function as a runner. Each term is relatively shallow since Magua is presented either as an exotic person or as a guide in the forest, which marks his limited usefulness for the white characters.

Moreover, Magua continually acquires more negative qualities which are particularly emphasized by the white characters and are related to the notion of Native American savagism. Hawkeye, also known as the scout, who is a companion of the two Native American protagonists representing the Mohicans is a prime example of that. His sentiment of Magua’s crookedness is so obvious to him that he boldly judges Magua upon seeing him for the first time. Hawkeye thus tells the wandering colonists accompanied by Magua that their guide is a discernible cheat (Cooper 1992: 30). The Mohicans, Chingachgook and his son Uncas, on the other hand, are relatively flat characters throughout the majority of the book. They speak less than the non-Natives and similarly to other Natives in the story are notorious for exclaiming an “expressive ‘Hugh!’ “ (Cooper 1992: 94). Both the Mohicans and their Native counterparts are relatively obedient. They listen willingly to what their non-Native allies have to say and are committed to given orders. Since the novel is set during the Seven Years War, Cooper uses these Native alignments to colonial powers to contrast the demeanour of Natives affiliated with the British, French or with neither of the sides.

Although many characteristics are comparable, Native American foes sided with the French colonists are generally depicted in a negative light. For example, the highlighted exclamation is followed by an unfavourable description in the case of supporting Indigenous characters: "'Hugh!' exclaimed the savage whose treacherous aim was so singularly and so unexpectedly interrupted" (Cooper 1992: 155). When Uncas and Chingachgook utter the exclamation, it is presented as a part of a thought process. But in the case of Magua's followers it signifies confusion and disbelief. Cooper thus creates a division between the noble savage and savage. To support this claim, one can look at an excerpt from the introduction:

> Lenni-Lenape, Lenope, Delawares, Wapanachki, and Mohicans, all mean the same people, or tribes of the same stock. The Mengwe, the Maquas, the Mingoes, and the Iroquois, though not all strictly the same, are identified frequently by the speakers, being politically confederated and opposed to those just named. Mingo was a term of peculiar reproach, as were Mengwe and Maqua in a less degree. (Cooper 1992: 4, 5)

Both the British and the French alliances with the Natives tribes and nations have been examined in the theoretical part and now one may see that Cooper's narrative utilised these pacts to define who is good and who is bad. Since Chingachgook and Uncas are related to the first group and even speak Delaware, it is no wonder they represent the noble side. The latter group then represents an inferior, more savage part of the ethnic, especially when Hawkeye talks about them: "[…] the cunning of a Mingo might prove a losing game, compared to the honesty of a Delaware" (Cooper 1992: 127). The noble savage stereotype implemented in the Mohican protagonists prompts them to practically never contradict Hawkeye and to silently agree with his reasoning. Similarly, the Mohicans rarely speak of themselves even though they are capable of using English, Hawkeye is the one to acquaint other characters as well as the reader with information about Uncas or Chingachgook.

The Mohican humbleness truly illustrates the way the stereotype of noble savage glorifies some Indigenous people. Integral non-Native characters of the story learn about the inherently kind aspects of their two Aboriginal companions through Hawkeye. British soldier Heyward and two young women he has sworn to protect, Cora and Alice, do not question anything Hawkeyes tells them about the Mohicans, which is different from their

interaction with Magua. Unlike Heyward, Cora and her sister were apprehensive about Magua's intentions even before his true nature was revealed. Yet somehow all the British characters completely trust the Mohicans on account that Hawkeye praises them. Had Hawkeye been absent in the story, most of the information about the Mohican duo would have been withheld from the surrounding characters and more importantly from the readers. Because Hawkeye is a central non-Native figure, he serves as an authority determining what virtues and what flaws one may find in a Native person. When talking about Magua's Huron people and other tribes affiliated with the French, he uses the reproachful terms explained in the passage from the book's introduction. Furthermore, he and other whites use religious terminology and call the antagonised Natives "risky devils" (Cooper 1992: 59). When a fight between the encamped protagonists and the Magua's followers erupts, the attackers announce themselves with "yells and cries" (Cooper 1992: 56), which is another distinctive feature of uncivilised savages. The confused whites then ask if "hell broke loose" (Cooper 1992: 56). Additionally, expressions including deviltry, blasphemy or demons are all used in the context of savage Indigenous people.

Savagery of the Native adversaries thus remains to be a constant topic in the novel. It does not matter if they are tasked by the French or act at their own discretion. At times, however, Heyward and Hawkeye acknowledge the violence in which the Indigenous people are involved is caused by the Seven Years War. There are Oneidas fighting on the French side and eliminated by the Mohicans but also Oneidas who serve the British "sovereign lord and master" (Cooper 1992: 183). While the Natives fighting for the British royal side are respected, like the branch of Oneidas, the Delawares and the ever-present Mohicans, the others are surprisingly lamented. It is agreed that "white cunning has managed to throw the tribes into great confusion" (Cooper 1992: 183) because the once related Native people now "take each other's scalps" (183). The underlying theme is the decline of Indigenous communities described in the thesis through the stereotype of the vanishing Indian.

Cooper even digresses from ongoing plot and addresses the situation Heyward and Hawkeye discussed to clarify it for the reader:

> The confusion of nations, and even of tribes, to which Hawkeye alluded, existed at that period in the fullest force. The great tie of language, and, of course, of a common origin,

> was severed in many places; and it was one of its consequences, that the Delaware and the Mingo (as the people of the Six Nations were called) were found fighting in the same ranks, while the latter sought the scalp of the Huron, though believed to be the root of his own stock. The Delawares were even divided among themselves. (Cooper 1992: 183, 184)

Mutual hostility among the Native factions has been repeatedly defined as a factor which shattered the Native American presence. Cooper's narrative slowly brings it to the spotlight through the colonial conflict even though it is foreshadowed by the title of the novel. At first the narrative presents only rudimentary knowledge of the main Natives but as the story progresses more is revealed about the Mohicans and their rivals. What is interesting is that when it comes to the Mohican character development, it is again Hawkeye who uncovers the crucial information. The Mohican reluctance to speak about the poignant fate of the Mohican race again accentuates their nobility. Hawkeye explains that: "The brothers and family of the Mohican formed our war party; and you see before you all that are now left of his race" (Cooper 1992: 115). Neither Chingachgook nor Uncas, however, are much concerned to mention the Mohican blood is a dying lineage until the very end of the novel. They are mostly interested in their pursuit of Magua, day to day survival and aiding Heyward's group. Hawkeye's white listeners then look at "the Indians, with a compassionate interest in their desolate fortune" (Cooper 1992: 115). The Mohicans even recognise they are on the verge of extinction but still do not think it a great tragedy. For instance, Uncas and Hawkeye infiltrate a Huron encampment, are stuck in a run or die situation and Uncas volunteers to fight side by side Hawkeye to die with a friend of his ancestors. When Hawkeye rejects the young man's proposal, the author makes sure he remains modest because "his grave countenance manifested no opinion of his superiority" (Cooper 1992: 256).

