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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF STEREOTYPING OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN  
IN SELECTED MASS MEDIA

by

Michael Pratt

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Communication

Approved:

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Major Professor

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Committee Member

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Committee Member

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Dean of Graduate Studies

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY  
Logan, Utah

1979

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The first fact I immediately realized after beginning this thesis is that, it is not done entirely by one man. There are several contributors and supporters throughout the course of this project.

I am most deeply indebted to two professors, Dr. Marlan Nelson and Dr. Bonnie Spillman, both whom I admire greatly. It is because of their guidance and confidence in me, I was able to complete this seemingly impossible task.

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Michael Pratt

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## ABSTRACT

A Content Analysis of Stereotyping of the American Indian  
in Selected Mass Media

by

Michael Pratt, Master of Science

Utah State University, 1979

Major Professor: Marlan Nelson  
Major: Communications

This study was conducted to see to what extent, if any, the American Indian was stereotyped. In three magazines, two aimed at the young reader and one for a specialized adult audience, two areas of the publications were content analyzed. First, all of the cartoons that dealt specifically with American Indians were surveyed and categorized. Next, all magazine articles about American Indians were collected, read thoroughly and placed into categories. The magazines were the "Boy's Life," "Jack and Jill", and the "Western Horseman".

To gather data on media presentations of Indians eight categories were used, they were: (1) Personal appearance, (2) Dress, (3) Communications, (4) Transportation, (5) Family dwellings, (6) Daily routines, (7) Intelligence, and (8) Names.

The study showed that the American Indian men presented in the stories and cartoons were dressed in buckskin leggings, wore a breechcloth, had long braided hair, wore feathers or war bonnets, moccasins and had painted faces. Generally, the magazines presented all Indian characters patterned after the plains Indian. In all of the cartoons

where living conditions were portrayed, the Indians occupied teepees, hogans, log cabins or pueblo apartments. The Indians traveled on horses, and when communicating over long distances they used smoke signals or drumbeats. The Indian's everyday life was presented as spent in hunting for game for food, tending to animal herds, constructing clothes, shelter, and hunting weapons, and producing Indian handicrafts.

The stories and cartoons depicted the Indians as easily outwitted by a superior white man. The Indians were nomadic hunters in the stories. The stories and cartoons described the Indians in terms of life-styles prevalent over 150 years ago. No distinction was made among tribes, all Indians were cast the same. The Indians were characters who had names of animals or titles that were tagged on them by the white man. Squaw, papoose, buck and chief were general character names used in the stories and cartoons.

(52 Pages)

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

The American Indian has been a favorite character for mass media writers. He has been characterized by television, newspapers, movies, novels, magazines, cartoons and radio commercials. In nearly all of these characterizations the Indian has been portrayed as speaking broken English, wearing long, braided hair, with painted face, engaging in war whooping, howling and dancing and dressed as the traditional Indian of the 1860s.

The National Congress of American Indians, The American Indian Movement (AIM), and Association of American Indian Affairs are quite concerned with the pictures the media have presented of Native Americans. These organizations, along with concerned Indian leaders, feel these images of the Indian should be changed. They are concerned that the negative portrayal is detrimental to the advancement of the Indian race.

"The Commission on Freedom of the Press" (1947) recommended that the media portray all constituent groups in society unbiasedly. The commission advocated: "It (the press) must project a representative picture of the constituent groups in society ... the requirement would have the press accurately portray the social groups, the Chinese, the Negroes and the American Indian, for example, since people tend to make decisions in terms of favorable or unfavorable images and a false picture can subvert accurate judgment (Siebert, Peterson, Schramm, 1956)." The motion picture, radio and television codes all contain



statements urging the media to respect national feelings and the sensitivity of racial and religious groups.

How have the media presented the American Indian, one of our constituent social groups? To what extent, if any, has the race been stereotyped? Although stereotypes are difficult to isolate, a content analysis of messages can provide a researcher with a tool for objectively observing media images of any group.

The question remains at this point, do the mass media give an accurate portrayal of the Indian? Modern historians say the American Indian has been exploited for more than 300 years in this country beginning the very day white colonists set foot on Plymouth Rock. American Indians have been murdered by the thousands, driven from their homes and natural origin, exploited, reduced from approximately 1,000,000 to 240,000 at the turn of this century and finally herded onto reservations (Sadker and Sadker, 1977). Many tribes have ceased to function (operate as tribal councils) and some have even ceased to exist. Indians living in the restricted environments established by the federal government were unable to live as their ancestors had, and they were unable to merge significantly into the mainstream of American Society. Indian reservations took on the appearance of underdeveloped countries in the midst of a technologically advanced society. The Bureau of Indian Affairs became the governing body of the Indians and Indians looked to this government agency for their food, clothing, supplies, shelter, education and medical needs. Also, the Indian youth were educated in remote off-the-reservations government "Boarding Schools." These schools generally tried to educate Indians to the ways of white American society, and the success of such education has been measured

in terms of Indian assimilation of white values and lifestyles. When the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy was visiting a school with 80 percent Shoshone student population, he asked the principal if the heritage and history of the Indian children were parts of the curricula. The principal's curt response was that the Shoshone Indian tribe had no history (Sadker and Sadker, 1977).

Therefore, since the American Indian was placed in a subservient role, he has had little control over his destiny. He, too, had little to say about how he has been portrayed by the mass media. The Indian struggle for physical survival continues as does his struggle to maintain culture, identity, pride and purpose. The American Indian is no longer content to be portrayed as the traditional Indian of over 150 years ago. He wants to be able to take his place in society as an equal and not as a painted, howling savage looking for someone to scalp. Such presentations have hindered the advancement of the Native American. Though studies such as this one concrete data on media presentations of Indians can become available and used by media practitioners to strive for a more representative presentation of this constituent group.

In order to gather data on media presentations of Indians, three magazines--two aimed at the young reader and one for a specialized adult audience--were content-analyzed. All the cartoons that dealt specifically with American Indians and all magazine articles about American Indians were content-analyzed, using eight categories: (1) personal appearance, (2) communication, (3) transportation, (4) family dwellings, (5) daily routines, (6) intelligence, (7) radical ethnics and (8) names.

CHAPTER II  
METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

This study was conducted to see to what extent, if any, the American Indian was stereotyped in three magazines--two aimed at the young reader and one for a specialized adult audience. Two areas of the publications were content-analyzed. First, all of the cartoons that dealt specifically with American Indians were surveyed and categorized. Next, all magazine articles about American Indians were collected, read thoroughly and placed into categories. The magazines were Boy's Life, Jack and Jill, and the Western Horseman.

By surveying the content of these publications and categorizing the messages, the researcher was interested in determining whether the magazines presented a stereotype of the American Indian. The research included the counting of the total number of stories and cartoons in each publication, and categorizing the Indian-related cartoons and stories.

The purpose of analyzing the cartoons and stories was to find how the magazines presented the Indian to their readers. Generally, the researcher probed the questions: How was the American Indian portrayed in the cartoons and stories in three selected publications? Did the cartoons and stories give an accurate portrayal of how the American Indian looks, dresses, talks and lives?

