The “Pocahontas Perplex” in the Depiction of Indigenous Women of the So-Called New World in Nineteenth-Century German Literature.

by

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Abstract

German authors of the nineteenth century wrote numerous fictional stories about the Indigenous Peoples of the so-called new world. Much research has been published concerning the depiction of these Indigenous Peoples by these German authors. Very little has been written, however, specifically about the depiction of female Indigenous Peoples in these stories. Indigenous women themselves believe they have been forgotten when it comes to the revelation of racism and sexism that applies specifically to them. The purpose of this study is to examine how nineteenth-century German authors depicted Indigenous women. Systematic racism and sexism is revealed by showing that it is the German authors' Eurocentric cultural belief system that makes their intention to depict positive Indigenous heroines impossible.

The methodology used in this study is to start by identifying problematic stereotypes that refer specifically to one notable fictional Indigenous woman, Nscho-tschi, from Karl May's *Winnetou I*. Then these stereotypes are used as a basis for studying other Indianerinnen in German stories, to see if these same stereotypes reveal themselves repeatedly.

The result of the first part of the study is that Nscho-tschi has many of the characteristics of Pocahontas, the main character in a settler myth of the seventeenth century that is still well known today. The fact that Pocahontas is looked upon as a positive role model is perplexing to Indigenous women. Her image is one that gives the impression that Indigenous women welcomed the European invaders to their land. This concept is referred to as "The Pocahontas Perplex," as defined by Indigenous activist Rayna Green.

Some depicted Indianerinnen in the works evaluated can be put into the "Pocahontas" category. Others behave with enough independence to disqualify them from an association with Pocahontas.

The final conclusion is that though the goal of German writers to present a positive picture of the Indigenous women of Turtle Island (the place settlers refer to as North America) is a noble one, these intentions cannot be fulfilled when the writers have neither the knowledge nor cultural background to complete this task.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother, Anna Margarete Hatfield, né Sönnichsen, for her gift of a second language.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Lack of Research

German authors of the nineteenth century wrote numerous fictional stories about the Indigenous Peoples of the so-called new world. Much research has been published concerning the depiction of these Indigenous Peoples by nineteenth-century German authors. This is because the influence of these writers has had a tremendous impact on the German people of today. Many Germans feel that there is a special affinity between themselves and these Indigenous Peoples. A great number, perhaps a majority, of Germans are still enamored with what they understand as the culture and character of the "Indianer." This affinity that Germans feel toward Indigenous Peoples has also been studied in great detail. Martin Kuester says the depicted Indigenous Peoples that the German fiction writers created in the nineteenth century are more German than they are Indigenous (217). He implies that Winnetou, Karl May's "Indianer-Held," is more a representation of German cultural values, than he is of the Indigenous culture (220). Research on this phenomenon testifies that the Germans' perception of Indigenous Peoples is still influenced by depictions of the fictional characters found in nineteenth century German "Indianergeschichten." These stories became the most popular and widely read stories in German literature (Francis 88). Today they still have a large readership among German people (Francis 88). The best-known writer of "Indianergeschichten," Karl May, remains the most read German author of all time (Usbeck 29).

Despite the great volume of research that has been done, very little has been written specifically about the depiction of female Indigenous characters in these stories. In fact, most of the research that has been undertaken concerning the depiction of "Indianer," is centered on the male Indigenous heroes of the German stories. One can see from the context of the commentary of their observations that the researchers describe male Indigenous Persons and ignore the fact that depiction of females is significant and requires its own separate analysis.

The need for more research into the depiction of Indigenous women has been identified by female Indigenous activists. Poet and teacher Heid E. Erdrich, a member of the Turtle Mountain Band of the Ojibwe Nation, has commented on this lack of research. She relates an incident in her experience as a teacher of Native Studies. She asked each student in her class to tell her what came to mind when she said the word "Indian" (107). Much of what the students

wrote elicited stereotypes. However, almost all these stereotypes referred to male Indigenous Peoples. Erdrich states: “No matter what you picture, it is unlikely that even these stereotypes evoke the image of a woman. Much has been said about the invisibility of American Indian women” (107). German “Indianergeschichten,” however, contain a wealth of descriptions of “Indianerinnen.” These depictions create an opportunity to examine the way a number of these fictional Indigenous heroines are viewed and depicted by German authors.

The German nineteenth-century discourse concerning Indigenous Peoples of the so-called new world was and still is very different from the discourse in the English-speaking world. Many researchers of today conclude that, since most of the German authors knew very little about the diverse culture of the Indigenous Peoples firsthand, that their depictions are stereotyped and racist. It was because of their lack of knowledge, that the writers copied and produced stereotypes without intentionally or consciously being racist.

Researchers claim the majority of Indianergeschichten were based on the novels of James Fenimore Cooper (Grimm 97). It is true that Karl May himself had not visited Turtle Island (the place settlers refer to as North America) before he wrote his most famous stories and was in fact influenced by the Leatherstocking Tales. However, other German writers like Friedrich Gerstäcker and Baldwin Möllhausen had travelled extensively throughout the so-called new world. Consequently, the archive of nineteenth-century Indianergeschichten is diverse. One must be very careful when generalizations are made. Much of the research up to now has not taken this diversity into consideration. Conclusions have been made, installing all German writers into one openly racist group. They have been placed in the same category as their counterparts from English speaking colonizing nations.

The notion that many German authors were not just blatantly racist, but influenced by the racism and sexism built into the European thought system, adds a wider perspective to this topic and makes it relevant to different fields of research. Systematic racism and sexism will be revealed by showing that it is the German author’s Eurocentric cultural belief system that makes their intention to depict positive Indigenous heroines impossible. This study will reveal how people, even today, have, often unintentionally, an underlying racism and sexism in their belief system and that it is impossible for a white man, utilizing a paternalistic language and thought system, to depict a meaningful female character, who is able to express the notion of an Indigenous Woman.

1.2 The Significant Status of Indigenous Women

Indigenous women of Turtle Island had a far different standing in their society than European women. This is something that European society could not comprehend. The German writers of Indianergeschichten assumed that the men held all the power in this social structure, just like they did in European society. In reality the power structure was quite different. This is explained by Kim Anderson a Cree/Métis writer and educator:

> Native men's work was never considered to be more valuable than Native women's work. Native women were oblivious to the public/private split the Europeans brought with them. The incoming European division of labour trapped women within the limitations of the western domestic role. Such a system, in which the men do the "real" work, while women had to play a secondary, supporting and inherently less important role in the home made no sense to our people. (60)

This social construction is confirmed by Patrice E. M. Hollrah, of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. She refers to the Indigenous system as "gender complementarity" (2). One cannot call it gender equality because men and women were designated different roles in the division of labour. However, though the working activities were not equal, they were assigned equal importance. Though much of the woman's work was done near the home, this work was considered just as important as the man's work. The tasks complemented each other, thus the name "gender complementarity."

> Men and women had their assigned roles in tribal life, and women could be involved in numerous areas, such as decision making and landownership. The important aspects of men and women's roles is that they complemented each other, and they were equally valued for the contributions they made to the community; one role did not have more importance than another. (2)

Settlers saw Indigenous women cooking and cleaning and mistakenly misinterpreted the value this society assigned to this work. Thus, when these women suffered racism at the hands of the settlers, sexism was built into the dishonorable treatment because the intruders only understood a patriarchal structure. The concept of "gender complementarity" was unknown to them. The European patriarchal concept that woman's work had an inferior value insured that systemic racism toward women was replete with systemic sexism.

"While all Indigenous Peoples experience racism," says Emma Larocque, a scholar of Cree and Métis descent and professor of Native Studies at the University of Manitoba, "Native women suffer from sexism as well" (379). She says that Indigenous women have not only been subjected to violence, but have also to patriarchal policies that have appropriated them away from their "inherited rights, countries, identities and families" (397). In the European conception of spousal relationships, the male takes the role of a patriarch and the female the role of a dependent, obedient woman (Eberts 79). It would therefore be logical that the German writers, who had little first-hand experience with Indigenous Peoples, would ascribe this view to their depicted Indianer. Determining whether these writers portrayed Indianerinnen as if they held the same subordinate role in society as European women did, is one of the most important tasks of literary research that examines the image of Indigenous Peoples in the German speaking world. Everything that contributes to the impression of Indigenous women as being dependent and obedient to their male counterparts gives credibility to the idea that such a relationship is really valid. If the reader, who has already had a European idea of women as subordinate, finds their view confirmed in these Indianergeschichten, then the likelihood that Indigenous women will be treated in this way by such readers is increased. The actual situation is described by Joyce Green in her book *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*.

> Some Indigenous nations historically placed a high value on women's roles in society; indeed, women in most Indigenous nations historically enjoyed far more respect, power and autonomy than did their European settler counterparts. Yet contemporary Indigenous women are subjected to patriarchal and colonial oppression within settler society and in Indigenous communities. (10)

Whether Indianerinnen are presented in the narratives as people who enjoy respect, power and autonomy must be investigated. If the depictions are not so, then the authors of Indianergeschichten can be accused of contributing to the patriarchal and colonial oppression mentioned in the second sentence of the quote. Joyce Green also says of the nineteenth-century colonialists: „Indigenous women were viewed as hypersexual and amoral" (10). If the descriptions of Indianergeschichten add to this point of view, then authors are partly to blame when offending men "effectively feel licenced to abuse Indigenous Women" (Green 10). If instead these images if Indianerinnen project autonomous women worthy of respect, then these depictions must be noted and underscored. The hypothesis of this thesis is that the German

authors created a variety of images of Indigenous women. Some are stereotyped and negative, some stereotyped and positive, and others demonstrate their strength as autonomous individuals.

2 Uniqueness of Terminology: Why "Indianer" are not "Indians"

2.1 Introduction

This research study is about "Indianer", specifically "Indianerinnen" and the relationship between the terms "Indianerinnen" and "Indigenous women." Indianer/innen is not an equivalent to "Indians" or "Indian women." Indigenous women are real living people. Indianerinnen are imagined entities in the minds of the German population. Most academic papers written about Indianer make this distinction. However, almost all English language papers written about the German fascination with Indianer use the terms "Indian" as direct translations of the German word "Indianer." The scholars recognize that Germans have a unique fascination for Indianer, but then go on to use the words "Indian" and "Indianer" interchangeably, as if they both had the same connotations. As an example of this, here is how editors Hartmut Lutz, Florentine Strzelczyk and Renae Watchman define their terms in a book about the experiences of Indigenous Peoples visiting or living in Germany:

> In our introduction and conclusion, we standardized our terminology to use "Indigenous" when referring to people living in North America, but "*indian*" or "*Indianer*" for the images non-Indigenous people have constructed of the former (26).