Cooper thus effectively combines the stereotype of the noble savage together with the vanishing Indian within the framework of the Mohican characters. It is regularly indicated that the "chief of the great Mohican sagamores" (Cooper 1992: 115) and his son are very skilled warriors and later that they are but remnants of their tribe. They would never harm or deceive any of their white friends and yet are a menace to their enemies. Similarly, they appear incapable of lying to their allies and the only instance when Uncas lies is while he

tries to trick Magua. During interactions with non-Native characters, the Mohicans typically appear innately kind, shy and never self-centred. It is quite the opposite with the generic Indigenous representatives working with the French forces and Magua. The common Native American foe screams, make his presence known, is brutal and is not as intelligent as the main Indigenous characters. These people are frequently labelled as savages, knaves or are attributed the quality of the devil. The narrator again arguably uses the savage stereotype and implies a sense of inferiority. Magua's speech addressing his warriors is commented as follows:

> Accordingly he paused and spoke in words as kind and friendly as if he were addressing more intelligent beings. He called the animals his cousins, and reminded them that his protecting influence was the reason they remained unharmed, while many avaricious traders were prompting the Indians to take their lives. He promised a continuance of his favours, and admonished them to be grateful. (Cooper 1992: 268)

The passage epitomises the imbalance between the tribal members, undermines the collective intelligence and reveals the people are highly suggestible. Nevertheless, there is a peculiarity both the Native heroes and the main antagonist view negatively and that is alcohol. Although Cooper uses the informal slang of firewater to stimulate professed authenticity of the Indigenous speech, he makes the characters knowledgeable of the substance's gloomy effects. Chingachgook attributes Dutch alcohol distribution to the loss of his ancestor's lands (Cooper 1992: 23) and Magua also blames the colonists for introducing him to the state of intoxication (91). It is safe to state that Cooper hardly uses the stereotype of the drunken Indian and instead blames the whites for using alcohol to their advantage. All in all, Cooper's novel makes extensive use of cultural stereotypes, and their presence is felt on most pages with alcoholism being the only exception.

3.2 Summer on the Lakes in 1843

Sarah Margaret Fuller's book Summer on the Lakes in 1843 was published in 1844, almost twenty years after *The Last of the Mohicans*. During that time, American expansionism was at its peak and the Native population became an infamous obstacle of the process. The antebellum period, thoroughly explored in theoretical part of the thesis, was also a time when the non-Native settlers and their administration showed deep antipathy towards the Aboriginals. In addition, Kolodny's article "Margaret Fuller's First Depiction of Indians and the Limits on Social Protest: An Exercise in Women's Studies Pedagogy" confirms that another spectrum of people was already influenced by Cooper's romanticised depiction of the Native ethnic. Fuller's book therefore works with the epochal stereotypes and offers a personal and more importantly intellectual perspective. Additionally, it was transcendentalism, of which Fuller was a part, that greatly influenced her view of the world. Transcendentalist contemporaries, namely Emerson, have addressed the cruelty of Native American removals, which made Fuller well informed of the issue (Kolodny 5). Furthermore, Fuller revealed that she had read many publications on the subject of Indigenous people, including Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, prior to her trip to the Great Lakes (Fuller 2007: 30). Accordingly, she had a certain expectation about the demeanour and appearance of the Native people.

Although the article "Traveling in the West, Writing in the Library: Margaret Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes*" by Tonkovich reminds its readers that Fuller was among the privileged women who got to be educated in the 1800s, the surrounding society together with the 19th century literature repeatedly presented stereotypes as the norm. Hence, when Fuller writes about the Indigenous people before meeting them, she employs the savage stereotype to depict the Natives as formidable creatures:

> For continually upon my mind came, unsought and unwelcome, images, such as never haunted it before, of naked savages stealing behind me with uplifted tomahawks; again and again this illusion recurred, and even after I had thought it over, and tried to shake it off, I could not help starting and looking behind me. (Fuller 2007: 14)

Fuller's initial fear resembles the general attitude of people who were afraid of the apparently savage human beings. However, her opinion of the Native Americans partially

distances form the savage stereotype as the narration moves onward. The same cannot be said about the non-Native people she meets and describes in her narrative. Fuller remarks that she has "spoken of the hatred felt by the white man for the Indian: with white women it seems to amount to disgust, to loathing" (Fuller 2007: 124). Statements of the whites captured by Fuller are filled with racial discrimination on the basis of mainly cultural and ethnic differences. Savagery is inherent and "cannot be washed out of them" (Fuller 2007: 124). What the non-Native people from Mackinaw see in the Indigenous neighbours directly relates to Pearce's definition of savage where rudeness, absence of manners and civilisation are the typical hallmarks. The sentence "All their claims, all their sorrows quite forgot, in abhorrence of their dirt, their tawny skins […]" (Fuller 2007: 124) illustrates the position in which the Chippewas and Ottowas were situated. They were without a doubt at the bottom of the society together with the blacks, who were still enslaved at that point of time.

The term Indian then also intermittently carries a negative connotation, especially in the context of utterances like 'Get you gone, you Indian dog' (Fuller 2007: 124) or "Indian cruelty" (Fuller 2007: 155). Overall, it seems Fuller did not intend to use the term as a slur, unlike some of the interlocuters she cites. Instead, she uses it as a general caption for the people of Native American descent. This makes the Indigenous people in her book distant and deprived of unique identities. The only distinctive personalities are determined by the introduced stereotypes which appear almost every time a Native person is mentioned. While the savage is the first introduced, others follow in a quick succession and remain present throughout the whole non-fictional narrative.

At first, Fuller tries to retain the common perspective that Native Americans are somehow inferior to the civilised world and are not to be trusted. The claim is a subject to mentioned travel books of her contemporaries, like Murray, Schoolcraft or Catlin, who no longer resonate with today's readers. Then she places the audacious standpoint in contrast with her own conflicted opinion in order to reveal some virtues in the Natives. The following excerpt demonstrates the assertion quite well: "The Pawnees, no doubt, are such as he describes them, filthy in their habits, and treacherous in their character, but some would have seen, and seen truly, more beauty and dignity than he does with all his manliness and fairness of mind" (Fuller 2007: 30). The first part of the sentence matches the established notion of

savagism while the second sees Fuller employ a perspective which is similar to Cooper. In other words, she starts to romanticise the Pawnees. As Fuller's journey in the area of the Great Lakes progresses, the beautiful scenery prompts her to think about the former inhabitants to an even greater extent. The exclamative sentence "How happy the Indians must have been here" (Fuller 2007: 42) indicates Fuller slowly becomes sentimental about the Indigenous people. She then remarks that "it is not long since they were driven away, and the ground, above and below, is full of their traces" (Fuller 2007: 42). Ergo, the stereotype of the vanishing Indian is too used by Fuller. In fact, it can be seen even in the previous quotations in this chapter above. The forgotten sorrows and the imperative that urges an Indigenous person to leave both relate to the 19th century push to relocate Native Americans from the settler occupied lands.

Even though Fuller wrote the book when the phenomenon of the vanishing Indian was typically defined by the professed Native American inability to adapt to the advancing civilisation, she adopts a different approach and willingly indicates the impact of the majority population. For instance, the Chippewas and Ottowas appear again "to receive their annual payments from the American government" (Fuller 2007: 116) for the conceded land. Here the concession of land is caused by a treaty or trade, not by an any sort of incompatibility with modernity or civilisation. Nevertheless, there are moments when Fuller and her companions encounter a random "Indian encampment" (Fuller 2007: 86) or wandering bands of the Natives and both occasions are portrayed as a sad sight. The Pottawattamies are "extremely destitute" (Fuller 2007: 87) and the "finest Indian figure" (87) Fuller ever saw "looked unhappy, but listlessly unhappy, as if he felt it was of no use to strive or resist" (87). In this case, Fuller clearly pities the Indigenous people in a similar fashion to Cooper or Longfellow. Yet the context of why these Natives are in such an undesirable situation is missing. All the reader receives is Fuller's direct view without any elaboration whatsoever. Similarly, both Native and non-Native individuals Fuller encounters reputedly know that "the power of fate us with the white man, and the Indian feels it" (Fuller 2007: 83). The author thus again hints the Indigenous population struggles to do well in the vicinity of the white settlers but does not really specify the reason. The stereotype of the vanishing Indian therefore has an arguably strong presence in the narrative in spite of Fuller's intermittent attempts to clarify why the Natives are subsiding.