A content analysis, as described by Berelson is "A research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952).

The techniques of content analysis may be applied to the study of the contents of any book, magazine, newspaper, individual story or article, motion picture, news broadcast or a series or combination of any of these. Content analysis may be as simple as counting the number of editorials one newspaper carried during a selected time period, as sophisticated and complex as the investigator's knowledge and imagination allow (Budd-thorp, 1963).

Three different publications were chosen for this analysis. These publications were analyzed over a ten-year period from 1966 to 1976. The three publications were The Western Horseman from which all cartoons were collected and those with direct American Indian reference content analyzed. Its circulation is approximately 209,388.

The magazines were chosen because of their wide circulation. Jack and Jill is primarily published for children from pre-school to fourth grade. This magazine is widely subscribed to by grade school districts in the United States and has a circulation of 600,000. Grade school children are easily impressed and many of the impressions they form during youth can remain with them the rest of their lives.

The Boy Scout magazine, Boy's Life, was chosen because it is primarily written for the child of 12 to 18 years of age, which gives a different sample of children's magazine appeal. Boy's Life has a circulation of approximately 2,226,458 and is widely read by the leaders of the Boy Scouts of America as well as being endorsed by many prominent national figures. Children at this age are also very impressionable and, according to Bandura and Walters (1963) and their observational learning theory, it would indicate that children not only

receive an image from media, they may also act out the described situation.

The magazine, Western Horseman, is a publication for both the child and the adult. The greater percentage of readers, however, are adults over 19 years of age. This magazine was chosen to analyze so that another baseline for analysis portrayed of the American Indian could be established. Also, the fact that the magazine was subscribed to by more of an adult audience was considered. Another factor that led to the selection of this magazine was the large number of cartoons about the American Indian that are published in each edition.

These magazines were analyzed over a ten-year period dating back to 1966. The period was selected because it was the first real period of national coverage of the American Indian. It was immediately following the first take-over of the abandoned federal prison, Alcatraz, occurring in 1967. Immediately following this came the Trail of Broken Treaties March that started in all reservations in the nation and led to the take-over of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C. Directly following the Trail of Broken Treaties was the epic saga of the Wounded Knee occupation where over 150 National Guards and the law officials of the United States Government was held for 33 days. One of the major grievances of the members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) was the false stereotype of the American Indians by the mass media.

In order to analyze the messages about American Indians presented in the three magazines, the following categories were selected for this analysis:

1. Personal appearance and dress -- This was broken into two categories for the fictional stories, one for personal and one for dress of the characters. The questions being asked were: Was the American Indian pictured in the cartoons in conventional dress or was he shown in the tribe's traditional or ceremonial attire? Did the Indian appear neat with short, trimmed hair or with long, loose or braided hair? What was his physical build? Was he tall, dark and handsome or short, plump and funny looking?

2. Communication -- The method by which the Indians depicted in the stories and cartoons transmitted messages to one another over a great distance. The questions posed were: How did the Indians communicate with each other? Were they kept informed through newspapers, telephones, letters, telegrams or other conventional forms of communications? Did the cartoons depict the Indian communication as smoke signals or drum messages?

3. Transportation -- The manner in which the Indians transported themselves and their belongings from place to place. Did the Indians travel by car, train, airplane, bus, truck, horse, dog, on foot or on travois?

4. Family dwellings -- The types of homes they occupied for their family living quarters. Did the cartoons depict the Indians as living in modern homes, apartments, teepees, hogans or Pueblo apartments?

5. Daily routines -- The activities which occupied the Indian's daily life routines. Did the cartoons depict the Indians as housewives, businessmen, etc. Were their general living routines and accepted lifestyles of the white society of today? Were they suburban or rural

dwellers? What occupied their daytime activities--work, ceremonials, rituals, rain dances, rug weaving or pottery-making?

6. Mentality level -- The level of intelligence of the Indians as portrayed in the cartoons and short stories. Were the Indians shown as quick-thinking, innovative, resourceful, stupid, dull-witted, dumb, etc?

7. Names -- This referred to the type of names given by the authors to the Indians in the cartoons and stories. Were the characters given such first names as Robert, William, or Joseph, and last names such as Smith, Jones or Andrews? Did they have English names translated from their Indian names? Were they addressed as "Mr.," "Sir,", "Man," "Chief," Squaw," etc.

8. Racial ethics -- Were the Indians depicted as honorable, industrious, hard-working, or were they pictured as shiftless, cheaters, liars, swindlers, con-artists, etc.?

Through these general areas the researcher was able to categorize behavior patterns of the American Indian as presented by the cartoonists and writers. A basic objective was to look at stereotyped versus realistically presented print images of the characters. A stereotype as applied to a person is a: "Relative simple, general rigid cognition of social groups which blind the individual to the manifold differences among members of any group ... racial, ethnic, age, sex, social class. In short, stereotypes are perceived as relatively representative or non-representative of actual conditions, favorable or unfavorable, general fixed simple cognitions attributed to a group of people (Oqawa, 1974)."

Cultural stereotypes are frequently handed down from generation to generation and perpetuated through the mass media, art, and literature

of a community. Stereotypes may be maintained through selective perception--the individual may stereotype a given group by seeing only those aspects of the group which support his preconceived view of a particular group, masking those stimuli which may contradict his preconceived notions (Oqawa, 1971).

Members of different racial groups hold certain rigid cognitions or stereotypes of members of other ethnic groups. In an environment where individuals are at liberty to communicate with those whom they stereotype, they will selectively perceive those traits which meet their expectations and ignore or rationalize those traits which deny their preconceptions (Oqawa, 1974).

Stereotypical statements or words used in the publications and mass media may classify the American Indian into a rigid pattern. Stereotypic statements are those statements which tend to ignore individual differences among ethnic group members and emphasize generalized and/or exaggerated traits of the group. Stereotypic statements such as "How Chief," "Do your people have trouble with alcohol?", "Do you live on a reservation?" are commonly used by authors writing about the American Indian. The word "Squaw" is correlated with the Indian woman, "Papoose" with the Indian child, and "wampum" for Indian money (Hauseman, 1975, p. 262).

The Plains Indian has generally provided the model for the stereotype of all Indians in the United States. A segment from a National Geographic article presents the stereotype as follows:



"The Great Plains, a sea of grass that sustained the buffalo, also nurtured the tribesman who would become the stereotype of all American Indians. Blackfoot and Dakota "Sioux", Crow and Cheyenne, Commanche and Pawnee, their names emblazon the heartland of North America. Tribes of this vast realm share enough traits to have a cultural identity--the Plains Indians." (National Geographic, 1974)

On the basis of this stereotype, we can apply this as other writers such as David and Myra Sadker who aptly described stereotype in thier book, Now Upon a Time. They said that the stereotype is used in most advertisements, books, and media articles today, as in the past, and American Indians are presented as the people who plunder the land, kill white people, and who are eventually controlled by the U.S. Cavalry.