They us the term, "Indigenous," for real people just as this paper does. But no distinction is made between the German and the English constructions of imagined depictions, using "Indian" and "Indianer" interchangeably. This chapter will show that the word "Indian," when used in Canada and the United States, and "Indianer," when used in Germany, have completely different connotations. In a paper that claims to be scholarly, definitions should be precise. What follows is an explanation of the rationale for the differentiation of these critical terms.

2.2 Indigenous Peoples

"Indigenous Peoples of the Americas" are the specific population of a nation that is discussed in this paper. This term will be shortened to "Indigenous Peoples," not just for brevity, but because the word "America" is a settler word, derived from the name of a European, Amerigo Vespucci. "Indigenous Peoples" will be used when referring to real people, who are offspring of the original tribes that populated the so-called new world before the coming of the Europeans. It will also be used when referring to the ancestors of these people. Ultimately the

decision to use “Indigenous Peoples” was made because it was the term of choice in a current book (2018), *Elements of Indigenous Style* by Gregory Younging, that was written as a guide for writing papers such as this.

What settlers call “North and South America” will be referred to as “the so-called new world” as a reminder that the Indigenous Peoples living there, predate any name the colonists might have given the land and that the word “new” is only from a settler point of view. “Turtle Island” will be the name used to refer to what is commonly called “North America.” When quoting other sources, however, the word “American” cannot be avoided. Non-Indigenous residents of the United States will be referred to as “Americans.” Many publications from the United States use the term “Native Americans” to refer to Indigenous Peoples. This is a systemic racist term since it intimates that Indigenous Peoples have always lived in a land with an Italian-derived name. The term, however, cannot be avoided when cited from other research.

2.3 “Indians”

The word “Indian” as it refers to the people who were native to the so-called new world can have several different meanings. In the United States it is still used to refer to the Indigenous Peoples of that country, even by scholars. When research papers authored by academics from the United States are cited in this thesis, the word “Indian” in the quotation will often actually mean “Indigenous Peoples.” When this occurs clarification will follow during the explanation of the quote.

In Canada the term “Indian” is often used by Indigenous Peoples to refer to themselves. This is not done because they think the word is appropriate, but more as a sarcastic reference to the Canadian Indian Act, which still applies to them. In an article entitled “When is an Indian not an Indian? Are we First Nations?” Drew Haydon Taylor, an Indigenous author, quotes his “Cousin Shelly” who had said “As long as there is an Indian Act, I am an Indian. I am legally defined as an Indian” (1-2). Taylor goes on to make the point, that although he does not like it when this colonizing word is used by non-Natives to refer to him, the term has united people from different reservations. This is because it symbolizes the poor treatment Indigenous Peoples have all received at the hands of the Canadian Government.

The third meaning of the word “Indian” is derived from the overtones it has taken on, as it is used by non-Native inhabitants of the so-called new world. This use of the word has come to

have connotations that make it derogatory. There are many reasons for this. First it was mistakenly used by Columbus because he thought he had discovered a short cut to India. Secondly it gathers a great number of separate Nations covering two continents into one group as if they are all one homogeneous entity. Third, since the word was put into use by settlers, it has been applied in reference to a group that was seen to be in need of colonization. Thus, it is a colonizing term. The fourth and for the purposes of this paper most critical reason, that the word "Indian" has come to have derogatory connotations, is the negative way Indigenous peoples have been depicted in English language books, movies and television shows. The depictions have been inaccurate and disparaging, treating the rightful owners of lands as trespassers, that are in the way of progress.

As far back as 1881 Tuscarora Chief Elias Johnson pointed out that Indigenous Peoples, represented by the word "Indian," were being characterized as "savage and barbarians" (8) in English settler literature. Further they were depicted as "blood-thirsty, revengeful, and merciless" (8). Because this type of depiction was widespread and continued on throughout the twentieth century, the word "Indian" has become synonymous with these same adjectives. These are completely false depictions, but they still exist in the imagination of non-Indigenous Peoples living on Turtle Island. In a Ferris State University Blog, Arlene Hirschfelder and Paulette F. Molin explain how Wild West shows performing from the late nineteenth century into the twentieth century contributed to the continuation of these stereotypes. These performances: "dramatized Indian attacks on stagecoaches and cabins as well as mock battles between cavalry and Indians" (1). The depictions carried on because "these shows, and related influences, inspired filmmakers to produce Westerns depicting hordes of Indians attacking Euro-Americans" (1). Thus, the word "Indian" became associated with savagery against peaceful Europeans. When used in everyday conversation by non-Indigenous people, the semiotic signifier "Indian" has come to signify the savage cruel image that American movies and television of the twentieth century have fostered. The Indigenous scholar and author, Thomas King, has separated these signified images into groups.

> Film dispensed with any errant subtleties and colourings, and crafted three basic Indian types. There was the bloodthirsty savage, the noble savage, and the dying savage. The bloodthirsty savage was the most common (34).

It must be stressed that these signified images are all imaginary, they do not and never have existed in reality. Nevertheless, the word “Indian” has become synonymous with “bloodthirsty savage” in the culture of Canada and the United States. In this research paper it will only be used when referring to this imaginary negative image, but not as a synonym for Indigenous Peoples. When used in quotations, however, the meaning will depend on who is being quoted.

2.4 “Die Indianer/innen”

The word “Indianer/innen” will be used when referring to the German image of Indigenous Peoples. Like the word “Indian” it refers to an imaginary image that does not and never has existed. This signified image, just like that of the English word, has been moulded by books of fiction and films. The image that was created by German writers in the nineteenth century has survived to the present time. Unlike the word “Indian,” which has become a signifier for negative connotations, previous research has shown that “Indianer” signifies positive images in the minds of most Germans. In a book entitled *Indianthusiasm* the source of this image is described as follows: “German culture has produced an idealized and romanticized fascination with, and fantasies about, Indigenous Peoples” (26).

An early example of this idealized image can be found in a poem by Johann Gottfried Seume entitled “Der Wilde” (1789). It influenced the German attitude toward Indianer as “It was repeatedly included in popular household books of poetry and school anthologies throughout the nineteenth century and into our own time” (Ashliman 834). This narrative poem relates the story of a Huron who is treated badly by a settle, but later kindly helps this same settler when he is lost in the woods. D. L. Ashliman, Professor Emeritus of German at the University of Pittsburgh, writes that in this work “the contrast between Europe’s whitewashed courtliness and the innate moral superiority of a Huron Indian is sharply drawn” (834). Ashliman interprets the poem as advocating Rousseau’s views of noble savagery. But one should be careful when using the word “savage” in any discussion about German interpretation since as Johann J. K. Reusch, an assistant professor in the Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences program at the University of Washington, writes: “No true equivalent translation can be found in German for the French and English term, "sauvage/savage," (96). He says “savage” denotes “beast,” “cruel,” “vicious,” and “without pity” (96) whereas “Wilde” (the German translation of “savage” given in most

dictionaries) is a term "charged with admiration and awe - often steeped in mythology - that is deliberately absent from the vocabulary of English and French colonial terminology characterizing native peoples" (96). Any association of the word "savage" with German interpretations must be considered in the light of the fact that it derives from the Latin word "silvaticus" created by the Romans to describe the Germanic Tribes themselves (Reusch 96). The Huron in this poem is certainly not someone that could be associated with the English word "savage" despite the title "Der Wilde."

This "idealized' image for "Indianer" is the opposite of the "bloodthirsty savage" image that Thomas King talks about when referring to "Indians." That does not mean that this image is not problematic. It may be just as problematic as the "Indian" image, but it is most definitely different from the English depiction. It certainly has elements of "the noble savage, and the dying savage" that Thomas King mentions (with allowances for the fact that the German connotation of "Edler Wilder" is different from "noble savage"), but its overriding characteristic is as a symbol of freedom and the right to fight for a just cause. Germans thought they could identify with "Indianer" as Susanne Zantop, in an article called "Close Encounters: Deutsche and Indianer," states when referring to Karl May's German hero, Old Shatterhand, and his Indianer hero, Winnetou. She refers to their friendship as a "friendship among equals" (3). She states that the German readership identified with the "strong Teutonic superman" (4) meaning Old Shatterhand. But she claims the readers identified just as strongly with Winnetou, calling him an "equally kind, supple, and beautiful 'Indianer.'" (4). It must be stressed that both the book *Indianthusiasm* and the article by Susanne Zantop see this German imaginary depiction of Indigenous Peoples as problematic. Just because it is a positive image does not make it acceptable. Both "Indian" and "Indianer" are words that settlers used to signify "The Other" and thus they are colonizing words.

2.5 Difference between "The Indians" and "Die Indianer"

This paper is contending that the words "Indians" and "Indianer" have completely different connotations. They should not be used interchangeably the way most English language publications on the subject use them. The signified image of the signifier "Indian" is negative and the signified image of the word "Indianer" is positive. In this paper "Indians" will designate the false, imaginary image if Indigenous Peoples in the society of Canada and the United States

and “Indianer/innen” will designate the false, imaginary image of Indigenous Peoples in German society.

To demonstrate how significant and different this designation is from other research, here are some examples of how the words “Indian” and “Indianer” are used in other English language publications. In a paper entitled “Elusive Authenticity: The Quest for the Authentic Indian in German Public Culture,” H. Glen Penny defines his terms as follows:

> For the purposes of this essay, I have chosen to use the term” “Native Americans” to refer to living people and the term "Indians" to refer to Germans' projections. The distinction is important for the essay, and this is a common strategy adopted by many scholars. (799)

Penny’s article is very insightful and will be quoted again in this paper, but his decision to use the word “Indian” for the German projection is unfortunate. If he had used the term “Indianer” instead, English speaking readers would still understand exactly what he is talking about with no translation necessary. One must be specific in a scholarly article. Using the word “Indianer” would have made it clear that he was not talking about the “blood-thirsty savage” images the word “Indian” brings to mind for non-Indigenous Eurocentric thinkers, a category which includes most English scholars themselves. In the article he criticizes the lack of self-reflection that scholars of Indianergeschichten participate in, as they censure each other’s work for creating new false images of “Indianer” (He uses the word “Indian”) as they denounce old ones. This is a very legitimate and enlightened observation. But if you accept that his thesis is true, one must conclude that even scholars have biases that will influence and confuse the signified object produced by the signifier “Indian.”

The German researcher Hartmut Lutz defines the terms “Indian,” “Indianer” and “Native American,” in a research paper entitled “German Indianthusiasm, a Socially Constructed German National(ist) Myth.”