Later, Fuller even comments on the matter of missionaries and the role of religious conversion. In this regard, she does not voice her own opinion but paraphrases an avowed inspection "made by a discerning observer" (Fuller 2007: 131). The observer reaches a conclusion akin to the standpoint of the 17th century settlers including Bradford, Williams and Puritans in general. Both the observer and the 17th century colonial dwellers largely agree that "there was an intrinsic disability in them," (Fuller 2007: 132), referring to the Aboriginal people, "to rise above, or go beyond the sphere in which they had so long moved" (132). What is essentially accentuated is that the cultural differences between the Native and the non-Native side are too great. The subjects of conversion cannot easily accept God because the new religion has "aided the conquerors" (Fuller 2007: 131) who have repeatedly decimated them and forced their culture on the Indigenous inhabitants. Within the framework of the book, Native American inability to fully succumb to the settler's authority and subsequently acculturate obviously contributes the stereotype of the vanishing Indian. However, it also connected to the stereotype of the savage.

> He said, that even those Indians who had been converted, and who had adopted the habits of civilization, were very little improved in their real character; they were as selfish, as deceitful, and as indolent, as those who were still heathens. They had repaid the kindnesses of the missionaries with the basest ingratitude, killing their cattle and swine, and robbing them of their harvests, which they wantonly destroyed. He had abandoned the idea of effecting any general good to the Indians. (Fuller 2007: 132)

The refusal to adjust as well as the resistance is described by the observer as an intrinsic feature of the Natives. Something that hampers the cooperation between the civilised and the uncivilised which could have supposedly helped the Natives, who are resultantly vanishing. Moreover, the actions described underscore the savagery so often associated with the tribal people.

What the non-Natives in Fuller's story classify as erratic behaviour, lack of refined manners and thirst for revenge is only worsened when alcohol is presented to the Aboriginal characters. A "bottle of spirit" (Fuller 2007: 83) is all it takes to condition an Indigenous drudge. The influence of the substance is simply huge. Fuller learns and sometimes see how

willingly the Natives opt for intoxication. The white characters themselves are well aware of the stereotypical fondness alcohol and as disclosed before, use for their benefit.

> When the violence of this burning draught was pretty well over, he began to flourish away in praise of the strength of the liquor and bounty of the giver. He then went to his companion and held the liquor to his mouth according to custom, till he took several hearty swallows. This Indian seemed rather more sensible of its fiery quality than the other, for it suffocated him for a considerable time; but as soon as he recovered his breath, he tumbled about the floor like a drunken person. (Fuller 2007: 143, 144)

The damage done by alcohol to the Indigenous people and their reputation in this passage really captures the ethnic's susceptibility to substance abuse. What is more, the flaw is once more linked to savagery and savagism. As explained in the chapter about the savage stereotype, despite the multitude of stereotypes, the savage is the dominant one. The following extract is a neat demonstration: "Such a quantity would have demolished me or any white person. The Indians, in general, are either capable of suffering exquisite pain longer than we are, or of showing more constancy and composure in their torments" (Fuller 2007: 144). It refers to stereotypical Native penchant for alcohol and at the same time to the belief that savage people feel less pain than others. In order to dissociate herself from the drunken Indian stereotype, Fuller again uses mainly other people's utterances since her experience with drunken Natives is limited. Accordingly, Fuller attempts to show multiple sides of the issue and thereupon regularly presents white people as ruthless manipulators while glorifying the Indigenous group: "They prepare the bath for one another when any arrangement is to be made between families, on the opposite principle to the whites, who make them drunk before bargaining with them (Fuller 2007: 146). Criticism of Caucasian manipulation was seldom written about in the past, which makes Fuller critical perspective ahead of its time.

As noted earlier, Fuller's opinion of the Native population evolves throughout her journey. She tries to understand why the Indigenous people are at times so attached to their territory and realises it is because of the country's beauty (Fuller 2007: 41). With the attachment to land comes its knowledge. "An Indian girl" (Fuller 2007: 52) is able to tell Fuller about "the medicinal virtues" of a plant the author hardly recognises. She immediately

idealises the Indigenous skill: “I doubt not those students of the soil knew a use to every fair emblem, on which we could only look to admire its hues and shape” (Fuller 2007: 52). Knowledge of the local fauna and flora is exactly what the Indigenous population needs for basic survival, which is prototypical for the noble savage. Another prime example of the noble savage then appears when Fuller becomes accustomed to the Natives and hears them play “on their pipes” (Fuller 2007: 117).

> I had been much amused, when the strain proper to the Winnebago courting flute was played to me on another instrument, at any one fancying it a melody; but now, when I heard the notes in their true tone and time, I thought it not unworthy comparison, in its graceful sequence, and the light flourish, at the close, with the sweetest bird-songs; and this, like the bird-song, is only practised to allure a mate. (Fuller 2007: 117)

The expressed flattery lets the players to nearly achieve the civilised status but that would ultimately make them less fascinating: “The Indian, become a citizen and a husband, no more thinks of playing the flute than one of the ‘settled down’ members of our society […]“ (Fuller 2007: 117). Luckily for Fuller she is able to witness more of the glamorised Native American life, which offers her an awe-inspiring sight. It is not an exaggeration to state that Fuller is overjoyed at the way these people subsist. Still, she laments their fate and reminds the readers that the Native population is in decline. She does it because there are instances when the Aboriginals seem to live as if they were “born into a world of courage and of joy, instead of ignominious servitude and slow decay” (Fuller 2007: 119), which is the reality illustrated in the paragraphs above. In fact, Fuller becomes so intrigued by the sight of happy Natives that she wishes for the presence of Sir Walter Scott, who in her opinion, would use “such romantic sketches” (Fuller 2007: 119) as a great material for his work.

Given that Fuller shifts from the initial fear and prejudice towards admiration of the Indigenous ethnic, glorification of the Natives and presence of the noble savage stereotype become the dominant themes. Fuller also starts to look at the civilisation as she knows it rather critically and finds it hypocritical: “I have witnessed scenes of conjugal and parental love in the Indian's wigwam from which I have often, often thought the educated white man, proud of his superior civilization, might learn a useful lesson” (Fuller 2007: 120). Finally,

Fuller reveals that she is not the only American showing compassion. She mentions a kind and sincere speech of Governor Everett addressed to the local chiefs or her own friends Carver and Henry, who too can appreciate "what is good in the Indian character […]" (Fuller 2007: 160). She further declares that if one is to record the Native American history, it "should be one of their own race, as able to sympathize with them" (Fuller 2007: 154). Her sympathy for the Indigenous people is therefore especially visible at the end of the book. Notably, Fuller states that she has "learnt a great deal of the Indians, from observing them even in this broken and degraded condition" (Fuller 2007: 166), which is something not many of her contemporaries could possibly say. While there are certainly are stereotypes in her narrative, Fuller at least uses personal experience and attempts to contradict the shameless slander and harsh treatment which plenty of the 19th Natives were victims of. There are, of course many other paragraphs in which additional instances of the investigated stereotypes are present, but their analysis would be enough for an entire thesis. What is important to remember is that Fuller's period perspective is valuable and that her personal opinion largely employed the stereotype of the noble savage and the vanishing Indian[14].