From colonial times, the Indian has provided a popular character for authors. In the vast majority of instances, the Indian character is distorted and serves to popularize the misconceptions that non-Indian writers hold of Indians. Unloke most ethnic groups in our society, the Indian population has not been victimized by too few books, but rather too many. Too many books, especially children's books, as well as television shows, and movies feature the savage Indian, engaged in holding dances, covered by ferocious combinations of paint and feathers, scalping helpless white women and children only to be thwarted by the U.S. Cavalry. The Indians are portrayed as lacking reason for their activity, motivated only by a senseless thirst for violence (Sadker and Sadker, 1977, p. 165).

In the majority of articles published about Indians, Native Americans are grouped as a single type without regard to tribal or individual differences. Tribal customs and individual personalities are used because the stereotypes make it easier for the writer to put across his message to the masses. These messages reflect the popular stereotypes of non-Indian authors rather than reality.

For pioneers settling the West, an image was needed and a stereotype was formed. For Western settlers interested in gaining land, the most useful image of the Indian was that of an ignoble savage, a bloodthirsty, treacherous heathen, lacking even the most fundamental human qualities. Picturing Indians as subhumans helped white settlers rationalize taking Indian land and lives. An example of this portrayal occurs in Edmond's Drums Along the Mohawk (1936). In this book, the Iroquois Indians are aligned with the English against the Colonists. They are depicted as dirty, foul-smelling, savages and easily recognized by the bloody scalps hanging from their belts. In Edmonds' The Matchlock Gun (1941), an ALA distinguished contribution to children's literature, the Indians are presented as treacherous and murderous but sufficiently unintelligent to be easily outwitted (Sadker and Sadker, 1977, p. 66).

It is the author's assumption that if the general public develops its picture about the American Indian from those messages presented by the media, the Indian today dwells in a tee-pee, hunts buffalo, does the rain dance and sends smoke signals as he did in the late 1800s. The publications surveyed in this study were analyzed for stereotypes of the American Indian in cartoons and magazine articles during the past ten years.

CHAPTER III  
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this research project was to analyze to what extent, if any, the American Indian has been stereotyped by selected mass publications. Limited research is available about stereotyping of the American Indian. A thorough literature search included dissertations and theses abstracts from 1966 to the present, as well as the following selected journals: the Quarterly Journal of Speech, the Journal of Broadcasting, Journalism Quarterly, Wa-sa-jah and other Indian publications such as the Navajo Times, the Native Nevadan and Awkwesasne Notes.

From the information obtained from these readings, it was possible to relate these studies to the writings done about the American Indian in several short stories. Sadker and Sadker stated,

"The American Indian has been included by authors as a popular character. In the vast majority of instances, the Indian character is distorted and serves to popularize the misconceptions that non-Indian writers hold of Indians. Unlike most ethnic groups in our society, the Indian population has not been victimized by too few books, but rather by too many. Too many books, especially children's books and television shows and movies, feature the savage Indian, engaged in howling dances, covered by a ferocious combination of paint and feathers, scalping helpless white women and children only to be thwarted finally by the U.S. Cavalry. The Indians are portrayed as lacking reason for their activity, motivated only by senseless thirst for violence." (Sadker and Sadker, p. 165)

In a comprehensive four-year study of well over 600 children's books, the Association on America Indian Affairs rejected outright

approximately two out of every three books about Indians because the content or illustrations were conspicuously offensive. They were offensive because the A.A.I.A. felt they gave an inaccurate and biased portrayal of the Indian characters. The remaining 200 books included subtle stereotypes, misconceptions and cliches. As a result, the association later approved only books written by Indian authors, for these most accurately reflected the Indian experience. From the original list of over 600, the Association on American Indian Affairs recommended only 63 (Byler, 1973). Blanche (1972) found that Native Americans were misrepresented in children's literature, and Flakenhagen, Johnson and Balasa (1973) maintained that stereotyping was commonplace. These results suggest that a recent publication date by no means ensures that a book offers a fair and non-stereotyped presentation of Indians. Although not all Native Americans accept the conclusions of the A.A.I.A., the Association does reflect a growing concern with Indian stereotyping.

In the Images of American Indians Projected by Non-Indian Writers, Mary Gloyne (Byler, 1974) reviewed some of the common portrayals of Indians available to children. She noted that one common image is that of the unidentifiable savage devoid of any humane characteristics. This image was supported by attributing to an Indian character acts of wanton cruelty, which were reinforced by denying the Indian any personal identity. The Indian lacked motive, tribe, family, or name.

Nameless Indians are found in Peggy Parrish's Good Hunting Little Indian (1962) where the characters were referred to as Little Indian, Mama Indian and Papa Indian, in a manner reminiscent of The Three Bears.

In Parrish's Granny and the Indian (1972), the Indians lose simple-name identity and are called Indians. Such anonymity robs the reader of the ability to identify with them or to acquire even a minimal understanding of Indian behavior (Byler, 1974).

This depersonalized portrayal was frequently buttressed by illustrations that showed all Indians dressed alike and looking alike. Ignoring the great differences in dress among various tribes, many white authors showed all Indians with feathers and paint, carrying tomahawks and stealthily moving in and out of the shadows. Legrand Henderson's Cats for Kansas (1948) illustrates a war party of eleven braves and four chiefs wearing the war bonnets of chiefs. Each chief was shown wearing enough feathers to indicate status and triumph that few Indians achieved (perhaps equivalent to the rank of a four-star general in the Army). Yet the braves and the chiefs were all engaged in manual labor, and the incongruity of four chiefs commanding only eleven braves was obviously not as important as providing an illustration with a generous measure of Indians and feathers (Micknock, 1971).

Another technique that distorted reality and depersonalized and defamed Indians was the portrayal of Native Americans frequently engaged in scalping white men, women and children. By exaggerating the Indian's cruelty and atrocities, they were presented as bands of inhumane or subhuman creatures. For example, in Indian Summer (1968) one of the white characters observe, "They could have scalped you a long ways from the cabin. That's an old Indian trick." In Ruth and Latrobe Carroll's Tough Enough Indian (1960) one of the characters explained that the Indians were busy "huntin' and fishin' and beatin' drums

and scalpin' other Injins' and white folks, cuttin' their skin and hair right off, somethin' terrible and burnin' 'em up at stakes."

In Pontiac, King of the Great Lakes (1968), Clyde Hollman wrote "A warrior had only to drop his canoe into water and he was on his way to a council, a feast, or some scalp-taking expedition of his own (Byler, 1973, p. 548)."

The use of emotion-laden words and generalizations in media messages further convey to the public a picture of the inhumane Indian. Savage, buck, squaw, and papoose trigger emotions quite different from man, boy, woman, or baby. For example, when referring to a white male, authors said the "courteous man" or the "admirable man," but Indian reference usually was "that bloodthirsty savage" or "them painted-up, murdering bucks (Buler, 1973, p. 24)."

Unsupportable generalizations are also frequent, as can be seen in the Indian of the Plains by Rachlis and Ewers (1960), in which we are told that "War was the Indian's career and hobby, his work and play," in spite of the fact that some tribes tried to totally avoid war and others endured great hardships before finally being pressed to fight (Byler, 1973, p. 549).