> I deliberately use the English term “Indian” and its derivatives, or the German word “Indianer” whenever I am referring to the image or ideological construct conceived by European Americans and Europeans about North American aboriginal peoples. When talking about actual persons of Indigenous descent in North America, I use “Native Americans” or other more appropriate terms. (168-169)

Lutz uses the term “Native Americans” in the same way this paper uses “Indigenous Peoples.” He groups the words “Indian” and “Indianer” together as if they both mean the same thing, calling them an “ideological construct conceived by European Americans and Europeans.” That is true, but it is also true that what he refers to as the “European American” construct is different from the European or German construct as shown by these previous paragraphs. Not recognizing this difference can lead to misunderstandings. The word “Indianthusiasm,” when analyzed through the definitions given in this paper, must be questioned as a suitable way of expressing German enthusiasm for “Indianer.” Ever since Hartmut Lutz coined the word, it has been used extensively by English language researchers, to represent the fascination and enthusiasm Germans have for “Indianer.”

Thomas King, the Indigenous scholar, explains how ironic it was, that when he and his brother played “Cowboys and Indians” as children, nobody wanted to be the “Indian.”

> Now that I think about it, I don’t remember anyone who wanted to be an Indian. Not my brother. Not my cousins. Not even the girls in the neighbourhood, who were generally good sports about such things. (21)

King is making the point that negative depictions of people that were referred to as “Indians” quelled all enthusiasm children (even Indigenous children like himself) of his generation would have toward wanting to emulate one of them. He is, in effect, saying that in Canada and the United States there is no such thing as “Indianthusiasm.” Compare this to Bettina Jarasch, a representative of the Green Party in Germany, who in March 2021 communicated her desire to be a „Indianerhäuptling“ (Kuschel et el), when she was a child. What she had in mind by using the word “Indianer” was not at all what the King children imagined when they didn’t want to be “Indians.” Calling Bettina Jarasch’s wish to become a „Indianerhäuptling,“ “Indianthusiasm,” is misleading. Her imagined “Indianer” has very little in common with an imagined “Indian,” neither of which have anything in common with Indigenous Peoples. It must be noted that Jarasch was criticized for using the word “Indianer” because it is a “Kolonial-Begriff” (Kuschel et el). It was asserted that she should have used the term “indigene Völker,” instead. This, however, would not be accurate because she was referring to the image of the phantasy product “Indianer” of her childhood and not to actual people. This is not a problem of terminology but of cultural appropriation.

Perhaps the best demonstration of the different connotation of the two words comes in the final scene of Armand's *An der Indianergrenze*. The settler villains have the settler heroes in a tight spot, and it is a band of Indianer that ride in at the climax to save the day for the "good guys.". Here is the description of the rescue as the villain Mortling's henchmen are surrounded. "'Indianer!' schreien jetzt Mortlings Gefährten, die in wilder Hast mit ihren Waffen aus den Zelten hervorgebrochen waren und feuerten nach allen Richtungen hin ihre Büchsen ab" (255). "Indians" riding in to the rescue is an occurrence that is never seen in American westerns which are full of final scenes where the US cavalry charges in accompanied by a triumphant bugle call to liberate trespassing settlers from the depicted brutality if "bloodthirsty savages."

The Navajo scholar Renae, demonstrates how the term "Indianer" will be used in this paper when she introduces herself at the beginning of the book *Indianthusiasm*. She says that after she earned her PhD, she made many trips to Germany "to witness, experience, and research the German fascination with Indianer" (20). By using the word "Indianer" she makes it very clear that she is talking about a vision that exists only in the mind of the German imagination. Being recognized as an Indianerin in Germany brings on a totally different reaction, than being recognized as an Indigenous woman in Canada or the United States. Here is Watchman's experience in Germany:

> I would be introduced as Renae and then whomever was introducing me to another person would say: "Und sie ist Indianerin!" Then the person would suddenly be interested in me [because I wasn't Turkish]. (185)

The "sudden interest" indicates that the German person that Watchman is being introduced to is showing a positive implicit bias. Christie M. Poitra and John Norder define "implicit bias" as follows: "holding unconscious assumptions or prejudice toward a population of people that influences the understanding and treatment of the population" (183). It is the problematic aspects of the positive "implicit bias" toward Indigenous women when they are looked upon as if they were "Indianerinnen" that is troubling. This paper is concerned with the fact that even positive depictions, can be problematic. In order to demonstrate the systemic racism built into seemingly positive depictions of "Indianer," the parameters of the word should be clearly defined.

3 Methodology

Heid E. Erdrich laments the lack of discussion about stereotypes referring specifically to Indigenous women. Even less research refers exclusively to the German depictions of Indianerinnen. It is difficult to begin identifying relevant topics by looking at secondary literature. As a starting point, therefore, problematic stereotypes that refer specifically to female Indigenous Peoples of the so-called new world will be identified in one notable Indianergeschichte, *Winnetou I* by Karl May.Then these stereotypes will be used as a basis for studying other examples in German Indianergeschichten, to see if these same stereotypes reveal themselves repeatedly.

Winnetou I is the most famous German Indianergeschichte. That is why the depiction of the main female character in the story will be used as the exemplar. This character is Nscho-tschi, Winnetou's sister. A detailed study can be undertaken, because she is not only a main character in the novel, but plays an important role in major cinematographic adaptions in both the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The stereotypical aspects of her depictions will be identified, and an explanation will be given as to why this type of representation can be harmful. The positive features of her character will be analysed as well and compared to those of settler women in the Winnetou novels.

Since one of the main purposes of this thesis is to identify systemic racism, it will endeavour to demonstrate that the stereotypical aspects of the depictions have their roots in an Eurocentric worldview. It will be demonstrated that in most cases Karl May is trying to paint a positive picture of Indigenous women, but failing, because of his Eurocentric viewpoint.

The conclusions concerning Nscho-tschi's depiction will include a classification of the main problematic areas concerning the depiction of Indigenous women. These areas will be studied further in the following chapters by identifying and analyzing them in other works surveyed for this thesis. This way it can be determined if these problematic stereotypes are prevalent or missing from these other works, thus showing that one cannot group all German representations of Indigenous women into one category.

The following are the works that will be analysed.

Johann Gottfried Seume: „Der Wilde" (1789).

James Fenimore Cooper: *Lederstrumpf* (1826).

Adelbert von Chamisso: „Der Stein der Mutter oder die Guahiba-Indianerin" (1828).

Adelbert von Chamisso: „Rede des alten Kriegers Bunte Schlange“ (1829).

Karl Postl (Charles Sealsfield): *Tokeah oder die Weiße Rose* oder *Der Legitime und die Republikaner* (1829).

Unknown: “Die weiße Lilie vom Okano-See” in “Die Adlerfeder,” *Die Gartenlaube* (1858).

Frederic Armand Strubberg: *An der Indianergrenze* (1859).

Johannes Scherr: *Die Pilger der Wildnis* (1864).

Balduin Möllhausen: *Die Mandanenwaise* (1865).

Friedrich Gerstäcker: *Unter den Pehuenchen* (1867).

Paul Margot: *Die Gefangenen der Apachen* Erster Band (1868).

Sophie Wörishöffer: *Im Land der Roten Krieger* (1881).

Anton Ohorn: *Der weiße Falke* (1882).

Karl May: *Winnetou I, II, III* (1893).

Karl May: *Winnetou IV* (1910).

Karl May: „Mutterliebe“ (1897).

4 Nscho-tschi

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the character Nscho-tschi from Karl May's 1893 Novel *Winnetou I*. Even though, when compared to the white women in the story, the character of Nscho-tschi seems to be positively and progressively depicted, nineteenth-century European systemic racism and sexism have clouded May's viewpoint. The presentation of her character and fate in the story manifests a Eurocentric paradigm, which conjures up negative stereotypes that can be applied specifically to Indigenous women. Nscho-tschi does not only play a prominent role in Karl May's novel, but is a major character in the very popular 1963 German film *Winnetou I. Teil.* and in the 2016 three-part TV movie *Winnetou – Der Mythos lebt*. By examining the movie producers' efforts at updating the story, one can see how the nineteenth-century image of the Indianerin has evolved into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This chapter will examine May's rhetorical intentions in his depiction of Nscho-tschi. It will then examine if the later film makers, who have had a chance to see what type of rhetorical effect Karl May's depiction has produced, have adjusted and updated their representation of Nscho-tschi to fit their era of production. The question as to whether the rhetorical effect of these adjustments has become more acceptable from an Indigenous and feminist point of view, will be discussed.

Karl May is seemingly attempting to depict the "ideal woman" of the nineteenth century, when he creates the character of Nscho-tschi. In order to achieve this, he uses a combination of European ideas on what an ideal woman at that time should be. He then adds to this, his own romantic vision of how an Indigenous woman, who is one with nature, should act.

4.2 The Ideal Woman

May's description of Nscho-tschi is reminiscent of the writers of the romantic period relating female beauty to classic Greek ideals. One can see this from his description of what he considers her beautiful nose: "Die feine geflügelte Nase hätte weit eher auf griechische als auf indianische Abstammung deuten können" (285). The ancient Greek statue, "Venus de Milo" in Musée du Louvre, has long been a European standard of beauty. May's rhetorical intention is to be complementary to Nscho-tschi when he gives her Greek features.

To strengthen her worth and position as a female character, May gives Nscho-tschi the social position as daughter of a chief. This in his mind puts her on the same level as a royal European "princess." He uses her position as the daughter of a chief to produce a positive signified object. His rhetorical intention for this signifier is to elevate Nscho-tschi's image.

He also wants to create a positive image by depicting her as a healer. She nurses Old Shatterhand back to health after a serious injury, thus saving his life. May intends to create the image of an ideal woman, making Nscho-tschi an angel of mercy.

May's rhetorical intention is to present the Indigenous woman, Nscho-tschi, as an "ideal" woman according to European standards through her beauty, social status and efforts to heal Old Shatterhand. The problematic nature of this depiction will be discussed next.