3.3 Blood Meridian

The 1985 novel by Cormac McCarthy set in 1849 and 1850, shortly after the Mexican American War, is renowned for its unsentimental approach to the genre of the American Western. According to Moos' article "Lacking the Article Itself: Representation and History in Cormac McCarthy's Blood Meridian", McCarthy "problematizes both literature as historical documentation and history as literary text" (25). What it essentially means is that the author creates a fictional world with a few characters based on real-life historical figures and combines the two in an embellished narrative. Fiction is simply merged with facts similarly to Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans.* On the one hand, the two novels share more features, like the utilisation of major past events and their ramifications. On the other hand, Cooper employs heroic and idealised themes which are famously absent in *Blood Meridian*. Considering that McCarthy wrote the book upon examining historical records from the 19th century together with a memoir of General Samual Chamberlain, which includes the

[14]The passage "I feel acquainted with the soul of this race; I read its nobler thought in their defaced figures" (Fuller 166) is one of the last sentences addressing Fuller's experience with the Indigenous people.

mentioned historical figures, he was arguably well acquainted with the variably complicated coexistence between the settlers and the Indigenous people (Moo 24). Yet, McCarthy created *Blood Meridian* from fragments of arcane historical records remotely connected to the quintessential themes of a traditional Western that incorporates moral values and settler development (Moos 24). Unlike Cooper or Fuller, McCarthy constructed the narrative when American identity was fully established, and the depiction of Native population was more popular in motion pictures. Since *Blood Meridian*, despite its popularity and success, has not yet been televised, it strengthens the assertion that it is very different from the typical Western overused in the 20th century. Mainly because McCarthy's world is intrinsically cruel, unpredictable, and full of uncertainty.

In terms of depicting the Native American people, McCarthy interprets them as dangerous people right from the start, which indicates that some degree of stereotypical depiction is likely to be featured in the novel. However, the same people who are followed "by packs of wolfs, coyotes, indians" (McCarthy 2022: 21) are equally, if not more, violent as the Natives generally called Indians or savages. No matter whether people are white, black, Mexican or Native American, McCarthy purposefully bestows violent behaviour upon practically every human character in order to avoid distinction between good and evil. Therefore, a vast portion of the story follows a versatile band of people contracted to kill as many Apache Natives as possible under the leadership of John Joel Glanton. It has been explained in the theoretical part of this thesis that the 19th century saw an exacerbation of the already troubled Native American status. McCarthy thus uses the Indian bounty system as an integral theme in the novel. The surly feelings are evident even before the Natives and non-Natives interact in the story for the first time. It is especially the Caucasian side which verbally manifests antipathy against the Indigenous people and those who are afraid of them:

> A people so cowardly they've paid tribute a hundred years to tribes of naked savages. Given up their crops and livestock. Mines shut down. Whole villages abandoned. While a heathen horde rides over the land looting and killing with total impunity. Not a hand raised against them. What kind of people are these? The Apaches wont even shoot them. Did you know that? They kill them with rocks. (McCarthy 2022: 36)

Captain White's criticism of scared citizens and of the Indigenous nations illustrates the author works with certain experience or again stereotypes perceived by the characters. In this situation, savagery is a key attribute associated with the Native people. Since at that point of the narration the Natives have not yet met the main characters, it can be said that for the reader they are being described almost as mythological beasts. Most of the time, however, Indigenous population is placed in opposition to civilisation as the word savage or the frequent nudity or "ragged" (McCarthy 2022: 53) clothing suggests. They seem perhaps too monolithic in the author's rendition because it does not matter whether they are Apache, Comanche, Delaware Karankawa, or Yuma. In all cases, these people are repeatedly labelled as savage. Many of them are ferocious, barbaric, fond of body paint or they even have a "taste for human flesh" (McCarthy 2022: 40). The extremity of McCarthy's depictions implies there is generally a fanciful notion of the Native American people. Yet the author uses surprisingly long and overly descriptive passage to showcase an extravagant visual of the savage stereotype:

> A legion of horribles, hundreds in number, half naked or clad in costumes attic or biblical or wardrobed out of a fevered dream with the skins of animals and silk finery and pieces of uniform still tracked with the blood of prior owners, coats of slain dragoons, frogged and braided cavalry jackets, one in a stovepipe hat and one with an umbrella and one in white stockings and a bloodstained weddingveil and some in headgear of cranefeathers or rawhide helmets that bore the horns of bull or buffalo and one in a pigeontailed coat worn backwards and otherwise naked and one in the armor of a Spanish conquistador, the breastplate and pauldrons deeply dented with old blows of mace or sabre done in another country by men whose very bones were dust and many with their braids spliced up with the hair of other beasts until they trailed upon the ground and their horses' ears and tails worked with bits of brightly colored cloth and one whose horse's whole head was painted crimson red and all the horsemen's faces gaudy and grotesque with daubings like a company of mounted clowns, death hilarious, all howling in a barbarous tongue and riding down upon them like a horde from a hell more horrible yet than the brimstone land of Christian reckoning, screeching and yammering and clothed in smoke like those vaporous beings in regions beyond right knowing where the eye wanders and the lip jerks and drools. (McCarthy 2022: 55)

When facing such an enemy, one can only imagine an early and unpleasant death. The appearances contradict any kind of possible settler conformity and strike fear in those who are to meet them: "Oh my God, said the sergeant" (McCarthy 2022: 55). The Christian references then make the situation look as if it mirrored the biblical apocalypse. Correspondingly, the examined band of Comanche riders slaughter most of Captain White's men with only the main character nicknamed the kid and another recruit called Sproule surviving. The kid therefore has a good enough reason to later join the scalp hunters led by a fearsome giant Judge Holden and the mentioned real-life figure of Glanton. The company motivated by the bounty for Apache scalps even includes a number of Delaware Natives. No names are mentioned, nor do they contribute to conversations. The Delawares mainly fulfil the function of trackers and scouts, which makes them one-dimensional. McCarthy's Delawares are thus a seamless transition from one stereotype to another. None of the Delawares is initially classified as a mere savage, which was typical of the Comanche riders. Instead, they are obedient, help the gang and are preoccupied with basic tasks like the mentioned tracking, hunting, smoking pipes or preparing coffee (McCarthy 2022: 91, 144).

Accordingly, the Delawares at least partially represent the noble savage stereotype rather than the savage one. Their supposed nobility is, however, very limited. The Delawares meet only a few additional characteristics which would qualify them as noble savages. They are mostly silent, and the author describes them as "men of another time" (McCarthy 2022: 145) who "had lived all their lives in a wilderness as had their fathers before them" (145). Yet, the same Delawares later prove to be savage by nature. During an attack on the encampment of Gileno Apaches, a Delaware bashes heads of infants "against the stones so that the brains burst forth through the fontanel" (McCarthy 2022: 165). Another Delaware finishes the assault by gathering a "collection of heads like some strange vendor bound for market […] (McCarthy 2022: 165). Even when the party of scalp-hunters capture an Apache infant, who does not bear any signs of savagery except for his looks and in his childlike innocence resembles more the portrayal of the noble savage, the Judge still decides to kill him and acquires his scalp (McCarthy 2022: 173). McCarthy altogether denies the Indigenous people any idealisation, which can be seen as part of a realistic, even cynical attempt to eradicate the status of nobility.