Not only has the Indian been depersonalized by the media messages about him, he has been pictured as an innocent and ignorant individual who could easily be outwitted by a whiteman or woman. Pioneering men, such as Daniel Boone in Bakeless' Fighting Frontiersman (1948), were always able to know exactly what they (the Indians) were going to do next (Mickinock, 1971, p. 2849). In Monjo's Indian Summer (1968), a frontier woman in Kentucky outwitted the attacking Indians, as did

the pioneer wife in the Matchlock Gun (Edmonds, 1942). In the latter book, the mother and young children, armed only with an antique gun, defeated a small war party.

In all these books the Indian was shown invading a white settlement, and it was easy to get the impression that it was the Indian who intruded on the land owned by the whites. Although white women and children were present, the Indians in these books tend to be warriors without families.

Some authors have gone beyond distorting history, Indian personality, characteristics, and beliefs. They confuse, misrepresent, and casually interchange the culture and customs of various tribes. In the Indian Knew (1957), by Tillie S. Pine, the noted illustrator Ezra Jack Keast presented some striking illustrations, which were unfortunately inaccurate. He presented a composite of Indians by mixing lifestyles of the Eastern, Western and Southwestern tribes. Margaret Friskey's Indian Two Feet and His Eagle Feather (1967) reduced the courage and honor associated with earning an Eagle Feather to a cute child's game. An example of this is illustrated by the Plains tribe of Cheyenne. In order to receive one single Eagle feather in their tribe, a warrior has to fight the enemy in battle. During this battle, if he is able to ride up to a live opposing warrior and touch him, then escape, this is worthy of wearing one eagle feather.

Peggy Parrish's Little Indian (1968) portrayed the name-giving practices of some tribes as an amusing but meaningless event. An example is the Plains tribe of Osages. In this tribe, they give a child his name upon reaching puberty. A lavish feast is held with all

relatives of both the child's parents attending. Horses, blankets and groceries are exchanged by both sides of the family. The feasting and religious ceremonies will follow the name giving which is done by some of the elders of the tribe.

By presenting an Indian with negative characteristics, and in an inaccurate cultural and historical setting, Native Americans and the heritage they represent may be perceived as inferior to non-Indians. The cultural superiorities of non-Indians were stated in dialogue in Trading Post Girl (Gressner, 1968). "You wait and see, some day they'll (Indians) be real fine American citizens." ... "Oh, Daddy, not those savages." ... "They've got a lot of things to learn, too, honey. Give them time. They've got lots of good in them (Byler, 1973, p. 547)."

Cultural bias was also present in authors' descriptions. In Something for the Medicine Man (1962) by Flora M. Hood, an older Cherokee woman was described as having a face that was "dried up like a persimmon." A Cherokee baby had eyes "like a fox," and the entire family acted like "little hungry dogs." The non-Indian teacher, on the other hand, was "tall as the trees" with eyes "like blue flags (Byler, 1973)." In My Name is Lion (1970) by Margaret Embrey, the non-Indian teacher was a young woman who smelled "like too many flowers." The old Navajo man was "drunk, dirty, and whining in Navajo about money (Byler, 1973, p. 549)."

A popular example of white cultural superiority over Indians was communicated in the Lone Ranger series. In the comic strip, film and television series, audiences were presented a tale of a strong,



pure, and clever whiteman who rode the powerful white horse, Silver. Tonto, the minor partner, and "faithful" companion, rode a modest horse named Scout. Tonto followed the Lone Ranger on numerous adventures. In each segment, Tonto spoke in grunts and broken English and was cast as inferior to the Lone Ranger. Tonto abandoned his Indian culture to enter the White World; his subservient role was reminiscent of the Black slave. It is not surprising that Tonto's name means "silly" or "foolish" (Stensland, 1973).

The treatment of Indians by the vast majority of non-Indian authors has ranged from disappointing to degrading. Although some non-Indian authors have written some fine books, a large number of children's books about Indians are distorted and stereotypic. (Sadker and Sadker, 1977, p. 170)

CHAPTER IV  
THE FINDINGS

Analysis of the Cartoons

The first portion of this analysis dealt entirely with cartoons published from 1966-1976 in Western Horseman Magazine. These cartoons were analyzed to determine the degree of stereotyping, if any, of the American Indian. The Western Horseman is a monthly magazine with a circulation of 209,388 and was established in 1931. Its subscribers are predominately horse owners, or people with interests in horses. The magazine is aimed at the adult reader and more than 65 percent of its readers are 21 years of age and over.

During the period analyzed by the researcher, an average of 60 cartoons were published in each month's edition. In the ten-year period, there were 8,2000 cartoons printed. Of this 8,2000 there were 1,110 that dealt specifically with the American Indian. Of this number, all portrayed the Native American in a stereotypic pattern.

The cartoons were analyzed by eight content categories: (1) personal appearance, (2) names, (3) modes of communication, (4) every day life or routines, (5) family dwellings, (6) methods of transportation, (7) group ethics and (8) intelligence. These categories are operationally defined in Chapter III.

Personal appearance

In the 1,110 cartoons, the Indians were pictured with long hair that was either braided or hanging loosely over their shoulders. Also,

they appeared as short, pot-bellied individuals with long, hawk-shaped noses. Their heads were either adorned with a headband, feathered war bonnet or a set of buffalo horns.

All of the people in the 1,110 cartoons, with the exception of one, were dressed in one of two styles: that of the traditional Plains Indian or that of the native dress of the Pueblos and Navajos of the Southwestern United States. The men wore a breech cloth and leggings, and if they had a shirt on, it was a buckskin pull-over shirt. All wore moccasins similar to that of the Plains Indians. This was true in 838 (75 percent) of the cartoons. The remaining 272 (24 percent) showed the Indians in loose-legged pants, knee-moccasins, sash belt, and Indian-style shirts that are similar to the dress of the tribes of the Navajo and Pueblo of the Southwest.

The women in the cartoons appeared in one-piece pull-over buckskin dresses, wearing Indian moccasins. The Plains Indian dress-style of long, full skirts, sash belts and blouses, similar to the Navajo style was portrayed in 43 cartoons.

#### Names

The next category used was that of "names" given to the cartoon characters. The question here dealt with: Were they addressed by such first names as Robert, William, Joseph, etc.? Were they given such last names as Smith, Jones or Andrews? Did they have English translated names or Indian names? Were they addressed as Mr. or referred to as Sir?

In the 56 cartoons in which Indians were referred to by names, all were named using traditional Indian style. This included such

names as Running Bear, Stalking Bear, Grey Dog, Chief Little Horse, etc. They were never referred to as Standing Elk Jones, for example, but merely by the translated names, and there was no mention of Mr. or Sir. The cartoons made the Indian appear as if that's the only names they use, ignoring the fact that many Indians do go by their tribal names, translated into English. But they use this name as their last and add a first name. Thus, you may have an Indian named Suzy Horse, which was shortened from her original Suzy Run-Like-A-Horse.