4.3 Nscho-tschi's Beauty

The full description of Nscho-tschi's face is as follows:

> Von indianisch vorstehenden Backenknochen war keine Spur. Die weich und warm gezeichneten vollen Wangen vereinigten sich unten in einem Kinn, dessen Grübchen bei einer Europäerin auf Schelmerei hätte schließen lassen. Sie sprach, jedenfalls um mich nicht aus dem Schlaf zu wecken, leise mit der Alten, und als sie dabei den schön geschnittenen Mund zu einem Lächeln öffnete, blitzten die Zähne wie reinstes Elfenbein zwischen den roten Lippen hervor. Die feingeflügelte Nase hätte weit eher auf griechische als auf indianische Abstammung deuten können. (285)

The racist implications of this passage are apparent. In order to present Nscho-tschi as beautiful and relatable by European ideals, he disparages what he believes to be Indigenous features. The first sentence and last sentences propagate a stereotypical depiction reminiscent of the skull and the features of an early primate. He perpetuates the image of Indigenous Peoples as less developed and primitive. By attributing supposed "European" features to Nscho-tschi's face, he is both propagating Indigenous stereotypes and belittling them in the same description. He emphasizes this by adding as a beauty attribute the "European Grübchen," implying a naïve playfulness, and the lack of such for Indigenous women. The comparison of her teeth to ivory has a strong colonial connotation. The entire description extols a European vision of beauty at the expense of a stereotyped imagined Indigenous model of physical features. By depicting Nscho-tschi in this manner, May is implying that all other Indigenous women are uncomely. By

carrying through his rhetorical intention of giving Nscho-tschi the features of an ideal woman in his eyes, May has managed to produce a rhetorical effect of presenting the features of other Indigenous women as undesirable. He has created two simulacra of Indigenous womanhood that have no basis in fact.

4.4 The "Princess"

Another problematic feature of May's depiction of Nscho-tschi is that he presents her as a "princess." This is a social position that did not exist in Indigenous society. Indigenous scholars argue that the presentation of an Indigenous woman as a "princess" produces a rhetorical effect that, according to Canadian author Janice Acoose, sees them as "suffering helpless victims" (55). Heid E Erdrich states that the "image of the ubiquitous Indian Princess" (107) exists in the minds of non-indigenous people, as a stereotype of what an ideal Indigenous woman should be. Annie Cecilia Smith confirms this reaction of Indigenous woman toward the image of the Indian "princess" in her short story "Not Indian Enough"

> "My great-grandmother was a Cherokee princess. I'm one-sixteenth Cherokee," is what a proud, light-skinned, blond-haired person states to me. I want to laugh because it's not the first time I've heard such a claim. (2564)

All three scholars see the notion of an Indigenous "princess" as make believe and a ubiquitous stereotype that only white people associate with Indigenous women. It is an image that white people have invented in order to make the likeness of an Indigenous woman more acceptable to their own culture. Karl May's rhetorical intention of depicting Nscho-tschi as royal in the European sense, by making her the daughter of a chief, has made her worth writing about. By putting this title on her, to raise her status, he implies that it needs to be raised. It takes an Indigenous woman to look like a Greek goddess and to be a "princess" to warrant an important role in his story and to have a heroic status. In so many "Indianergeschichten" that were reviewed for this paper, the main Indigenous female characters were "royalty" and their white female counterparts were not. Though they still needed to be "beautiful," the white female heroes did not need to be princesses to warrant a significant role in a story.

4.5 Healer or Servant?

When May depicts Nscho-tschi as a healer, he does so by having her take care of the almost fatal wounds Old Shatterhand receives from Winnetou. She does not use any spiritual powers, and there is no indication that she serves the tribe in any way as a medicine woman. She changes his dressing, but other than that, she does not perform any special procedures that would indicate that she has any special medical skills. She does serve his every need, however, by feeding him and making him as comfortable as possible. She serves Old Shatterhand as an angel of mercy, as her brother, Winnetou, wants nothing to do with him, because he considers him an enemy. Her role is essentially that of a servant. Here she is playing the role that the feminists Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar say that most female heroines play in nineteenth-century literature authored by men.

In their ground-breaking book *The Madwoman in the Attic* of 1979 Gilbert and Gubar talk about these images of women created by male authors of the nineteenth century. They argue that these male authors are exercising "Literary Paternity"(221) when they create what they consider to be the ideal woman. Gilbert and Gubar use "der Spiegel" (125) from Grimm's Märchen, "Schneewittchen," as a metaphor for literally telling the women of the nineteenth century what their image should be like. "Der Spiegel" a masculine German noun, and actually a masculine being in the Disney movie, determines who is the "fairest" in the land, the feminine ideal of the nineteenth century. Further: "women are defined as wholly passive, completely void of generative power" (Gilbert and Gubar 601) by a once influential strand of nineteenth-century male writers. The feminist authors go on to demonstrate what they mean by using the character Makarie, from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* and a quote describing the character Honoria from Coventry Patmore's poem "The Angel in the House" as examples of such a woman.

> In short, like Goethe's Makarie, Honoria has no story except a sort of anti-story of selfless innocence based on the notion that "Man must be pleased; but him to please / Is woman's pleasure." (626-627).

May, like Coventry Patmore, whose poem praising his wife's virtues has been extensively criticized by feminists, is depicting his heroine as a person whose sole purpose is to please a man, even though at this time she considers him her enemy. The rhetorical intent of this depiction of Nscho-tschi is to show that she is a kind selfless woman. The rhetorical effect is that

the readers perceive that the daughter of an Indigenous chief is no better than a servant when she deals with a white man.

4.6 Nscho-tschi the Independent Thinker

It is a mistake, however, to conclude from these opening scenes, in which Nscho-tschi is introduced to the readership, that May plans to continue depicting her as someone "wholly passive, completely void of generative power," (601) the way Gilbert and Gubar say European women are depicted by some male nineteenth-century authors. He later describes her in quite the opposite fashion. This becomes very apparent in her argument with Old Shatterhand about his vision of both white and Indigenous women. This argument is unique in the novel because it is the only argument that Old Shatterhand does not win. The novel is filled with descriptions of disagreements between Old Shatterhand and both his friends and his enemies. Not surprisingly, since Old Shatterhand is the hero of the novel, he wins all except this one.

The argument comes about when Nscho-tschi announces to Old Shatterhand that she plans on witnessing the torture and execution of a white man, who has been found guilty of murder through a trial conducted by her Apache Tribe. His reaction to this is the comment: "Ein Weib soll so etwas nicht ansehen können" (357). He makes the argument that witnessing this execution would not be ladylike and presents the nineteenth-century image of a European woman that Gilbert and Gubar refer to. Nscho-tschi, on the other hand, contends that women have exactly the same basic feelings as men and should be treated as equals. She speaks on behalf of all women when she argues: "Oh, die Frauen der Bleichgesichter sind nicht so zart, wie du denkst. Sie können die Schmerzen sehr gut ertragen…" Here May is speaking through her. Using her as a "shield," he can give her a voice, which many European women at the time were not allowed to have. Many of his readers would believe that it was unfitting for a white woman to speak this way. May gives her an emancipated voice as she does not have to adhere to the European standard of femininity. Her progressive point of view is unusual for nineteenth-century literature much of which depicted European women as "Western culture's cloistered virgins" (Gilbert and Gubar 613).

May uses her as a voice to condemn the entire process in which white settlers moved into and took possession of Indigenous land when she says:

> Sind die unzähligen Indianer, welche im Kampfe gegen die weißen Eindringlinge untergingen, alle schnell an einer Kugel, an einem Messerstiche gestorben? Wie viele von ihnen wurden zu Tode gemartert! Und doch hatten sie nichts getan als ihre Rechte verteidigt! (360)

Nscho-tschi stresses that not only did settlers rob the Indigenous Peoples of their lands, but they also vilified and tortured them for defending their own property.

May does two remarkable things during these pages. First, he allows his hero and narrator to admit that he might be wrong and Nscho-tschi right when Old Shatterhand comments: "Durfte ich sie verurteilen? Hatte sie unrecht?" (360). This may not sound like a ringing endorsement, but in the context of the rest of the narrative it is. The narrator, Old Shatterhand, is a chauvinistic arrogant braggart. There is never any question that his opinion is the correct one. This is the only time he admits that his opponent might be right. He also states that Nscho-tschi is far more attractive when standing up for her own rights, than she was when he imagined her as the gentle agreeable woman so much preferred by nineteenth-century male authors.

> Ich hatte die schöne, junge Indianerin als ein sanftes, stilles Wesen kennen gelernt; jetzt stand sie vor mir mit blitzenden Augen und glühenden Wangen, das lebende Bild einer Rachegöttin, die kein Erbarmen kennt. Fast wollte sie mir da noch schöner als vorher vorkommen (360).

The second remarkable element of this conversation is that May allows Nscho-tschi to question his own perception of women. Old Shatterhand, May's alter ego, says to her: "'Dann müßtest du unsere Frauen und Mädchen besser kennen als ich!'" (358). He is expecting her to admit that she could never understand white women the way he, a European man, can. Instead she answers: "Vielleicht kennst du sie nicht!" (358). Through Nscho-tschi, May progressively questions the status quo of the depiction of women in the nineteenth century. By using a female character that is outside of the realm of social obligations, he uncovers the suppression of women at the time. With the statement "Vielleicht kennst du sie nicht!" (358) May reveals the perception of women as being dictated by social conventions. Since this statement refers specifically to the depiction of white women, by using Nscho-tschi as his voice, he can be more honest about his feelings and is not shackled by the prevailing male opinion of the time, that Old Shatterhand would have had. One cannot make the mistake of saying that Old

Shatterhand's perception is always May's opinion. In a work of fiction, the author is not identical to the voice of the first-person narrator. Nscho-tschi's statement "Vielleicht kennst du sie nicht!" (358) can certainly be interpreted as May questioning his own freedom to depict women, both white and Indigenous, through Nscho-tschi's voice. He is thus himself arguing what the feminists Gilbert and Gubar are saying.

4.7 Settler Women

When compared to the few white women of note that appear in *Winnetou I*, the character of Nscho-tschi is positively and progressively depicted. A white European woman emotionally "schrie laut auf" (25) at the sight of Sam Hawkens' skinless, blood-red, previously scalped skull when he removes his hat in her presence. The men, though somewhat shocked themselves, remain outwardly emotionless. Early in *Winnetou II*, a settler woman, who has been fooled by a swindler, is depicted as naïve and clueless, to the point of being laughable, in her ignorance of the swindler's plot.