The presence of the noble savage stereotype is thus virtually non-existent in the novel. On occasions when new, yet unknown, Native groups and nations are introduced, McCarthy makes sure the antiheroes, such as Glanton, perceive them as untrustworthy: “Glanton told him to his face that any man who trusted an indian was a fool” (McCarthy 2022: 275). For the hired men, any Native except for the allied Delawares represents a threat and a valuable scalp. Since the gang is hired to exterminate hostile Apaches in the border regions of Mexico, they contribute the notion of the vanishing Indian. The central figures of the story are responsible for the deaths of dozens of Native Americans and become notorious for it. Mexicans afraid of the Apache acknowledge their effectiveness: “You are fine caballeros, he said. You kill the barbaros. They cannot hide from you” (McCarthy 2022: 109). The majority of non-Natives then view the demise of the Indigenous people as a positive thing. Unfortunately, the hatred towards the Apache and Indigenous tribes in general is also artificially reinforced owing to white bandits “who preyed on travelers in that wilderness and disguised their work to be that of the savages” (McCarthy 2022: 161). Nevertheless, Glanton and his companions take great care to ensure all Natives are killed during the armed encounters: “Don’t leave a dog alive if you can help it” (McCarthy 2022: 163). The vanishing Indians is ergo portrayed through the process of literal disappearance of the Aboriginals alongside their physical extermination accompanied by a drastic naturalistic description.

Whenever a specific Native American personality appears, like the case of the historical Apache chief Gómez, they are present only as a target of violence. *Blood Meridan* thus formally silences Indigenous voices, and Native people are ironically present mainly through their absence as bodies to be exterminated or scalps and trophies which are to be collected. At times, killing of the Natives is a routine during which there is no time to distinguish between Apache people and other tribes: “In three days they would fall upon a band of peaceful Tiguas camped on the river and slaughter them every soul. On the eve of that day they crouched about the fire where it hissed in a softly falling rain and they ran balls and cut patches as if the fate of the aborigines had been cast into shape by some other agency altogether” (McCarthy 2022: 182, 183).

One of the most evocative scenes to the vanishing Indian comes near the end of the novel. The kid sees a pile of massacred people, so he explores the scene and spots a crouching figure of an old woman looking at the ground.

> He spoke to her in a low voice. He told her that he was an American and that he was a long way from the country of his birth and that he had no family and that he had traveled much and seen many things and had been at war and endured hardships. He told her that he would convey her to a safe place, some party of her countrypeople who would welcome her and that she should join them for he could not leave her in this place or she would surely die. (McCarthy 2022: 332)

In spite of the kid's previous affiliation with the scalp hunters, he attempts to help the Native American woman. She has sadly "been dead in that place for years" (McCarthy 2022: 323) and all what is left is her dried body reminiscent of the killing which took place there. The scene can be understood as a metaphor for the whole myth of the vanishing Indian. Although the white man offers help and civilisation, he is too late and the Indigenous person is literally a thing of the past, blended with the surrounding dust. Therefore, McCarthy does not present the gradual disappearance of Indigenous people as a romantic elegy, but rather as horrific series of massacres mirroring the cruel reality of the 1800s.

Concerning the stereotype of the drunken Indian, McCarthy does not portray his Natives as alcohol addicts or comical drunks. Perhaps because most of the Aboriginal characters in the novel appear in the context of warfare, not everyday life on the reservation or settler areas. Nonetheless, alcohol plays its role in the narrative. It is mostly consumed by the main scalp hunters and some minor non-Native characters. Within the context of the drunken Indian stereotype, there are only several instances where it can be assumed the Natives enjoy being intoxicated. In chapter XVI, the gang meet Apache riders who outnumber them. They unintentionally hurt one of their horses and the tribe demands compensation: "After some discussion it became plain that whatever the assessment of damage levied there was no specie acceptable by way of payment other than whiskey" (McCarthy 2022: 242). The Apache realise the outlaws "did not look like men who might have whiskey they hadnt drunk" (McCarthy 2022: 243) so the author presents the thirst for alcohol as a universal desire rather than a flaw attributed to one ethnic group.

Notwithstanding the ubiquity of fondness for liquor, there is a clear implication that Indigenous people in the novel crave alcohol. “He had been to the coast with Major Graham's command and returned here four days ago to find the town under an informal investment by the Apaches. They were drunk on tiswin they'd brewed and there had been shooting in the night two nights running and an incessant clamor for whiskey” (McCarthy 2022: 244). The passage captures the Apache as senseless rampaging creatures invigorated by the consumed alcohol. Glanton and his gang finally take the advantage of the expectation that the Apache are willing to negotiate the mentioned compensation through a barrel of whiskey and decide to dilute the promised alcohol. The water-filled barrel which they give the damaged party symbolises the absolute disrespect and calculating nature of Glanton. He knows that the Apache riders may succumb to their desire for whiskey and flagrantly robs them. Here, the Apache are depicted as naive or even clueless and that indicates rather the essentially omnipresent savage stereotype.

Furthermore, when the scalp hunters break a deal with the Yuma Natives encamped on the banks of the Colorado river, alcohol and savagery appear again. The initially peaceful and trusting Yumas plot revenge against the Glanton gang. The craving for revenge is another key characteristic associated with savagery and savagism. Subsequently, the Yumas in effect wreak vengeance when they storm the campground of the gang which is largely drunk and fails to react. McCarthy therefore does not really reinforce the drunken Indian stereotype. Instead, he shows the general moral impact of drunkenness even on the civilized characters. Still, the Yuma warriors act coldly and systematically slaughter their drunken enemies, “split the head of John Joel Glanton to the thrapple” (McCarthy 2022: 290) and also kill his dog. The savage stereotype hence remains to be the strongest motif tied to the Natives and McCarthy openly presents it that way:

> The savages built a bonfire on the hill and fueled it with the furnishings from the white men's quarters and they raised up Glanton's body and bore it aloft in the manner of a slain champion and hurled it onto the flames. They'd tied his dog to his corpse and it was snatched after in howling suttee to disappear crackling in the rolling greenwood smoke. The doctor's torso was dragged up by the heels and raised and flung onto the pyre and the doctor's mastiff also was committed to the flames. (McCarthy 2022: 290)

3.4 Killers of the Flower Moon: Oil, Money, Murder and the Birth of the FBI

The focus of David Grann's 2017 nonfiction book can be well summarised by Fletcher's article "Failed Protectors: The Indian Trust and 'Killers of the Flower Moon'". It "details a story that is widely known in Indian country but that has never before penetrated mainstream American culture" (Fletcher 1253). As has been illustrated in the parts of this thesis detailing the historical coexistence of the two ethnic groups in North America and the chapters examining the selected literary works, both mainstream American and European cultures have overlooked the struggle of the Native American people for centuries. The narrative of the nonfiction effectively uses the foundation of continuous maltreatment and series of broken treaties by the United States to deepen the awareness of local tragedies connected to the Indigenous population. What is now known as the "Osage Reign of Terror" (Fletcher 1254), a set of murders motivated by profiteering from territorial and inheritance rights, has parallels throughout the whole colonial and American history. The major difference, however, was that during the time of the 20th century Osage killings, the Indigenous nation could not fight back nor effectively resist because their rights were constrained by US government to which they were a subject. Although many perpetrators responsible for the murders of the Osage people were caught, "the United States' limited response to these murders was too late and far too incomplete" (Fletcher 1254).