#### Communication

Less than one-third of the total cartoons studied, 364, depicted some form of communication. Three hundred and twenty-three (32 percent) of the cartoons had the Indians sending smoke signals with the remaining 41 (8 percent) using drums. Consequently, the Indians' only methods of communicating in these cartoons were smoke signals and drum beats. A typical cartoon showed the Indians reaching for the smoke signals as if they were telephones and saying "I keep getting a busy signal." (Western Horseman, 1975, p. 147) Or as a man coming home to find his wife over the fire sending smoke signals and his saying, "No wonder supper isn't ready, you've been gossiping all day." The cartoons showed the Indians using smoke or drum signals as their only means of transmitting messages over a great distance. (Western Horseman, 1974, p. 116)

#### Daily living routines or everyday life

Fifty percent of the cartoons, (556) referred to the lifestyles of the American Indian, and these lifestyles included four activities:

performing rain dances, manufacturing Indian handicrafts, conducting ceremonial rituals and engaging in battles with the United States Cavalry.

The cartoon characters were shown performing their rain dances to the beat of large, awkward Tom-Toms. A cartoon showing a typical example of the rain dance was a large group of Indians sitting around with a sign saying, "Rain dance today," and a couple more Indians in the background holding a waterhose and telling each other "Just to make sure, watch this." (Western Horseman, 1975, p. 120)

Another typical example showed two Indian men going into the city to perform rain dances. They hoped to sell umbrellas after the rain had started. The caption read, "As soon as I get set up on the corner, you go into your rain dance." The rain dance cartoons were prevelant with 176 on that subject. (Western Horseman, 1975, p. 134)

The next illustration of Indian life was that of the tribal medicine man and his sacred rituals. In one typical cartoon, several Indian men were shown forming a circle around an apparent medicine man. The tourists were crowded around the circle, with the medicine man floating above the entire crowd, still performing his dance. The caption read: "The witch doctor is always getting carried away with his ceremonies." (Western Horseman, 1972, p. 84) The cartoons of medicine men and sacred rituals numbered 113 and always showed the medicine man dancing with a large crowd of Indians observing.

Eighty-two cartoons depicted cavalry sequences. The Indians were engaged in battles with the Cavalry in 81 of the 82. The single cartoon about non-battle was a peace treaty signing with a caption,

"I hope they made reservations for us at the next place we'll be staying." (Western Horseman, 1970, p. 112)

Seven percent (184) cartoons involved handicrafts such as rug weaving, pottery making, basketry and silver-smithing. Therefore, to any individual who might have read only these publications, it would seem that an Indian's daily life routine consisted of: (1) making Indian handicrafts, (2) performing rain dances, (3) watching tribal shamans conduct ceremonies, and (4) going to battle with the Cavalry. The cartoons clearly showed the American Indians as persons relying on their heritage to survive. There were no cartoons of Indian men engaged in middle-class American lifestyles.

#### Family dwellings

In 561 (51 percent) of the cartoons, the Indians were portrayed as living in traditional dwellings such as teepees, hogans or Pueblo apartments. In no cartoon was the Indian shown occupying a conventional home with modern-day conveniences.

The Indians were pictured with teepees for dwellings in 517 of the cartoons. Twenty cartoons showed the Indians living in Navajo hogans; 24 in Pueblo tribal apartment dwellings. These Indians were pictured in desolate areas, cluttered with small debris presenting a rather tacky, unkempt living area. With the obvious absence of modern constructed homes, trailer houses or multi-story apartments, a reader could conclude from the cartoons that Indians still live in the traditional mode of their forefathers.

### Transportation

The Indians used horses for transportation. Indians on horseback or using the horse for transportation were portrayed in 830 cartoons. That number is 74 percent of the 1,110 total. Of the 830, 706 showed the Indian on a horse pulling a travois.

The cartoons showed men with their homes or possessions on the backs of their horses, travois attached, plodding along to a different camp area. One cartoon showed a man on a horse, travois behind, saying to another, "Do you want to drag?" This shows that the cartoonist felt that the Indians had a knowledge of cars and car racing, and very possibly other means of transportation but still relied on the horse. (Western Horseman, 1975, p. 147)

Another cartoon showed an entire family moving to a new location with the teepee being pulled behind horses. The man said to his wife, "I don't care how many cakes you have in the oven. The next time we move we will dismantle it or call Bekins." (Western Horseman, 1971, p. 138)

It's apparent the Indians know of other ways to transport themselves, but the majority of cartoons depicted them traveling by horseback. Consequently, anyone who read these cartoons could conclude that all Indians still travel by horseback or on foot.

### Racial ethics

The Indians were involved in schemes to cheat or swindle the tourists in at least one-fourth of the cartoons analyzed. The cartoons showed the Indians contriving plans to deceive the tourists. An example was a cartoon in which the Indians told the would-be

tourists, "Sorry, all out of buffalo horns, but have other genuine horns for sale." In the background was a used car lot and other Indians were taking out the car horns. (Western Horseman, March, 1975, p. 147)

Another example of deception was a cartoon of two Indian men, one holding an enormous arrow and the other making arrows. The caption read: "I make this great big arrow as a gag. Imagine what the tourists will think when they see this. Will wonder what the Indians shot with it!" (Western Horseman, June 1971, p. 151)

It could be construed from the cartoons that there is no honesty among the Indians. Two hundred and seventy-nine cartoons (25 percent) described the Indians in rather unscrupulous plots to extort money from the tourists. All 279 showed one or more Indians with a plan to illegally or by deception obtain too much money from their general sales articles.

This deception even applied to the younger generation of the Indians as was illustrated in 86 cartoons that dealt with youth and their money-making ventures. One young brave was talking to his father and counting cash. He said, "Hey, pop. Yellow Hair and his 7th Cavalry rock group are going to be in town tonight. Can I go in and scalp a few tickets?" (Western Horseman, April 1970, p. 162)

Again, the cartoons could suggest to the reader that the Indians plan to earn their income by cheating or deceiving tourists and others.



### Intelligence

Seventy-five percent (842) cartoons illustrated presumed mental capacity of the Indian as being low. These cartoons specifically showed the Indian on the dull or dim-witted side. For example, one cartoon showed the braves surrounding a wagon train but bumping into one another during the battle. The caption read, "Counter-clockwise you idiot, counter-clockwise." (Western Horseman, July 1971, p. 156) In another illustration, all the Indians in a war party went off in different directions and one warrior said to another, "How should I know where the wagon train is? I thought you were leading the attack?" (Western Horseman, June 1974, p. 180)

Many cartoons humourously scoffed at the Indians' organizational ability, and mental capacity. This figure comprised the largest number (842) of all eight categories. Although these cartoons may have seemed humourous to the reader, they characterized the Indian as a slow-thinking, disorganized savage. It attributed to him a mental capacity far lower than that of his white counter-part in the cartoons, and continually portrayed him as the butt of all the jokes.

### Analysis of the Articles in Two Magazines

The second area of this analysis in this study was the magazine articles and the change they presented of the American Indian. The short stories were drawn from the Jack and Jill Magazine and the Western Horseman. Jack and Jill is designed for children from pre-school through the fourth grades.