> Sie sank wie ohnmächtig auf den Sessel nieder und rief: 'Nein, nein! Das ist unmöglich! Dieser liebe, freundliche, prächtige Mann kann kein Betrüger sein. Ich glaube Ihnen nicht. (571)

4.8 Old Shatterhand respects Nscho-tschi's Independence

Nscho-tschi, on the other hand, is intelligent as witnessed by her discussions with Old Shatterhand. She is also a woman of action. Old Shatterhand describes her abilities as they travel together as follows: "Sie war, wie ich schon wußte und es sich auch im Verlaufe unserer Reise zeigte, eine ausgezeichnete und auch ausdauernde Reiterin. Ebenso gut wußte sie ihre Waffen zu handhaben" (441). This description is significant because it shows that May's idea of "woman" goes much further than many depictions of European women of the time. The idea of a women being skilled at the use of weapons goes contrary to the nineteenth-century image of a German woman. In the chapter entitled "Discourses of German Femininity in the Long Nineteenth Century," Ruth Whittle argues that from the beginning of nineteenth-century Germany until its end, it was seen as the man's duty be able to defend the country through the use of weapons. It was the woman's duty not to handle weapons but to care for the man, so he could be more effective in fulfilling his obligation to the fatherland (16). She says that "of particular interest for

the notion of gender difference is the introduction of conscription in 1814" (16). She indicates that the fact that the male was expected to fight, and the female was not, is one of the arguments that only men should have the right to vote. "Naturally, neither military service nor the vote was open to women, who were thus unable to access these highly valued forms of patriotic demonstration and participation" (16). Thus, the fact that May allows his female heroine to be skillful at using a weapon constitutes a significant abdication of power to the female sex. Old Shatterhand supports this image saying: "Sie war schön, wirklich schön, selbst trotz ihres männlichen Anzuges und ihrer männlichen Art, zu reiten, schön!" (441). One can see from this statement how difficult it is for May to get away from the Eurocentric way of thinking. Even in saying that he believes Nscho-tschi looks beautiful riding a horse with her weapon, he can only use a sexist frame of reference to compliment her using the adjective "männlich" and adding "trotz," meaning she is beautiful despite these traits. It can be argued, however, that May is being ironic when he causes Old Shatterhand to say "trotz" and in reality is indicating that she is beautiful "because of" what he calls her manly abilities, since he does not go into such superlatives in describing her beauty anywhere else in the novel, even when he first sees her.

4.9 Independence is Desirable for "The Other" but not for Old Shatterhand's Wife

Despite the fact that May describes Nscho-tschi as an emancipated woman compared to her white counterparts, his Eurocentric bias and double standards become apparent when Old Shatterhand rejects her as a marriage partner, based on her Indigenous background.

> Ich gönnte Nscho-tschi den allerbesten, edelsten roten Krieger und Häuptling; ich aber war nicht nach dem wilden Westen gekommen, um mir eine rote Squaw zu nehmen; ich hatte nicht einmal an eine weiße gedacht. (419)

With this statement May has created a hierarchical system with Old Shatterhand, the white male, at the top. White women are on the next rung and Nscho-tschi, and all other Indigenous women are on the bottom. The verbs "nehmen" and "gönnen" both indicate that it is the man who has the power when it comes to choosing a partner. When Old Shatterhand speaks of "taking" a wife, either white or Indigenous, it sounds as if he is choosing her and making her his property the way he would a horse or a dog. "Gönnen" indicates that Nscho-tschi and therefore all Indigenous women need his approval of their choice of a husband. Both Indigenous and settler women are labeled with the demeaning and racist term "Squaw" making Old Shatterhand superior to both

types of women. The words “nicht einmal” make it clear that if he were to “take” a wife his preference would be a white one. The adjective “rot” is problematic as he uses it to refer to Indigenous women and make them sound inferior. This perceived inferiority is given emphasis as Winnetou explains to Nscho-tschi why Old Shatterhand will never marry her.

> “Unter den roten Mädchen, ja; da kommt meiner schönen Schwester keines gleich. Aber was hast du gesehen und gehört? Was hast du gelernt? Du kennst das Frauenleben der roten Völker, aber nichts von dem, was eine weiße Squaw gelernt haben und wissen muß. Old Shatterhand sieht nicht auf den Glanz des Goldes und auf die Schönheit des Angesichtes; er trachtet nach andern Dingen, die er bei einem roten Mädchen nicht finden kann.” (406-407)

The statement makes it clear that it is not Nscho-tschi’s looks that will prevent Old Shatterhand from marrying her, as Winnetou believes “Schönheit des Angesichtes“ does not carry the most importance. What makes her unsuitable is the fact that she has not learnt the skills, which a white woman poses, that will enable her to make her husband happy. This is again the sexist idea which Gilbert and Gubar expose about male nineteenth-century writers. “Of course, from the eighteenth century on, conduct books for ladies had proliferated, enjoining young girls to submissiveness, modesty, self-lessness; reminding all women that they should be angelic” (636-637). It is ironic that the very character traits that Old Shatterhand admired in Nscho-tschi, such as her lack of submissiveness, when she argues with him about the role of women in society, are what make her unsuitable as a wife. Nineteenth-century men were educated in order that they could go out into the world and be successful, but the women were educated so they could serve their man, thus helping to enable his success. That is the plan that is worked out for Nscho-tschi as her father informs Old Shatterhand: “Meine Tochter auch. Sie möchte gern die großen Wohnplätze der Bleichgesichter sehen und so lange dortbleiben, bis sie ganz so geworden ist wie eine weiße Squaw” (425).

May has described Nscho-tschi as an independent thinker, who criticizes the role of white women in society. He has shown that Old Shatterhand admires this quality of independence. He describes her “unladylike” ability to ride astride on a horse as something favourable. He admires her ability to shoot. But then he encourages her to go to a family in a settler city in order to become colonized, to, as A. Dana Weber of Florida State University says, “be educated in the ways of white women in order to become a worthy wife for Old Shatterhand” (231-232). Martin

Kuester of Augsburg University has a similar take, writing that Nscho-tschi is being sent "to the East to be educated and become worthy of Old Shatterhand" (220). She is to be converted into something like the white women that she criticized. In order for her to be a good wife to a European and "worthy" of Old Shatterhand, she cannot have these qualities that make her independent, but must learn submissiveness. This is indicated by the derogatory term "weiße Squaw." May's sexist beliefs seem to have dominated his thoughts when it comes to choosing a suitable wife and supressed his belief and admiration of the independent spirit of the Indianerin he depicted.

4.10 The Attributes of a Good Wife

In *Winnetou IV* the woman who Old Shatterhand actually chooses to be his wife appears. A long period of time has passed since the events in *Winnetou III*. Old Shatterhand has gone back to live in Germany and become a famous author of stories based on his adventures in the United States. His German wife of many years is introduced in the first pages of this novel. He refers to her as "Herzle" which he says is a "Kosename" (3). It is also revealed that Old Shatterhand is Karl May himself. Since *Winnetou IV* is still a work of fiction "Herzle" will be referred to exclusively as Old Shatterhand's wife, even though her character was inspired by May's actual wife. This is how her role in Old Shatterhand's household is described in the first pages of the novel.

> Sie hat, während die obere Etage meine Zimmer enthält, das ganze Parterre des Hauses inne. Da waltet sie als unermüdlicher, fleißiger Wirtschaftsengel, empfängt die immer zahlreicher werdenden Besuche meiner Leser und beantwortet alle die vielen Briefe, deren eigenhändige Erledigung mir selbst unmöglich ist. (*Winnetou IV* 3).

The top floor of their house is his domain, but she "prevails" (walten) over the whole ground floor. This is an unintended irony because "prevailing" seems to mean she is responsible for cleaning it as a "fleißiger Wirtschaftsengel." The created hierarchy is notable with him at the top and her on the bottom. She does not really seem to have a life of her own, since her time is taken up with supporting the events in his life. Her sole purpose is to manage his affairs. She lives her whole life vicariously through him. Is it any wonder that Old Shatterhand claims that they always have the same thoughts.

> Ich folgte ihnen mit dem Herzle, die ihren Arm in den meinen gelegt hatte und mir durch einen leisen Druck ein Zeichen gab, welches ich sehr wohl verstand. Wir haben fast immer einen und denselben Gedanken miteinander. (61)

The pet name "Herzle" is derived from a character in one of his early novels, further pulling her life away from its own course into his world. Old Shatterhand claims that he understands her soft squeeze of the arm, but it is self-evident that they will have the same thoughts because she has regulated her life into his way of thinking. This absolutely contrasts with the way Nscho-tschi obdurately argues with Old Shatterhand about the independent role women should take in society.

In the following conversation Herzle admits that she almost always defaults to Old Shatterhand's point of view. Old Shatterhand has brought his wife with him to the United States. They are travelling back to the scene of his former adventures with Winnetou. The conversation is with an old "Westman," named Pappermann, who has befriended the couple. At this moment Herzle does not understand Old Shatterhand's decision to stay where they are and not move on, because she fears they may be susceptible to an "Indianer" attack at this location. Herzle says: "'Und doch will er bleiben! Versteht Ihr das, Mr. Pappermann?'" (205). Pappermann answers by saying that Old Shatterhand will have a good reason for staying even though she may not understand why at the moment. He asks Herzle how she would rate her husband's judgement in difficult situations. She says whenever he goes into action, he has his reasons. Pappermann asks her to rate the quality of these reasons.

> "'Taugten sie etwas, oder taugten sie nichts?' fragte der Alte.
>
> 'Hm! Triftig waren sie fast immer!'" (205).

She rates his judgement as virtually flawless. In her role as a wife, she does not question his reasoning. Old Shatterhand holds back any explanation not seeing a necessity to inform her about his decisions. Her role is restricted to housekeeping and blindly supporting him.

In another situation Old Shatterhand keeps information from Herzle. They are travelling through country where the Indianer do not look favourably upon him and his companions. He informs Pappermann that he did not inform her of this danger: "Ich hatte kein ganz gutes Gewissen, hütete mich aber, ihr dies zu sagen. Sie hatte keine Ahnung von diesen meinen Gedanken" (294). His wife has no idea of the danger they are in. She is unknowingly putting her

life in danger following a goal that her husband has set, as he seeks to re-enact the life that he led before he met her.

Herzle has "no story of her own, except a sort of anti-story of selfless innocence" (627) which Gilbert and Gubar say is the condition of many female characters in nineteenth-century literature. In *Winnetou IV* the plot revolves around the wish for Karl May to resolve his thoughts around the Winnetou story. Old Shatterhand's wife is only there to support his quest.