Grann's book works with historical records which are either directly reproduced or paraphrased. Since the murders and their investigation took place in the 1920s, social situation, status and conformity were quite different from today. Grann thus openly illustrates the way innumerable non-Native people perceived the Osage Natives, who were unlike many other Indigenous nations very rich. The non-Native perception was arguably full of envy and more importantly for the context of the thesis affected by stereotypes. Notably, the Osage people themselves were changed by their entitlement to a land full of mineral wealth, a land which the United States of America did not find worth much[15] before the significance of oil was discovered.

[15] During the Jefferson administration, the Osage were forced to cede their ancestral lands for the first time (Grann 2023: 38). Overall, they relinquished "nearly a hundred million acres" (Grann 2023: 28).

The following passage showcases the relocated Natives initially believed their newly allocated land had little value to the Americans: "[…]Wah-Ti-An-Kah, an Osage chief, stood at a council meeting and said," 'My people will be happy in this land. White man cannot put iron thing in ground here. White man will not come to this land. There are many hills here…white man does not like country where there are hills, and he will not come' (Grann 2023: 40). Their relocation to today's state of Oklahoma raised hope, albeit it was associated with forced removal and violence which saw "impatient settlers" (Grann 2023: 40) massacre several Osage in the process. Grann depicts the atmosphere of both the second half of the 19th century using historical details and documented utterances in order to accentuate the decline of the Indigenous nations during that era. In relation to the examination of the vanishing Indian stereotype, it is again evident how it arose in the context of the expulsion of Natives Americans from their homeland. Many of the Osage also died because of 'white man's diseases' (Grann 2023: 41) such as smallpox. Hunger, linked to the lack of buffalo, and the unfamiliarity with "the white man's agricultural methods" (Grann 2023: 42) also contributed to the thinning of the Osage population. So, at first, the Osage reservation seemed to be an environment where life of the surviving Aboriginals only deteriorated. Yet, Grann states that even the first white settlers who moved to the reservation were poor and underprivileged (Grann 2023: 25).

Nevertheless, the discovery of mineral deposits has changed almost everything. According to Grann, the Osage historian Louis F. Burns noted "that after oil was discovered, the tribe had 'been set adrift in a strange world'" (Grann 2023: 25). Considering the Osage had a treaty which granted the Native people all rights to the raw materials found on the territory, the law required anyone who wanted to mine the resources to pay lease[16] to the Native owners. The Osage were not accustomed to wealth, and neither were any non-Natives familiar with rich Native Americans. This is where the trouble began for the Osage because Americans started to exploit the wealthy Osage people, who sometimes lacked financial literacy and were educated only in boarding schools. It was especially the white men, who sought to get rich through inheritance of the mineral rights. Grann reveals that in 1921 the United States Congress decided that the Osage people needed non-Native guardians who

[16] "The tribe soon began leasing areas to more and more white prospectors for exploration" (Grann 2023: 53), meaning the non-Natives strived to establish profitable business on the reservation.

would be in charge of their financial affairs. The decision suggested the Native Americans were incompetent in terms of handling finances, which further implies their deeply rooted savagism (Grann 2023: 79). Some of the white settlers who moved to the reservation also carried in them the remnants of the savage stereotype commonly associated with the Indigenous ethnic: 'Are they dangerous? Will we have to fight them off?' (Grann 2023: 52). Ironically, the only people who the Osage reservation needed to combat were non-Native "predators" (Grann 2023: 80) interested in oil money. When the Osage needed money to educate their children, cover medical bills or generally live comfortable lives using the money they had, they remained dependent on the guardians because of their ancestry. Acculturation and financial wealth were not enough to finally overcome the ingrained image of the savage (Grann 2023: 80).

Even when the series of the Osage murders had already claimed several victims, "prejudiced and corrupt white citizens would not implicate one of their own in the killing of American Indians" (Grann 2023: 171, 172). Similarly, when the investigators apprehended of the white killers, John Ramsey, he continually referred to his victim as 'the Indian' (Grann 2023: 192) although he knew the victim's name which was Henry Roan. "Then, as if to justify his crime, Ramsey added that even now 'white people in Oklahoma thought no more of killing an Indian than they did in 1724'" (Grann 2023: 192). Ramsey's confession to the crime again shows that the Natives were regarded as inferior people, savages underserving of the wealth they had. In order to perpetrate some of the murders, the culprits, including William Hale, Bill and Ernest Burkhart or the mentioned John Ramsey, used alcohol to influence the victims. From what Grann presents, alcohol was in fact one of the weaknesses of numerous Osage people at that time. In the case of Henry Roan, liquor was his way of coping with his wife's death. Ramsey, who was among other things a bootlegger, was thus able to befriend Roan through whiskey and kill him afterwards. "Joe Bates, an Osage Indian" (Grann 2023: 197) was another victim influenced by alcohol. Bates' wife reported that Hale repeatedly made her husband drunk with a single purpose in mind: "Hale would come to the house and ask him to sell his inherited shares in land. Joe always refused no matter how drunk he was. I never believed that he sold that land, he always told me he would not even up to a few days before his death…. Well, Hale got the land" (Grann 2023: 197).

Grann never states the Natives are drunkards but rather illustrates some of them have had problems with the substance and the criminals trusted the concept of the drunken Indian to reach their goals. Anna Brown, who was a sister of the main protagonist Mollie Burkhart, was also under the influence when she was shot by Kelsie Morrison and Bryan Burkhart. "She had often gone on 'sprees,' as her family called them: dancing and drinking with friends until dawn" (Grann 2023: 5). "Morrison's former wife, Katherine Cole, an Osage woman who had agreed to testify against Hale" (Grann 2023: 200) was supposed to be another Native drunk victim. Hale ordered a "gunman and told him to 'get her out drunk and get rid of her.' But at the last minute, the gunman wouldn't go through with it" (Grann 2023: 200). The drunken Indian stereotype is therefore present in Grann's narrative, albeit not as an inherent flaw of ethnicity, but as a tool of exploitation and a symptom of deeper traumas and systemic problems. The author arguably tries to deconstruct the stereotype and show its more complex and tragic reality which is repeatedly exhibited through reports of agents who partook in the murder investigations:

> In connection with the mysterious deaths of a large number of Indians, the perpetrators of the crime would get an Indian intoxicated, have a doctor examine him and pronounce him intoxicated…and after the doctor's departure the [killers] would inject an enormous amount of morphine under the armpit of the drunken Indian, which would result in his death. The doctor's certificate would subsequently read 'death from alcoholic poison.' (Grann 2023: 282, 283).

Substance abuse is thus portrayed as a part of a wider conspiracy against the Osage rather than a flaw of the Indigenous people. Still, there are Native Americans in the narrative who abstained from alcohol and yet suffered greatly. Mollie Burkhart and her children were the only members of her Osage family surviving the reign of terror. Mollie's mother and sisters were all murdered. Lizzie was a suspect of poisoning (Grann 2023: 151), Minnie died of an inexplicable 'wasting illness' (63), Rita was killed in an explosion (113) and Anna shot dead (192). Since Mollie's husband Ernest and his brother Bill together with their uncle William Hale were later accused of murder and subsequently brought to trial, Mollie found herself in an uncomfortable situation. She became "cast out from the two worlds that she'd always straddled" (Grann 2023: 203).