For the ten-year period of this study (1966-1976) there were 2,048 articles published in Jack and Jill. Of this total 26 percent (526) were specifically related to Indian lore or history. The articles were content-analyzed using eight categories: (1) dress, (2) personal appearance, (3) family dwellings, (4) communications, (5) transportation, (6) intelligence and (7) names and everyday living routines. (These categories were operationally defined in Chapter III.) Four hundred and ninety-three of these articles overlapped and contained all eight elements. In all of the articles the Indians were shown in the traditional dress of the Plains Indians of the late 1860s. The dress style of the Indians at that time was breechcloth, leggings and moccasins.

The third area of analysis was with the Boy Scout magazine, Boy's Life. This magazine is subscribed to by boys between 9 and 19 and has 2,226,458 subscribers. Published each month, it is strongly recommended reading for all Scouts. Being an outdoors magazine its content includes Indian lore, handicraft, history and fiction. All articles with Indian reference were content-analyzed over a ten-year period from 1966-1976. The magazine averaged 20 articles per issue. In this period, 2,436 articles were published. Indian related articles accounted for 618 articles (33 percent) of the magazine's content. The eight categories listed were previously mentioned for this analysis.

#### Dress (Jack and Jill)

The Indian men were presented in 526 of the articles clad in leggings and shirts, moccasins and breechcloth and the women were pictured in buckskin dresses and moccasins 326 times. Along with

this buckskin clothing the men and women were shown wearing headbands with feathers on either side of their head. The only other head-wear described was a war bonnet worn by some of the chiefs. There were 122 articles that showed the Indian chiefs in war bonnets.

#### Dress (Boy's Life)

In all stories the Indians were described as wearing the traditional dress of the Plains tribes. Plains Indian attire of the late 1860s was described by George Catlin as,

"The plans tribes of the midwestern United States are striking to see. The men are tall, handsome figures who wear buckskin leggings, a breechcloth, moccasins and a bone breast-place to serve as armor. They generally have their hair braided with one or two eagle feathers attached. The women are quite beautiful with long, black, silky hair. Their dresses are of the same buckskin but have intricate quilt work for ornamentation." (Great Chiefs, 1975, p. 12)

In all of the stories, even these which had modern settings, the men and women were described or pictured with 19th Century apparel. For example, in "Medicine Bag," (Boy's Life, March 1975, p. 28) an old man, Chief Walking Elk, had braided hair, wore an Indian-cut shirt and moccasin while visiting his grandson in a modern city.

Similarly, in "The Brave Seminoles" (Boy's Life, October 1975, p. 38) a group of contemporary Seminoles were pictured as living in the Florida Everglades and attired as their ancestors of 160 years ago. A 1970 survey by the Bureau of Indian Affairs showed that over 75 percent of the present tribe of Seminoles live on Federal Reserve Land (reservations) established by the government for them in the state of Oklahoma. The remaining 25 percent live in reserve lands of Florida but not in the Everglades as the story portrayed them.

Personal appearance (Jack and Jill)

Insofar as personal appearance, both men and women are portrayed in all 525 articles with long hair worn in braids. All were described in prose or in illustrations as having dark-skin, black hair and large hawk-shaped noses. The older men and women were short and fat. In one article, "The Pilgrims," the author described the Indians as "... friendly creatures although very dark of skin, with long braided hair, half naked and not too tall." (Jack and Jill, November, 1974, p. 21)

Personal appearance (Boy's Life)

There were 386 stories that had specific illustrations and description of the Indian's attire. The majority of 276 stories, featured the Indian in the Plains Indians style of dress.

Seventy-seven of the stories had the Indians described or pictured in the traditional Navajo attire. The remaining 33 featured the Indians in a style of dress which is similar to the Eastern wood-lands tribes. This type of attire is cloth leggings, ribbon shirts and moccasins. The tribes of the Kaw, Senecas, Choctaw, Cherokee, etc., make up this group.

Family dwellings (Jack and Jill)

The Indian short stories in Jack and Jill gave 326 accounts of Indian dwellings. The Plains Indian style tee-pee was the dwelling type shown or described in 225 articles. The remaining, 101, described the dwellings as the traditional Navajo hogan.

The articles pictured the Indians as living in tee-pees placed in a large circle with a campfire in front. The tee-pees were shown

with the smoke flaps open and the fire outside. Hogans were placed as one lone structure in a desolate, dusty area. In none of these stories did the Indian live in the tribal homes that are prevalent on reservations today. An example of this was evident in the story, "Little Cloud and the Wolves." The author described the Indian encampment, "... the Indian village of little Cloud was large teepees pitched in a wide circle. The teepees were made up of buffalo and deer hides." (Jack and Jill, March 1973, p. 14)

It's a well known fact Indians do not reside in teepees any longer which can be attested to by an article written by Vernon Bellecourt, an American Indian Movement leader,

"The only Native Americans who still reside in the traditional ways of their forefathers are the Pueblos and Navajos of New Mexico and Arizona and only 176 of their total tribe members live like this. All other tribes of this century revert to the use of the home of their forefathers for ceremonial reasons only." (Awkwasne Notes, May 1971, p. 43)

#### Family dwellings (Boy's Life)

Five hundred-ninety-three of the stories depicted Indian homes either in prose or picture. Of this total, 552, showed families living in teepees, 15 in Pueblo adobe apartments, 11 in Navajo hogans, 10 in one-room log cabins and five in elevated thatch huts of the Seminoles. The United States government in 1970 allotted over \$600,000 for each reservation each year for the construction of "Tribal Homes." An Indian family can apply for a home through his agency and, if approved, the government will send the materials, while the tribe will supply the manpower. The recipient and his family must help with 599 hours

of its construction. (Navajo Times, October 1970, p. 13) As one tours a present day U.S. Indian reservation he will see many new three-bedroom homes dotting the hillsides. An example of this would be the Navajo and Apache reservations of New Mexico where over 200 homes were built in 1971. It is the aim of each tribal council to get the Indians out of the old shacks and used car bodies and into more convenient up-to-date homes. Only at pow-wows, festivals and religious gatherings will one see the use of teepees, brush arbors and hogans. (Navajo Times, December 1972, p. 24)

#### Communications (Jack and Jill)

The Indians were portrayed sending messages over a great distance in 178 articles, and in all distances the mode of communication was by smoke signals. In one story, "Little Cloud and the Wolves," an Indian youth was portrayed sending smoke signals; his fire was built next to a telephone booth, indicating that the Indian either did not have the knowledge or the inclination to use a telephone to contact a local forest ranger about impending danger.

Sending messages by smoke signals was known only by 30 to 35 early Indian tribes. Famous western artist, George Catlin, wrote in his memoirs, "Only a small portion of these Indian tribes knew how to communicate over a long distance by the use of smoke, a very ingenious idea but not very practical." (World of the American Indian, 1974, p. 154)

#### Communication (Boy's Life)

One hundred and twenty-six stories recounted Indians communicating with one another over a great distance. In all stories the Indians

were portrayed as using smoke to transmit their messages. One article "How to Read Indian Signs," explained how to interpret smoke signals in a manner similar to decoding morse code or some other form of signal method. This, however, is a fallacy. The National Geographic Society said, "... across the open country of the plains and the southwest, Indians apparently employed combinations of long and short puffs to present such messages as the presence of buffalo or the approach of enemies." (National Geographic, 1974, p. 153)

The articles suggest that Indians could send messages by smoke signals as easily as written ones. Only a few tribes could transmit messages by the fire and smoke and the task accomplishing this was not simple as writing out a message.