Though Winnetou and Old Shatterhand are the protagonists of the first three Winnetou books, it is the life and death of Nscho-tschi that drive the main plot. Nscho-tschi's story is the only real unified plot of the first three books. Other parts of the stories are just filler that May pieced together from older short stories that he had already previously published. Nscho-tschi does have a story, but Herzle is presented as the preferable wife because, she is willing to support her husband's story and not live a life of her own. This is what was traditionally expected from a woman of her social standing at this time. Her domain is the kitchen. Her life goal is taking care of his daily needs. "Für das Herzle aber gab es zunächst noch viel größere Wichtigkeiten, und es versteht sich ganz von selbst, daß sich diese alle auf das morgige Mittagessen bezogen" (465-466). At first Nscho-tschi was supplying Old Shatterhand's daily needs as she nursed him back to health. She, however, turns out to be an independent thinker. Even though Old Shatterhand respects this aspect of her character, he does not want to marry such a woman.

4.11 Other Indianerinnen

Beside Nscho-tschi, Karl May's depiction of Indigenous women corresponds to the negative stereotypes of many of his contemporary writers. In Winnetou I, he describes an old woman as follows

> Die Alte war hässlich, wie die meisten alten, roten Squaws, was eine Folge der Überanstrengung ist, da die Frauen alle selbst die schwersten Arbeiten verrichten müssen, während die Männer nur dem Kriege und der Jagd leben und die übrige Zeit untätig verbringen. (284)

By today's standards this narrative is completely unacceptable. The word "hässlich" is a judgemental adjective not a descriptive one. He generalizes this judgement for all older Indigenous women thus creating an insulting stereotype. The use of the word "squaw" is racist in

itself. His intention of honouring the hard work of Indigenous women backfires in his description. May seems to be unaware of the racist and offensive nature of the word "squaw" as he does not use it in a demeaning and offensive context. His character Nscho-tschi uses the word to describe herself: „Und nun bei uns ein Mörder sterben soll, der seine Strafe verdient hat, soll ich meine Augen davon abwenden, weil ich eine Squaw, ein Mädchen bin?" (360). She does this in the middle of the argument with Old Shatterhand, as she advocates the right of women to be people of action, just like men. For May the word is seemingly an unbiased equivalent for an Indigenous woman. Karl May clearly does not use the word here in a derogatory context, in the middle of an argument in which she is advocating for herself. May's ignorance of the racist implications of this term is another example of systemic racism.

According to William Bright, the word "squaw" derives from the Cree word "iskwe" meaning "woman" (211) and was mispronounced by the European settlers and generalized to refer to all Indigenous women. The similarity of the word "squaw" to "the Mohawk word for 'female genitalia'" which "is 'ots'skwa'" (211), gives this word the derogatory implication in a sense of "whore". May's intentions of using the word "squaw" as a seemingly proper term to refer to Indigenous women might have not been negative in his eyes, but to the modern reader it seems blatantly sexist and racist. That is because it is the Mohawk interpretation of the word that has become the most prevalent. This is not surprising since the word has been used so often in a derogatory fashion. Simply accusing Karl May of a blatant racism, however, a designation that many researchers are making today (Grimm 101), instead of trying to understand his Eurocentric perspective as the source of his thinking, will not add to the process of questioning and breaking down stereotypes and systemic racism. There are far more lessons to be learned from his systemic racist comments if May is considered as progressive thinking European citizen of his time. His narrative is a product of the nineteenth-century European culture he lived in. By revealing the now obvious systemic racism of this society, such as the use of the derogatory term "squaw", one can better expose the hidden systemic racism of today's society. With the advent of the now ubiquitous digital media far more of the comments of just everyday people will survive into the next century. Future generations will have plenty of racist and sexist statements to criticize, that in the current world just seem like mainstream thoughts because the standard of what constituted appropriate language keeps changing.

4.12 "Audience Effect"

Besides the rhetorical intention (what the author thinks he is conveying) and rhetorical effect (what the author is actually saying) the "audience effect" plays a significant role in May's writing. It refers to May's nineteenth-century readers and the text's effect on the reading audience.

This effect is highly dependent on the readers and their cultural and historic background. Readers of the Winnetou novels during the nineteenth century were just as caught up in the Eurocentric world view as May. They were not aware that the word "squaw" was not the proper term for an Indigenous woman and was considered derogatory. In *Winnetou III*, May even emphasizes his understanding of the word by inserting the word "Frau" in parenthesis after the word "Squaw" (27).

What the German contemporary reader perceived when reading the Winnetou books was not the systemic racism. What they remember is the message of resistance to the settler incursion into Indigenous lands. They remember how Nscho-tschi talks about how Indigenous Peoples were murdered by white settlers because they fought back when their lands were taken away and says "Und doch hatten sie nichts getan als ihre Rechte verteidigt!" (*Winnetou I* 360). This is not to say that the systemic racism is not problematic and should be ignored. Quite the opposite, most of this paper is concerned with pointing out racism, criticizing it and showing how it can be damaging. But it must be noted that that the German interpretation of the Winnetou books has garnered sympathy for Indigenous causes. Nscho-tschi's message of resistance has become exemplary for many who believe in a just cause against a dominant power. Talking about the Winnetou books H. Glenn Penny says that Germans "understood the subtext of resistance inherent in that signature" (161).

In a feature on a CBC wensite entitled "Should We Be Offended That Germans Are Obsessed with North American Indigenous Culture?", Drew Hayden Taylor, an Anishinabe author and playwright from Curve Lake First Nations in Ontario, says:

> I love my trips to Germany and hope to continue spreading the gospel of Native existence as long as they will continue to invite me. My sad conclusion is, in many ways, Indigenous people are more accepted and embraced there, than a lot of places over here (Canada) (1).

Though it must be noted that not all Indigenous Peoples agree with Taylor's opinion, his view gives irrefutable evidence that the "audience effect" of the Winnetou story is closer to May's "rhetorical intention" than it is to the "rhetorical effect" that his text has on a critical audience.

4.13 Winnetou in Films

4.13.1 Two Major Films

The Winnetou books and with them Nscho-tschi's story have remained in circulation in the twentieth and twenty-first century. They are still widely read in Germany. Two major series of motion pictures have been made based on the Winnetou story. One of them was filmed in the twentieth century and another in the twenty-first century. The character of Nscho-tschi plays a prominent role in the very popular 1963 German film *Winnetou I. Teil*, and also in the 2016 three-part TV movie, *Winnetou – Der Mythos lebt*. The 1963 film uses the French actress Marie Versini to play the part. Any pretence of her resembling an actual Indigenous woman of the nineteenth century is taken away because of the lipstick and eye makeup she wears on screen. The person playing Nscho-tschi in the 2016 depiction is Mexican actress Lazua Larios, who looks more authentic in her role.

Both movies are favourable toward Indianer/innen, but there has been criticism from advocates for Native rights because of the absence of Indigenous actors. In an article entitled "Is Germany's 'Winnetou' reviving old Hollywood stereotypes?" DW Online says about the 2016 film: "The film may be favorable toward Native Americans, but no Native acted in it." When asked about this the spokesman for the 2016 film, Klaus Richter has said that his "priority was to recreate the world of Karl May, a fantasy that has held several generations of Germans in thrall" (DW 1). His logic was that using real Indigenous actors would take away some of the "fantasy." His argument was that since the Winnetou story is a fairy-tale, real Indigenous actors would only give legitimacy to fiction. The author of the article did not, however, totally agree with this argument. He pointed out that it does not coincide with the fact that "Native Americans" were hired to advise on a more "historically correct" set design, that costumes were made "more realistic" and that language experts were hired to teach the actors to speak German with an Indigenous accent in an attempt to make the movie more believable. The conclusion of the article was that

> Whether the Native people come out looking good, bad, or ugly is not entirely the point. The real question is why Native Americans have so little control over how the world perceives them (DW 1)

Indigenous academics agree with the "control" argument and say that even if the stories have been invented by a writer of European heritage, native actors should at least be able to present a genuine Indigenous perspective to an audience that believes that the depiction of the native character is true, despite the fact that the story is an invention. Dr. Michelle H. Raheja, an Associate Professor and Director of the California Center for Native Nations at the University of California, who is of Seneca descent, has written a book on the subject of Indigenous actors entitled, *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*. She agrees with the opinion that Indigenous actors should be used for Indigenous parts no matter how stereotyped the character in the movie is. She refers to what the actresses Marie Versini and Lazua Larios are doing, when they play the part of Nscho-tschi as "redfacing." She compares this practice to blackfacing, which saw white actors blacken their faces to play African American parts. She feels that "redfacing" should be looked down upon just as much as blackfacing is now. The following quotation summarizes her reasoning for using Indigenous actors, which thereby make their presence known, no matter how stereotyped the part is:

> It is these presences that allow Native American actors and representations to enter the public memory and take on their own social life, even if in sometimes racist and stereotyped fashion. (ii)

She makes the argument that these appearances in film at least give the Indigenous character "visual sovereignty" (ii). She says that using white actors to play Indigenous roles gives the impression that Native Americans have disappeared and are therefore unavailable to act in roles that they would obviously be best suited for (72) thus perpetuating the myth of the "vanishing Indian." Indigenous actors, even when playing stereotyped roles, counter the narrative that their race has been eradicated (73). The popularity that an Indigenous actress would have achieved in Germany for playing the role of Nscho-tschi in either the 1963 or the 2016 movie would have allowed her to become a voice for Indigenous rights that was recognizable. It would not be hard for her to rationalize her decision to play the part of Nscho-tschi because she is a very positive character. But in off-screen interviews she could explain that the role was stereotyped, and that

real Indigenous Peoples are not like that. Seeing her and her fellow Indigenous actors as they appear in public would allow Germans to see what today's Indigenous Peoples look like. Actors now have a lot of prestige and could not be forced to wear stereotyped clothing in in their own free time the way Pocahontas was.

Looking at French actress Marie Versini individually, her casting for the part of Nscho-tschi has only perpetuated the depictions of western European male stereotypes of Indigenous women. She and her current management continue to maintain such a stereotyped image. If one looks at Versini's Facebook page today, there is a picture of her as Nscho-tschi in which she is depicted as an "Indianer Prinzessin." Actor Pierre Brice (Winnetou) is in the background wearing a costume that resembles that of Versini. Both are buckskin costumes with matching blue and white beadwork. This image is what many Germans still believe to represent the Indigenous Peoples of the so-called new world. Under the picture of herself as Nscho-tschi, Versini has written: "Sie war die wohl schönste Indianerin: Marie Versini!" (Versini web) The rhetorical effect of this statement implies systemic racism because it says that Marie Versini is more beautiful than any real Indigenous woman. This echoes May's comment that Nscho-tschi's beauty is based on her European look.

Parts of the film are more progressive as they depict Nscho-tschi as a woman of action. In a scene that does not originate from the novel, Nscho-tschi rides all night to get evidence that Old Shatterhand is innocent of attempting to kill Winnetou. She tells no one what she is planning to do, thereby taking on this dangerous enterprise independently, thus saving Old Shatterhand's life.