"Whites, loyal to Hale, shunned her, while many Osage ostracized her for bringing the killers among them and for remaining loyal to Ernest. Reporters portrayed her as an 'ignorant squaw'" (Grann 2023: 203). The word squaw, a sexual slur denoting an Indigenous woman, hints that many of the 20th century people continued to view the Osage as Indigenous objects closer to savagery than civilisation. The noble savage stereotype is not used in this excerpt and hardly anywhere else in the non-fiction narrative. The Natives can be seen in a primitive and peaceful state only at the beginning when they relocate to the reservation. Once the oil is found, Grann emphasises the modern lifestyle and the vast wealth the Osage people have. "Journalists told stories, often wildly exaggerated, of Osage who discarded grand pianos on their lawns or replaced old cars with new ones after getting a flat tire" (Grann 2023: 76). Mockery and hyperbole were simply a way of how the envious people dealt with the fact that a limited number of Native Americans were richer than the members of the majority population. It was especially the reporters and editors who just like in the previous centuries shaped the public opinion. "The accounts rarely, if ever, mentioned that numerous Osage had skillfully invested their money or that some of the spending by the Osage might have reflected ancestral customs that linked grand displays of generosity with tribal stature" (Grann 2023: 76).

Paradoxically, the immense wealth of the Osages did not lead to their admiration as noble savages and instead reinforced the perception of the more aggressive stereotype of the savage alongside the desire to exploit them. Some people saw a "typical Osage as good-for-nothing who had attained wealth 'merely because the Government unfortunately located him upon oil land'" (Grann 2023: 76, 77). Others reported enjoyment upon the sight of 'the bizarre impact of wealth on the Neolithic men with the usual smugness and wisdom of the unlearned' (Grann 2023: 77). Hence, savagery associated with the Indigenous people remained ever present and it can be felt the most in the presented narrative. Many of the Osage felt it too and it is not a surprise that when Hale and the other defendants stood trial, there was a doubt whether they are going to be duly punished. "A prominent member of the Osage tribe" (Grann 2023: 215) expressed his doubts in a following utterance: 'It is a question in my mind whether this jury is considering a murder case or not. The question for them to decide is whether a white man killing an Osage is murder—or merely cruelty to animals' (215).

Lastly, the plot accentuates that many Natives disappeared not because they were incompatible with the outside world but because they were systematically murdered. Accordingly, the vanishing Indian regularly appears but not due to the Osages' inability to adapt to modernity. On the contrary, they were some of the richest and most modern people in the world, driving chauffeured cars and living in mansions. Vanishing of the Osage was a result of premeditated murders by white men who married Osage women and then killed them together with their families to inherit their share in the oil deposits. By exposing the truth behind vanishing of the Osage people, Grann gives the victims a voice and combats the stereotype.

4 Findings and Discussion

The above examined literary works were published in the 19th, 20th and 21st century. Each work was written by a non-Native author, which is crucial aspect of the analysis because the expectation was that each writer must have worked with cultural stereotypes related to the Native American population. The central question was *How does the literary discourse of Caucasian authors construct, reconstruct, or deconstruct stereotypical representation of Native Americans in various historical contexts.* In other words, whether did these authors use and interpret or refrain from using the four established stereotypes, namely the noble savage, the vanishing Indian, the drunken Indian and the savage. The basic assumption was that at least one the four stereotypes is always going to be present in every narrative. While that is certainly true, the degree of usage as well as the dominant stereotypes differ. This can be explained by the date of publication of the books and the time periods during which the literary works were being written. In case of the noble savage stereotype, it is most prominent in the oldest books. Both Cooper and Fuller romanticised some of the Indigenous people in their writing. Cooper was arguably more radical in his effort to create a clear division between the noble savages and plain savages. His Mohicans, Chingachgook and Uncas, are somewhat idealised, obedient, taciturn and good by nature. Yet, it is Hawkeye, the central white protagonist who determines which Natives have the mentioned virtues or innate flaws related to the savage stereotype. Fuller is comparable in this respect. She began her trip to the Great Lakes with an initial fear of the Indigenous population as she succumbed to perceptions of her contemporaries. Many 19th century Americans and Europeans believed people living on the frontier were dangerous, wild or even bloodthirsty. In short, Native Americans were widely considered savage, hence the stereotype.

Fuller was, however, driven by her experience and therefore her perception of the Natives leans towards romanticism. She repeatedly contradicts the beliefs of other Caucasians, no matter if they are fellow travellers, settlers, men or women. The sense of Native nobility is at times so strong that it evolves into admiration. Fuller also openly admits that the majority population could in many aspects learn from the Natives. Yet she was aware her sentiment was not generally shared and noticed white people liked to be harsh on the Indigenous population. But if there's an author who is harsh, and not only towards the

Indigenous people, it is McCarthy. His *Blood Meridian* essentially arguably does not feature the noble savage stereotype. Although some of the Delaware Natives are quite obedient in regard to their role in the gang of the scalp hunters, their key acts are mainly associated with savagery. Any idealization of the Natives, especially in cases where a noble savage might appear, is therefore rejected. David Grann in *Killers of the Flower Moon* too attempts to avoid the noble savage stereotype. Hints of this stereotype are quickly overturned back to savagery by the whites who envy the Osage their oil money.

The savage stereotype is ergo the most dominant one out of the four in all the examined literary works. Grann demonstrates that white people perceived Indians as savages not only through envy but also through undermining their financial literacy. The presence of the savage stereotype linked to Native Americans is strongly felt throughout the entire narrative grounded in real murders motivated by financial gain. In McCarthy' story, Native Americans are portrayed as wild and dangerous right from the beginning. They are often set in opposition to civilisation, which directly mirrors the theoretical part where the stereotypes are thoroughly explained. McCarthy also labels more than five Indigenous nations in the narrative as savage and makes no visible distinction between them. The same cannot be stated about Cooper. His savages are the opposites to the noble savages. Majority of the Native antagonists are stereotypical savages, who unlike the noble Mohicans have mostly negative characteristics. They are seen as barbarous, suitable only for basic tasks, of a poor intellect and again different from civilisation. Fuller, on the contrary, slowly deconstructs the assertion that Indigenous Americans are savages. She exemplifies many people think it is a fact but ultimately reveals that savagery is a concept that would not have been so dominant had Indigenous history been recorded by the Natives themselves.

Savagery and savagism then relate to why Indigenous persons are disappearing from North America. Fuller met many people from the majority population who saw savagery as the reason why the Native communities were thinning. The stereotype of the vanishing Indian is thus another dominant theme in *The Summer on the Lakes in 1843*. Additionally, the author herself watched a group of Chippewa Natives await their annual payment for the ceded land as well as other wandering Indigenous bands living in contemporary homes, which made her feel like they are stranded. The other three narratives have a distinct way of

utilising the stereotype of the vanishing Indian. Cooper brings the last two survivors of the Mohican people to the front to accentuate the gradual disappearance of the Indigenous tribes and nations. He also blames the colonists for making the Natives pick sides and fight among themselves, which leads to their vanishing. Moreover, since Uncas is killed and his father becomes the last person from his nation, the readers are ultimately forced to pity the vanishing Mohicans. Pity can also be felt in the context of Grann's vanishing Indians. They are at first defined by the removal from their ancestral land and later start to disappear because of their wealth. The striking difference between the 19th century authors and Grann is that the latter deconstructs the concept of the vanishing Indian and each disappearance is explained by murder.

Grann himself never implies the Natives were incompatible with the world around them. Instead, he puts forth the idea that the white settlers failed to live in harmony with their Indigenous neighbours. When it comes to McCarthy's approach to the vanishing Indian, it is similarly to Grann connected with manslaughter rather than with incompatibility. His scalp hunters are responsible for dozens of dead Natives. Ergo, the vanishing Indian in the *Blood Meridian* is not a romantic elegy but rather a horrific bloodbath for a monetary reward. He arguably also distances from the typical stereotype of the vanishing Indian and imposes interracial violence as the fundamental reason for Indigenous decline. Equivalently, McCarthy further minimises the usage of the drunken Indian stereotype. There are Apache riders who seek whiskey as compensation for an injustice but other than that alcohol is more of a general element in the story. Grann's approach also does not mark the Indigenous people as perpetual alcoholics. Few Osage people are known for frequent drinking, but it is not at all related to their genetics.