#### Transportation (Jack and Jill)

Four hundred and twelve stories depicted the Indians moving from place to place. All showed them using horses or walking. Even though the stories in Jack and Jill were set in periods when cars and buses were common in white society, the Indian was described as using the horse. Three hundred and ninety-three stories described the Indian using horses for travel and the remaining 19 stories depicted the Indians traveling on foot.

In one short story, "The Thunder Gun," the Indians were all pictured as moving encampment by horses and travois. The author said, "... a great cloud of dust followed the entire Indian camp as they transported all of their belongings to another campsite that would be closer to their food supply, the buffalo." (Jack and Jill, January 1974, p. 39)

### Transportation (Boy's Life)

Transportation (moving from place to place) was shown or described in 503 stories. All but nine of these stories showed the Indian using horses, or foot travel. In six stories the Indian traveled by trains and in threes they used the bus. While it is true, that almost every family has horses for personal use, only a small fraction of the Indians use horses as their only means of transportation. Indian legend presents the horse as a sacred animal which must be kept around the plain lands to insure good favor of the Great Spirit, and this possibly explains the presence of so many horses on reservations. Also, horses often are used by Indians for rewards for achievements. Many Indians, too, are cowboys and follow the rodeo circuits. But, to depict the modern Indian as traveling and moving their belongings by the horse and travois is a portrayal of days past.

Today for the Indian as for other segments of society the automobile is the primary transportation medium. "The Indian Cadillac," or pickup truck, is the Indian's real means of transportation. Pickups are practical transportation vehicles on the reservation, since there are few, if any, paved highways with roadways being mostly gravel and hardly more than trails.

### Intelligence (Jack and Jill)

There were 126 stories which presented the Indian as an individual who could easily be outwitted by a sly, thinking whiteman. These stories showed the Indian being helped out of an apparent dangerous situation by a resourceful trader or woodsman, or his being out-manuevered by a whiteman when pursuing an unsuspecting victim. There were 83



stories which showed Indian parties chasing an unsuspecting mountain man or trapper. The whiteman was alone and managed to escape leaving the Indians bewildered. Forty-three stories of natural disasters (floods, forest fires, blizzards, or droughts) showed a resourceful whiteman rescuing a party or tribe of Indians. The picture presented in these stories was a wholly dependent Indian who could not rely on his own initiative to save him from impending danger. This was shown very well in the short story, "Time of the Drought," story of Navajo Indians and a severe drought from which they were relieved by a neighboring white family who showed them how to construct dams. (Jack and Jill, November 1976, p. 42)

#### Intelligence (Boy's Life)

Boy's Life stories portrayed the Indians as more intelligent than Jack and Jill or Western Horseman, but the Indian still was portrayed as having trouble coping with the whiteman's way of life. There were 223 stories which referred to Indians' problems of coping with alcohol and war battles. One story, "The Medicine Bag," presented a young man as ashamed of his alcoholic grandfather who once was a great chief. The chief had turned to liquor after he no longer could face the way of life that had passed from the American scene. But, the old chief was still illustrated as wearing braids, Indian-cut shirt and moccasins. (Boy's Life, 1975) There also were stories of present-day Indians who failed to accept the old legends as truth, but who still couldn't accept the reality of today. This was described in the story, "Wings of Spring." (Boy's Life, September 1975, p. 26)

The stories also gave accounts of vicious Indian battles fought and won by the U.S. Cavalry. No mention of the Indian's bravery, courage, or performance was presented in the stories. The writers pictured the Indians as losers who were outwitted by such mountain men as Jim Bridger, Kit Carson, Jebadiah Smith and James Johnston. One Boy's Life story, "Chief Joseph, Chief of the Nez Perce" presented Chief Joseph as unable to make an escape to Canada with his whole tribe. The Nez Perce were caught by the U.S. Cavalry only 10 miles from the Canadian border. (Boy's Life, November 1974, p. 55)

Everyday life or routine (Jack and Jill)

The daily life routine of the American Indian as described in the articles was similar to that of Indians of over 150 years ago. Seventy-five percent (395) showed everyday lifestyles of Native Americans. The daily routines of the Indians consisted of hunting for food, tending horses or sheep, constructing bows and arrows, tomahawks, etc., or listening to legends from their grandparents. Legends served as the major source of education for the youth in the articles. The Indian youth were not portrayed as public or private school students. The legends covered accounts of how the earth was formed, why the autumn leaves turn color, where the thunder comes from and other explanations of phenomena of nature. Eighty-six stories about legends were published in Jack and Jill for the period of the study. An example of this was the short story, "The Leaf Painter," a legend of the Cheyenne about autumn. (Jack and Jill, October 1974, p. 58)

A nomadic hunter's lifestyle was presented in three hundred and ninety-five of the short stories. The Indian story characters performed

tasks and duties carried on by their ancestors. None of the children were shown playing, attending school or engaging in activities usually associated with modern times. The adults were engaged in hunting for food, making teepees, bow and arrows, fighting off dangers of nature (either climatic or environmental) and telling legends. The National Geographical Society reported in "The World of the American Indian," that 39 tribes lived a nomadic lifestyle. All others were agrarian, leading a stationary food-raising type existence, rather than the life of roving hunters. (Billard, p. 264)

#### Everyday life or routine (Boy's Life)

Almost all of the stories show the daily life or routines of the Indian, but 470 directly dealt with this category. The stories depicted the Indian tending horse herds, making teepees, constructing spears, arrows, bows, and other handicrafts, hunting for food, tracking and sewing buckskin shirts, dresses, leggings, and moccasins. The story, "Man and Fire," depicted this with an illustration as well as prose description of the Indian as, "... both using flint and dry tender the small warrior could begin his fire." (Boy's Life, May 1974, p. 6)

The stories showed the Indian in the lifestyle of his forefathers. Although many modern Indians know the skills of their ancestors, they do not perform them for their livelihood. Many of the handicrafts of the past are being lost as the younger generation has become less devoted to them.

### Names (Jack and Jill)

In the 526 references to Indians by name, traditional anglicized or appellations, Little Cloud, Red Cloud, Old Beat, Story Teller, Rides-away-laughing, etc. were used. Names in the Indian language could never be literally translated to English. For example, Shunka-mothe, the name of a noted chief, means "Long walk of a warrior." However, the literal English translation for Shunka is dog and for mothe is walking. Thus, a literal translation produces the name, Dog Walking. The National Geographic Society illustrated a good example of this when they reported,

"Translation at times managled the meaning of Indian words. A chief's title which meant "recklessly brave" was recorded in English as "crazy." "Bear bearing down (an opponent)" was rendered "Stumbling Bear." A Kiowa title lauded its holder as a fighter always on the warpath, too busy to remove his horses's saddle blanket; in English the name became "Stinking Saddle Blanket." (National Geographic, 1974, p. 1531)

### Names (Boy's Life)

A total of 618 stories used Indian names. All of the names given the Indians by the writers were the English translation of their Indian name. Men were referred to by such names as Red Cloud, Chief Joseph, Walking-Elk, Bird-in-the-ground, etc. The women were called Little Flower, Sun Beam, Prairie Dove, etc., and the children were named Little Track, Small Bear, Wolf Cub, etc.