In the 2016 three-part TV movie, *Winnetou – Der Mythos lebt,* Nscho-tschi is portrayed far more progressively. The actor playing Nscho-tschi, Lazua Larios, looks far more authentic in her role. In the movie Nscho-tschi saves Old Shatterhand's life. She is presented as a healer with special powers, who serves as a doctor to her tribe. This position gives her leadership status. Though Winnetou becomes the chief when his father dies, Nscho-tschi spends more time leading the tribe, as Winnetou is often away tending to other business.

Nscho-tschi does not die in this film version of the story. She remains a strong character throughout all three parts of the film. She carries a gun and fights alongside the men in order to defend the Apache land. She is especially strong when compared to the white women in the film. The major white female characters are Mrs. Bancroft, who is perpetually drunk, and Belle, a

prostitute. Ultimately Belle is presented positively, as she marries Sam Hawkins and helps the Apaches fight for their land. She does not, however, possess the power Nscho-tschi has. Belle, though likeable and at times heroic, still plays the typical nineteenth-century female role. She is subordinate to her husband and the other white men. Nscho-tschi on the other hand is a leader of both men and women in her tribe.

In the 2016 film Nscho-tschi marries Old Shatterhand. At first, she falls in love with him, and he rejects her, just as in the book. Later, however, Old Shatterhand realizes this was a mistake and begs her to marry him. In this film Nscho-tschi does not fall into the "wholly passive, completely void of generative power" category (601) which Gilbert and Gubar label female characters created by nineteenth-century male authors. The Nscho-tschi that Karl May created did not fit into this category and the film enhances this depiction. Besides Winnetou himself, she is the most respected member of the Apache tribe after her father dies.

When looking at the horizon presented by the film compared to the Karl May's actual narrative, one can see a marked improvement. The filmmakers have worked on bringing Karl Mays rhetorical effect more in line with his intent. Though Karl May's text makes it clear that he is on the side of the Indigenous Peoples, he uses a vocabulary that is clearly not acceptable in today's perspective.

In the film the vocabulary has been improved, but all Indigenous characters, including Nscho-tschi, are stereotyped. Even though the costumes, makeup and scenery are more realistic the movie still presents a distorted image based on what German's think the Old West might have been like. The filmmaker's progressive depiction of Nscho-tschi is diminished at the end when Old Shatterhand becomes the chief of the Apaches instead of her. The rhetorical effect of making Old Shatterhand the chief, spurs the conclusion that Indigenous Peoples could not be led by a woman. Nscho-tschi as chief would have been consistent with the power and leadership she exhibited throughout the film and with the Indigenous lifestyle that allowed women to be leaders as well. The depiction of the character of Nscho-tschi thus still remains as a critical feature in the criticism of the film.

4.13.2 *Der Schuh des Manitu*

A comedic take on Karl May's Winnetou story is the 2001 parody, *Der Schuh des Manitu*. This movie is significant because it became, with an amount of 50 million dollars (Elley

11), the all-time biggest grossing German movie up to that time. The film attempts to satirize the "Western genre, both American and European" (Elley 20). In a class interview (26/03/2021) Drew Hayden Taylor described it as a satire of a parody or a parody of a satire. One can see many references to Karl May's Winnetou novels and the Winnetou movies from the 1960's. It is attempting to make fun of the way Karl May, his contemporaries, and the movie makers of the twentieth century depict Indigenous Peoples. Karl May himself is a character in the film. He is depicted as a fool who is trying to get ideas for a novel by drinking in a saloon. There are also characters that are similar to Winnetou (Abahachi, a play on the word "Apache") and Old Shatterhand (Ranger). The character that is similar to Nscho-tschi is called Ursula. She is not Abahachi's sister but his childhood playmate. They have made a pact to marry when they grow up. As an adult she appears as a white saloon girl falling in love with Ranger, thus rejecting Abahachi. This satirises Nscho-tschi falling in love with Old Shatterhand, the white man, as opposed to an Indianer. At the end of the film Ranger, however, does not reject Ursula, but he is quite anxious to marry her. Instead she decides that it is more important for him to wander through the western county-side with Abahachi in order to do good deeds, so she rejects him. This last type of satire is actually very effective, as it does not ridicule the Indigenous Person, but instead ridicules the way Karl May depicts Winnetou and Old Shatterhand, two straight men, now both without female companionship, riding off into the sunset to save the world. The fact that Ursula falls in love with Ranger and rejects Abahachi is, however, problematic. It echoes the idea implemented through colonialization that Europeans have higher standards and therefore are more desirable than Indigenous men, even to Indigenous women. Jonathan P. Rossing in his article "An Ethics of Complicit Criticism for Postmodern Satire" explains this phenomenon with the following sentence: "This satire often earns the label 'ironic racism,' and the satirist ostensibly committed to racial justice finds herself stuck between complicit reproduction of oppressive ideologies and a desire to destabilize those meaning systems" (13). According to Rossing this limitation is especially prevalent when the movie maker is white. The "complicit reproduction" in this case is that the film is just replicating what Karl May put in his story, but not making it clear that Indigenous women preferring white men is just a myth. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that the satirist in this case does not seem to have social justice as his primary commitment. He is more interested in getting a laugh in any way he can. The members of the audience might well conclude that Indigenous women do prefer white men and that it is

Indigenous men that are the target of the satire. As it is, this depiction is just a complicit reproduction of an oppressive ideology.

This is all the more a complicit reproduction of oppressive ideologies because many actual German Indianergeschichten go out of their way not to present this view. Many of the best German novels about Indianer depict Indigenous women as independent thinkers, who prefer the Indigenous way of life. They show no attraction toward the white men that are trespassing on their land and are dedicated to their Indigenous partner. Canondah, the Indigenous heroine in Charles Sealsfield's *Tokeah oder Die weiße Rose* (1829), marries a chief. She is not at all attracted to a young white man whose life she saves before she is married. Her white stepsister on the other hand falls head over heels in love with him the minute she sees him. The Indigenous woman is presented as a strong character dedicated to her people, while the white woman is depicted as impetuous, irresolute and faltering. Another such depiction is Glanzauge in Anton Ohorn's *Der weiße Falke*. She remains dedicated to her Indigenous lover despite all the efforts of the French settlers in Quebec to lure her into their way of life. She is also devoted to her brother. She remains committed to her Indigenous faith despite the threats of the priests that she will burn in hell if she does not convert to the catholic religion. "Die Mutter" in Adelbert von Chamisso's "Der Stein der Mutter oder der Guahiba-Indianerin" is the epitome of a mother dedicated to her children and Indigenous husband. The woman referred to as "eine junge indianische Frau" in Friedrich Gerstäcker's *Unter den Pehuenchen* shows off her ability with a Bola as she is able to bring down an ostrich after the German male hunter fails to hit the bird with a bullet. She does not fall in love with the white man, instead she laughs at his ineptness (4418). Karl May can be included amongst those that do not always present the Indigenous woman as attracted to white men. Uinorintscha in his short story "Mutterliebe" remains true to her Indigenous husband and her children even though Old Shatterhand helps save her sons from sure death. She is thankful but still wary of the white hero that is trespassing on her people's land. Arrita is the Indigenous wife of Pantherkatze, a Comanche chief in Paul Margot's *Die Gefangenen der Apachen.* The love and dedication that they have for one another is underscored through the following quote from the chief "'Arrita ist die beste der Comantschenfrauen, sie und den Knaben liebt die Pantherkatze mehr als ihr Leben'" (1104). The vast majority of the German stories, therefore, present Indigenous women as mistrustful of white men and true to their Indigenous partners.

Not only is the interpretation of satire dependent on the origin of the satirist, but is also connected to the culture of the audience. One scene in the movie *Der Schuh des Manitu* is a prime example of this. The Nscho-tschi character, Ursula (shortened in the movie to "Uschi" which sounds more like Nscho-tschi and also refers to the actress Uschi Glas who plays an Indianerin in a 1966 Winnetou movie) is captured by the villain. He believes she has a piece of a treasure map in her possession. The conversation goes as follows:

Villain to Uschi "Wo ist dein Teil der Schatzkarte, oder…….soll ich meine Männer auf dich los lassen?"

The camera shows his four loathsome white reprobates who ogle at her, sticking their tongues out, waving them back and forth. She reacts with repugnance.

Ranger, the Old Shatterhand figure says: "Hey Finger weg, sie hat doch mit der Sache nichts zu tun. Nimmt mich!"

Whereupon the men turn to him, stick their tongues out and wave them back and forth just as they did to the woman (44:03-45:21).

Drew Hayden Taylor, the Indigenous author and intellectual, has called this movie a parody of a satire, so silly, that no one would take it seriously, therefore even some (not all) of the racist humour can be considered funny by all audiences. For a European audience this scene is an excellent example of what he refers to. Whether someone finds this scene funny or not is a matter of taste, but everyone would agree it is ridiculously silly. In Europe men ogling both a man as much as a woman would fall into this category of "so silly that no one would take it seriously."

For Canadian audiences, however, it is a different story. In Canada there is a shameful history of white men, just like these, raping and murdering Indigenous women. This history is made all the more shameful due to the fact that these deeds were ignored for such a long time before they were brought into the public light by Indigenous activists. The thought of a Canadian audience ignoring the fact that the woman is Indigenous is problematic, since settler complicity with the mistreatment of such women, due to their ambivalence to the problem, is a historical fact.

This parody of a satire also lampoons the presentation of an Indigenous woman as a sex object. This is most obvious at the beginning of the film when Abahachi keeps stealing Uschi's clothing and she runs around naked looking for it. It is referred to as the "Lieblings

Beschäftigung" of his youth "Uschi's Kleider verstecken" (04:20-04:35). There are many factors to consider when judging how problematic this is from a racist and sexist point of view. From a sexist point of view, movies have always represented women as sex objects (Mulvey 8). This is objectionable of course, but this movie is no worse than any other comedy of its time. Even more significant is that this movie plays with the traditional depiction of Indigenous women, often found in pictures in nineteenth-century books, as wild, uncivilized and naked, topless or only covered with a loincloth. Uschi running around naked naively and brazenly attracting the attention of the male character is a demeaning depiction of Indigenous women as primitive.