Cooper too uses the stereotype of the drunken Indian quite rarely and even though alcohol plays a minor role in the plot, it is again described as a manner of manipulation used by the whites. When it comes to Fuller's use of the drunken Indian stereotype, she speaks through the statements of white individuals who employ the stereotype. Despite her attempt to distance from the usually offensive remarks, the stereotype of the drunken Indian remains strong and is repeated.

Overall, it is important to mention that the concept of stereotype is a relatively modern tool for analysis. It is not a literary category with which the 19th century operated. The power of stereotype is in allowing a retrospective reading of texts as products of ideological structures. Consequently, stereotype is at risk of becoming a ubiquitous and self-fulfilling instrument which overlooks the uniqueness, development or inner conflicts in many gripping narratives. In other words, if we strive to identify cultural stereotypes, we are likely to find them. The question is whether it contributes to the interpretation of the examined literary works. In the context of this thesis, identification and subsequent analysis of stereotypical perceptions correlates with the historical outline. Stereotypical perceptions tied to Native Americans have been developing for centuries and gradually became entrenched in the majority population. Cooper had little personal experience with actual Indigenous people and yet he decided to use what one may call stereotypes to make his narrative more interesting. Fuller even acknowledged she had been influenced by stereotypes and later managed to personally distance from them. McCarthy studied historical records but chose to use savagery as the key attribute of his Native American characters anyway. Grann is then the only one of the authors who took a critical distance and only reported what he has researched about the Osage murders, which corresponds to him publishing his work in the 21st century.

To summarise the answer to the abovementioned research question, each author worked with cultural stereotypes, but it was mainly Fuller and Grann who tried to deconstruct them. McCarthy effortlessly reconstructed mainly the savage stereotype while Cooper contributed to the formation of all four types with the drunken Indian being the least prominent. Additional research could reveal if and why these stereotypes are still popular in contemporary literature or whether they are in decline.

5 Conclusion

An important aspect of this thesis was the contextualisation of historical coexistence of white people and the Indigenous population. Such framework makes it possible to discern how were stereotypes against the Natives generally constructed. Yet, it was necessary to determine which specific cultural stereotypes were the most common and therefore a fixed number of stereotypes was deducted from the historical outline and used for the subsequent analysis of literary works by non-Native American authors. Next key point was that all the literary works depicting Indigenous population subjected to analysis were written by unrelated Caucasian writers. The final requirement was that each literary piece had to be written in different time period in order to observe how the use of stereotypes changed. The only exception is Cooper's *The last of the Mohicans* and Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes in 1843* which were written twenty years apart. On the other hand, there is a noticeable contrast between the two works since Cooper is a representative of the American Romanticism and Fuller is affiliated with the American transcendental movement. Moreover, all the books were then studied against the background of the comprehensive historical timeline as well as the explored types of stereotypes.

The backbone of the theoretical part and its research were scientific articles and texts by scholars from the field of history, literature, anthropology and media. One of the most prominently applied methods was the postcolonial theory found in the text from Ashcroft, B., et al. titled *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. Consistently with the postcolonial theory, *The Routledge Introduction to Native American Literature* played an important role in contextualising the emergence of the selected stereotypes in literature. There is, of course, a plethora of additional publications which tremendously contributed to the undertaken research and their input can be felt the most in respective passages. Since the research is qualitative, the aim was to gather as much information as possible in order to objectively describe the findings, which were later contrasted with the analysed literary works. Thereupon the research draws on many sources which include scholars from the majority population as well as Indigenous ones. Simultaneously, expertise of photographers, literary critics, most notably of Roy Harvey Pearce, or experienced columnists was another vital part of the investigation behind the rise of cultural stereotypes.

The first half of the thesis hence intends to showcase how stereotypes against the Native Americans originated and formed over the centuries. It also attempts to demystify the assertions of well-established stereotypes and reveal why one-dimensional characteristics of a large and heterogenous ethnic exist in the first place. Similar process is accomplished in the practical part of the thesis. The principal difference is in analysing the selected literary works not only through the historical development but via the established dominant types of stereotypes. Books from the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries are thus juxtaposed with the content of the theoretical part. The findings are ergo anchored in the extensive qualitative research. The entire process allowed for an effective identification of the stereotypes in question. Each author was expected to use stereotypes to at least some extent, depending on the circumstances of his or her time period, trends, knowledge or style. Chapters dedicated to the particular literary works firstly introduce respective writings and contextualise individual authors. Afterwards, the usage of the four cultural stereotypes is illustrated and followed by an effort to deconstruct them using the data from the theoretical part. While each author is unique, the level of scrutiny and careful perusal remained the same for all the examined works. Only then can the results of the study by classified as objective. Although the chapters dedicated to the authors and their work disclose how and why are the stereotypes used in each text, the comprehensive evaluation is further developed in the chapter Findings and Discussion.

The penultimate part of this thesis provides the answer to the research question established the theoretical part. The aim was to analyse *how does the literary discourse of Caucasian authors construct, reconstruct, or deconstruct stereotypical representation of Native Americans in various historical contexts*. It has been discovered that the writers from the 19th century, Cooper and Fuller, used stereotypes because they reflected what they knew about the Indigenous people. The coexistence of the colonists, settlers and later Americans with the Aboriginals has been exhibited as problematic and largely asymmetric. People like Cooper were on top of the literary discourse and were able to create embellished narratives without thinking about authenticity. Fuller actually mentions Cooper's influence on her which illustrates the effect of the constructed stereotypes. She had been forced to envisage Native Americans as dangerous savages and later deconstructed the idea.

Readers of fiction are bound to have a comparable experience to Fuller if they do not question what they read. Fuller was able to challenge the stereotypical perception of the Native Americans only after meeting them in person. Later writers, McCarthy and Grann, had the option to interpret the Native population more objectively or deconstruct the established stereotypes entirely. Grann virtually does it by exposing the importance of cultural stereotypes against the Osage in the 1920s. The deep-seated incomprehension of Indigenous values together with disrespect for the people can be traced deep into the past and is also exemplified by the postcolonial theory. Grann certainly knows it and consequently represents the most objective narration out of the four literary works. McCarthy deliberately takes the opposite direction. Even though he has examined historical records for the purpose of the novel, he uses, among other themes, the worst aspects found in the historical outline as well as the most common stereotypes and creates a brutal but memorable story. There are without a doubt innumerable novels, stories, films, depictions and narratives employing the image of Native Americans. Some more stereotypical or objective than others. Despite this thesis' effort to uncover how these stereotypes originated and how they relate to American literary works, it cannot fully answer why they remain popular. Perhaps further investigation encompassing empirical research could address the issue.

From my own exposure to what can be called the area of Native American studies, I firmly believe that the usage of stereotypes corresponds to the suppression of the Indigenous minority in the United States of America, their segregation and coping with the traumatic past. Another element to consider is the normative function of literature and film. Both types of media standardise the view of their consumers. For such reasons, it is important to consider narratives from multiple angles and focus not only on the mainstream. Literature and motion pictures belonging to the postcolonial genre or independent creators offer just that. The dominant perspective is usually created by the historical victors, and it can be felt especially among the surviving minorities who are at times, just like the Indigenous people of North American, only a shadow of their former self.

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