However, the writers for Boy's Life referred more often to the Indians' real name than did the writers for Jack and Jill. They used the Indian terms for the names rather than always using the English

translation for the people. The men and women were referred to by Indians names, such as Akela, Son-ser-ray, Watenka, Shunka-Wakaon, Tecumseh, Sequoya and a few others.

#### Jack and Jill magazine

Through examples of what an American Indian does for a living, his names, communications, methods of travel, dress, etc., as described in the short stories, the Indian was stereotyped. This is attested to by the large number of authors who described the Indian in the traditional dress (526) and of their homes being either teepees or hogans (326). This was also substantiated by the large number (412) of short stories which depicted the Indian still using the horse for transportation and the use of the Indian names as that of animals or the English version (526). These large numbers alone can lead a reader to believe an Indian still wears buckskins, lives in a teepee or hogan, rides horses for his transportation and still goes by the name of his forefathers with no first or last name.

There is one point that should be brought out here about this magazine, Jack and Jill. Each week story illustrations for the articles were presented. In one month's publication the children were asked to paint pictures of their favorite story characters and to send them in. Two children painted pictures and sent them to Jack and Jill. A nine-year-old girl from New York sent in a picture of an Indian. The Indian had long braided hair, a large hawked-shaped nose, war paint on his face and wore a large feathered war bonnet. He was very dark skinned (brown) and clad in buckskin pants and shirt. In the background were several teepees and large puffs of smoke.

A 12-year-old from Pennsylvania sent a similar picture of an American Indian. He painted two men dancing in breechcloth and bustles, with braids, headband and feathers in the hair. In the background were several teepees with horses standing nearby. Both of these pictures were printed by the publications with the headings, "Picture Message from our Readers." The children, in essence, were saying this is how they conceived the American Indian: as a group who still danced the war dance, wore feather headgear and lived in teepees. Although Jack and Jill may not have given the children their entire image of Indians it appears to have reinforced existing ideas.

#### Boy's Life magazine

It must be acknowledged that Boy's Life is an outdoors magazine that emphasizes the woodsman type of life and the lore of the Indians, but the very large number of traditional settings does lead to a more confined figure of the American Indian. All 518 stories showed the Indian in the traditional attire of his forefathers. Add to this the fact that 593 stories showed the Indians living in teepees, hogans, or some other form of traditional living. The transportation of the Indians were also in the extreme with 503 stories featuring the Indian using methods which involved the horse. Another factor which attests to the fact of classifying the Indian was the large number of stories (618) which gave the Indians traditional or animal names. Looking at these examples one can conclude, fairly accurately, that presents the traditional image of the Indian to its subscribers.

### Analysis of Results

The researcher feels he is justified, through the analysis conducted, to conclude that the three publications do present a stereotype of the American Indians. In all instances the short stories and cartoon described or pictured the Indian in traditional attire and having long hair that generally was braided and groomed as the Indians of the past kept theirs. Over 92 percent of the short stories and cartoons tagged the Indians with traditional Indian names and never once referred to them as sir, mister or by a surname. In 88 percent of the cartoons and short stories the Indians were featured as using the horse for their main source of travel or transportation. Also, 95 percent featured the Indians living in teepees, hogans, pueblo apartments, etc., and in no modern dwellings of this century.

The researcher also feels that further studies need to be conducted on a much larger basis with concern being placed upon areas such as media advertisement, movie characters, novel and short story portrayals.

## CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The content analysis of three selected magazines indicates that the American Indians were stereotyped in cartoons and articles in those publications. The purpose of the study was to see to what extent, if any, the American Indian was stereotyped. Three publications, Boy's Life, Jack and Jill and Western Horseman were content analyzed. The publications were surveyed over a ten-year period, 1966-1967. Two areas of publication were analyzed: the cartoons that dealt specifically with American Indians and the stories about American Indians.

The purpose of analyzing the cartoons and stories was to determine how the magazines had presented the Indian to their readers. Generally, the researcher, probed the question: What picture was presented in the magazine cartoons and stories?

The American Indian men presented in the stories and cartoons were dressed in buckskin leggings, wore a breechcloth, had long, braided hair, wore feathers or war bonnets, moccasins, and had painted faces. Generally, the magazines presented all Indian characters patterned after the Plains Indian. In all of the cartoons where living conditions were portrayed, the Indians occupied teepees, hogans, log cabins, or pueblo apartments. The Indians traveled on horse, and communicated over a great distance with smoke signals or drumbeats. The Indian's everyday life was presented as spent in hunting for game for food, tending to animal herds, constructing clothes, shelter, and hunting weapons, and producing Indian handicrafts.



The stories and cartoons depicted the Indians as easily outwitted by a superior whiteman. The Indians were nomadic hunters in the stories. The stories and cartoons described the Indian in terms of lifestyles prevalent over 150 years ago. No distinction was made among tribes; all Indians were cast the same. The Indians were characters who had names of animals or titles that were tagged on them by the whiteman. Squaw, papoose, buck and chief were general character names used in the stories and cartoons.

Stereotyping of American Indians is not limited to the media, generally used stereotypes for ease in communicating to the masses. "Covering anything non-local is foreign." The general literary stereotype of the American Indian is that of a howling, war dancing, painted heathen looking for innocent white women and children to wage war against, with the brave, galant United States Cavalry or a mountain man saving the people. The American Indian has been misrepresented by the media probably because of practitioners' lack of knowledge about Indians. Consider these facts which rarely are presented about the American Indian:

1. Education potential -- The Indian adolescent dropout rate from high school is 50 percent.
2. Employment potential -- The unemployment rate is 40 percent, approaching ten times that of the national average.
3. Income potential -- The average income is \$1,500 a year, 75 percent less than the national average and about \$1,000 below the income of an average black family.

4. Quality of life -- Fifty thousand Indian families live in grossly substandard housing in many cases without running water or electricity.

5. Life expectancy -- The average Indian life expectancy is 63.9 years. On reservations the life expectancy is 43 years. An Indian baby is three times as likely to die as a non-Indian baby. The teenage suicide rate among Indians is one hundred times greater than that of white teenagers. (Sadker and Sadker, 1977, p. 163-164)

The above facts reveal the true picture of the American Indians in this country. The cartoons and stories analyzed did not show the crumbling houses of the Indians nor the impoverished lifestyle they endure. The Indian was cast as a person living in atunement with nature, hunting for his food and continuing the ways of his forefathers, which was an inaccurate picture.

Further studies which should be conducted along these same lines would be the selection of some cartoons and fictional stories and survey both Indians and non-Indians as the statistical difference. To determine if these are either positive or negative stereotypes. It would also help to determine if non-Indians see this stereotype as a totally negative label. Perhaps it would also divulge that all Indians consider this stereotype as somewhat positive.

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