### **UCLA**

# **American Indian Culture and Research Journal**

#### **Title**

Fighting Colonialism with Hegemonic Culture: Native American Appropriations of Indian Stereotypes. By Maureen Trudelle Schwarz.

#### **Permalink**

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5cp7m9kt

### **Journal**

American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 38(3)

#### ISSN

0161-6463

#### **Author**

FitzGerald, Michael Ray

#### **Publication Date**

2014-06-01

#### DOI

10.17953

# **Copyright Information**

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at <a href="https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/">https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/</a>

Fighting Colonialism with Hegemonic Culture: Native American Appropriations of Indian Stereotypes. By Maureen Trudelle Schwarz. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013. 233 pages. \$80.00 cloth; \$26.95 paper.

Fighting Colonialism with Hegemonic Culture contributes real-world case studies to the field of cultural and media anthropology. Insightful, lucid, coherent, and generally well-researched, it provides a fairly good read that contains a good deal of valuable information. However, much of this work on representation was pioneered decades ago in the fields of literary criticism and cultural studies. Perhaps symptomatic of disciplinary walls, or perhaps Schwarz assumes her readers are already familiar with Stuart Hall's foundational cultural studies framework, but the author only mentions Hall in an endnote, and barely mentions Edward Said. Schwarz does incorporate ideas from other seminal figures in the field of representation, such as Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (from whom Hall and many others borrowed), postcolonial literary critic Homi K. Bhabha, and American Indian studies scholar Ward Churchill.

In any case, the book contributes some test cases that support Hall's 1972 framework. When Schwarz asserts that popular music is an arena in which meanings are negotiated, for example, citing Reebee Garofalo, the concept could have come straight from Hall (58). Moreover, Hall's 1972 concept of polysemy, or multiple readings, includes oppositional readings, in which minorities reappropriate common, usually negative stereotypes and bend them to their own empowering, sometimes subversive purposes. Hall provided examples from black neighborhoods in Britain, while here Schwarz applies Hall's framework to American Indians and demonstrates how they too have reappropriated hegemonic stereotypes, many of which were once considered demeaning. By doing so, Native Americans have sought to seize control of their meanings, turning the stereotypes on their heads.

Most of Schwarz's points are supported by reliable sources, although one instance she cites a single 1998 report by cultural critics Michael T. Marsden and Jack Nachbar to claim that the bloodthirsty savage stereotype, which she calls the "Savage Reactionary," is "by far the single most popular stock stereotype of Native Americans to date" in film and television (93). However, this may only be accurate until about 1940. As film scholar Angela Aleiss has demonstrated, this shopworn clichéd stereotype seems to have peaked just prior to World War II, though it does reappear from time to time. In light of the Shoah, filmic images of entire peoples being forcibly displaced or extirpated became distasteful to many Hollywood executives, as well as segments of the public—and certainly the federal government. During the postwar period, diplomacy required that such stereotypes be reined in; indeed, David Eldridge has shown that the US Department of State and the CIA

Reviews 169

sent representatives to Hollywood in a fairly successful effort to stanch the proliferation of demeaning stereotypes of American Indians in film and TV. Perhaps a more accurate claim might be that, at least since 1940, the most popular stereotype is the noble savage, or the helpless Native as an object-to-be-managed by agents of the federal government or other enlightened white men. There is no reliable way of ascertaining this absent an exhaustive quantitative study, in addition to critical scrutiny of the term "popular."

Although Espera De Corti's image graces the book's cover, the text does not fully credit Aleiss for being the first to break the story that Corti was not an Indian, although he enjoyed a lengthy career posing as one. Corti—a B-movie actor also known as "Iron Eyes Cody"—famously portrayed the crying Indian in *Keep America Beautiful* public-service announcements aired on television. Author of an exhaustive study of Indians on film, Aleiss is a crucial figure in the field of Indian representation. While the text does mention Aleiss' 1996 newspaper story, the endnotes only list later secondary sources.

Chapter 2 addresses issues of who controls Indian images, especially in connection with the marketing of products. Non-Native businesses sometimes use images derived from sacred religious traditions, a fact that upsets Native traditionalists for good reason. To illuminate her point, let us consider what the reaction would be if the word "Christ" were used as a product name: What if someone were to market Flesh of Christ" snack crackers, Blood of Christ red wine, or Muhammad brand pork rinds? Chapters 4 and 5 concern Indian entrepreneurs who use stereotypical images themselves to market their own products and services. She calls this "reverse commodity racism"; however, chauvinism or bigotry would be more appropriate.

Schwarz is to be commended for her forthright use of the term "colonialism" with respect to the relationship between the United States and Native America. Few authors have had the courage to state that the United States is and has always been a colonialist power, Churchill among them. This view is too often considered a dangerous heresy. It is also commendable that Schwarz illustrates the various ways in which this colonialism continues, especially in light of many Euro-Americans' assumption that oppression of American Indians is a thing of the past.

Fighting Colonialism includes unnecessary detail that does not always advance Schwarz's argument, and there are times when the material's connection to her thesis seems tenuous at best. In addition, there are documentation and editorial errors; for example, superscript numbers in the text do not always match the corresponding endnotes. A bibliography would have added to the book's value. Especially in light of its high price, these omissions should have been dealt with before the book's distribution. Nonetheless, Fighting

*Colonialism* is a well-intentioned book that overall contains many good points, and is sometimes fascinating, even illuminating.

Michael Ray FitzGerald Jacksonville University

French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630–1815. Edited by Robert Englebert and Guillaume Teasdale. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012. 219 pages. \$25.95 paper; \$20.95 ebook.

In their introduction, Englebert and Teasdale explain why French-Indian relations in the Great Lakes and Mississippi Basin have been neglected by historians. In Canadian historiography, the role of the fur trade and its voyageurs is an essential part of national myth, but Canadian historians have focused on the region that is now part of Canada, not on the area between the Ohio and upper Mississippi Rivers and the Great Lakes, labeled "The Heart of North America" in the subtitle and in a map in the book. Francophone historians based in Québec, for their part, have built a separate historiography concentrated on the lower St. Lawrence Valley, the region that coincides with modern Québec and with the colony of New France before the English conquest of 1759. In United States historiography the doctrines of Anglo-American exceptionalism and of the expanding western frontier obscured the role of French and francophone peoples. In the writings of Washington Irving, Francis Parkman, and many classroom texts of US history, the French were assimilated to the Indians, both destined to vanish beneath a great wave of Anglo-Saxon domination.

Washington Irving's Astoria (1836), which he wrote on a commission from John Jacob Astor himself, is an epic narrative of Astor's project to develop a depot at the mouth of the Columbia River (now the modern town of Astoria, Oregon) in order to take control of the western fur trade and exploit markets in China. Irving's tale unrolls as the story of the men Astor chose to lead the expedition and share in its expected profits: Alexander Mackay, Duncan McDonald, and Robert and David Stuart, who sailed around Cape Horn to Oregon on the Tonquin; and Donald Mackenzie and Wilson Price Hunt, who led the overland group which crossed the Rockies at South Pass, Wyoming, and then tried to paddle down the Snake River. While the vast majority of the sixty men (and one woman) in the overland expedition and the thirty men in the maritime group were French-Canadians, Irving rarely even mentions their names. The Frenchmen had the route-finding, trapping and local knowledge that made the endeavor possible, yet remained invisible workers in a

Reviews 171