Very little of this type of sexual inuendo is found in the nineteenth-century Indianergeschichten. Of all the books surveyed for this thesis only two examples of this device for sexualized depictions were found. The first is in *An der Indianergrenze* by Friedrich Armand Strubberg. A Häuptling wants to reward the settler hero of the novel because the white man saved his brother's life. The chief brings the hero a young woman who is wrapped only in a buffalo fur. As he offers the girl to him the following description is given:

> Die Büffelhaut, die bis jetzt ihren Körper verhüllt hatte, fiel von ihr ab und eine vollendete indianische weibliche Schönheit zeigte sich den überraschten Blicken der weißen Männer. Auf ihren goldigen zarten Busen ruhten reiche Perlenschnüre. (18)

One can see here that the author is taking advantage of the fact that his description of a partially clad woman, who his readership considers a savage, allows him more leeway to be sexually suggestive. A novel describing a white woman in this way at this time would have been categorized as pornographic.

The only other example was found in in Johannes Scherr's *Pilger der Wildniß*. He describes a group of Indianerinnen bathing in a river. One of the white male protagonists has approached the river from where he can hear "die hellen, fröhlichen Stimmen lachender Mädchen" (2431). He carefully moves the branches that obstruct his view to observe the naked girls playing in the river. "Hier tummelte sich eine Schar indianischer Mädchen in harmlosem Frohsinn, lieblich an Gestalt und anmutig in Gebärden und Bewegungen" (2431). This description is by no means pornographic by today's standards, but at the time it was written it would have created controversy if the girls had been Europeans. Again, this author is taking advantage of the fact that his readership considers these girls savages in order to spice up his narrative, but still have his work considered family reading.

There is, however, no sexual inuendo at all toward Nscho-tschi in the Winnetou books. In fact, Karl May does not use any sexual reference toward any of his female Indigenous characters. On the whole very few German Indianergeschichten do. These sexy movie scenes have therefore gone beyond being, "complicit reproduction of oppressive ideologies" (Rossing 13). They are not reproductions anymore. The movie makers have instead invented their own "oppressive ideologies" for a cheap laugh and to increase the viewership of the movie.

4.14 Major Problematic Areas

In the introduction to this section it was stated that the conclusions concerning Nscho-tschi's depiction will include a classification of the main problematic areas found which apply to the depiction of Indigenous women. These areas can be summarized by stating that Nscho-tschi is fundamentally a "Pocahontas figure". At a class visit on 26/03/2021, Drew Hayden Taylor referred to Nscho-tschi when he said: "Winnetou's sister, who is essentially Pocahontas" (37:31-37:33). In a lecture by Dr. Sabine Meyer, of the University of Bonn, about a German Novel, entitled *Leben und Schicksale der Pocahontas* written by Karl Friedrich Scheibler in 1781, Karl May is used as an example of an author that borrowed characteristics of Pocahontas for his Indianerinnen from this earlier work. Specifically, she says "Also es gibt direkte Bezüge zu Pocahontas in Karl May. Das wissen sie besser als ich, die Fans die echten. Nscho-tschi ist eben auch konstruiert nach dem Muster eine amerikanische Indianer Prinzessin" (3:11-3:25).

Nscho-tschi has many of the characteristics of the Pocahontas trope. They are both daughters of a Chief. They are beautiful according to European standards. They fall in love with a white man. Nscho-tschi plans to leave her people and stay with a family in St. Louis in order to learn how to live in the settler's world while Pocahontas moves to England. In the end Nscho-tschi dies because of her attempt to colonize herself, while Pocahontas dies an early death far away from her own people. One can even see similarities between the approach of the depictions of Karl Friedrich Scheibler's Pocahontas and May's Nscho-tschi. For example, Dr. Sabine Meyer points out in an article on the subject that in Scheibler's work "Pocahontas is the noble exception to the barbaric rule" (374). May does the same with Nscho-tschi when he gives her a "feingeflügelte Nase" (285) reminiscent of cultured Greek beauty as compared to the less developed and primitive features of the other Indianerinnen with their "indianisch vorstehenden Backenknochen" (285).

These remarkable similarities between the depiction of these two famous characters, one fictional and one mythical (the popular story of the actual historical character Pocahontas has very few truths), therefore, give impetus to the idea of discovering if the Pocahontas trope can be found in other German Indianergeschichten.

5 "The Pocahontas Perplex" and Indianergeschichten

5.1 Introduction

Karl May's character, Nscho-tschi, is given many of the same characteristics that the mythical Pocahontas has inherited through the creation of her legend. Scholars refer to the story of Pocahontas often when they describe the image of the Indigenous woman as it is seen by the settler culture of the so-called new world and label it a harmful stereotype. The Pocahontas story creates a false image. It is an image that Indigenous women find perplexing. Indigenous researcher Dr. Rayna Green, a curator at the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, where she also serves as director of the American Indian Program says this image should "haunt and perplex us" (714). She expresses her frustration with the image created by the Pocahontas story in an article called "The Pocahontas Perplex." The image is one that gives the impression that Indigenous women welcomed the European invaders of their land. It fosters the idea that the European civil conduct is preferable for the Indigenous women over their "savage" way of life. This concept will be referred to henceforth as "The Pocahontas Perplex," as defined by Green. She says that Eurocentric thinking takes the attitude, that if an Indigenous woman wants to be considered in a favourable light, "she must give aid to white men" (703). Green shows how the Eurocentric attitude has a sexual element. She says: "But the Indian woman is even more burdened by the narrow definition of a 'Good Indian,' for it is she, not the males, whom white men desire sexually" (703).

Nineteenth-century Indianergeschichten contain many Pocahontas figures that demonstrate the Eurocentric thinking of the author as he depicts these Indianerinnen as heroes. Others contain depictions of Indianerinnen that are the anthesis of the Pocahontas archetype. Still other fictional represenations incorporate Indianerinnen that in some way imitate Pocahontas' actions, but at the same time demonstrate that these actions might be harmful to the cause of the Indianer. This third group can stimulate much discussion on how the actions of these

Indianerinnen should be interpreted. This chapter will analyse the Pocahontas perplex in great depth as it applies to many German nineteenth-century Indianergeschichten. This comprehensive analysis is necessary because the detrimental effects of the Pocahontas image are still not understood by many members of settler society. Most of the Eurocentric biases of nineteenth-century Indianergeschichten have become obvious to a twenty-first-century reading audience. They serve as clear examples of systemic racism. This is not so with the "Pocahontas Perplex." Though the Pocahontas story perplexes Indigenous women, the general settler population has not yet got the message that Pocahontas should not be looked at as a role model. The difficulty with the German images, as with all images of Pocahontas, is to determine whether the depictions are positive because they fit the aspirations of settler society, or because they fit the aspirations of Indigenous society.

5.2 The Pocahontas Myth

The following is a summary of the Pocahontas story as told by historian Camilla Townsend. The famous Indigenous woman's real name was not Pocahontas but Amonute. She was born around 1596. She was the daughter of Powhatan the chief of an Algonkian-speaking tribe that lived near the newly established first English settlement in North America. It had been named Jamestown after the, at that time current, monarch of England, King James. A captain in the English regiment, John Smith claimed that he met the so-called Pocahontas and she fell in love with him. His story was that

> a smitten Pocahontas had thrown herself in front of him to save his life when, at their very first meeting, Powhatan meant to kill him; the story was retold and reprinted with alacrity and survives to this day. (Townsend 2)

Therefore, Pocahontas became famous for saving a settler's life. She was not directly a traitor to her people, but she showed more loyalty to her supposed settler lover than she did to her father and her tribe.

> The mythical Pocahontas who loved John Smith, the English, the Christian faith, and London more than she loved her own father or people or faith or village deeply appealed to the settlers of Jamestown and the court of King James. (Townsend 2)

The story is "mythical" because in reality she was kidnaped and held for ransom by the English. She was kept prisoner for months. She did not come to the rescue of John Smith. The only way

she saved the life of any Englishman was that the ransom paid was corn, which might have saved some settlers from starving. She did, however, voluntarily end the conflict by marrying a settler named John Rolfe and moving with him to England. The mythical story is the one that lives on, and is still told today in many forms by various storytellers, including Disney Studios in 1995.

> With one accord, all these storytellers subverted her life to satisfy their own need to believe that the Indians loved and admired them (or their cultural forebears) without resentments, without guile (Townsend 2).

The story does not claim that she was a traitor to her own people, but it does say that she took the side of the white settlers in this conflict. She was able to convince her tribe that settlers did not mean them any harm. Thus, as the above quotation suggests, the impression is left that the Indigenous Peoples now admired and loved the settlers without resentment. This supposed partnership is very uneven, because the settlers were of course stealing the lands that belonged to the Indigenous Peoples and in this way taking away their way of life. Pocahontas is depicted as a heroine through settler storytellers to excuse their own greedy behavior and appease their consciences.

Rayna Green's summary of the "The Pocahontas Perplex" is "the Indian Woman saves white men" (704). Not only that but "she has to violate the wishes and customs of her own 'barbarous' people to make good the rescue, saving the man out of love and often out of Christian sympathy" (704). "To be 'good' she must defy her own people, exile herself from them, become White, and perhaps suffer death" (704). "In most versions, she becomes a Christian" (699). "Nearly all the 'good' Princess figures are converts, and they cannot bear to see their fellow Christians slain by 'savages' (704).

These characteristics of a Pocahontas will be separated into five sections.

1) Pocahontas violates the desires of her own "barbarous" people to rescue a white man (men).
2) Pocahontas exiles herself and becomes white.
3) Pocahontas is a "princess."
4) The "princess" suffers death.
5) Pocahontas becomes a Christian.

In the remainder of this paper the depiction of the Indigenous women in German Indianergeschichten will be discussed in reference to how they fit into these five categories. Although it was the depiction of Nscho-tschi that inspired the comparison with Pocahontas, it

must be noted, that she does not fit into the first category. It has been made clear in the previous sections that she is a staunch defender of the rights of Indigenous Peoples and does not consider her own people barbarous, neither does she betray them.

5.3 How do Indianergeschichten fit the Pocahontas myth?

5.3.1 Pocahontas Violates Desires of Her Own People - Rescues White Man

5.3.1.1 Introduction.

Dr. Dan Blumlo, in the 2019 edition of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* refers to stories where an Indigenous "princess" saves a white man's life as "rescue narratives" (130). He says the Pocahontas legend was the first rescue narrative to enter the "American" (130) discourse and thus influenced many other similar stories. According to Blumlo the act of saving the white man's life was a symbol that Pocahontas accepted the sovereignty of the conquerors. By advancing these rescue narratives the settlers were able to justify their conquest. "Before long, authors created an archetype of an ideal American Indian woman" (148). Many of the German Indianergeschichten can be classified as rescue narratives and would also have been influenced by the Pocahontas myth. In this section the discourse concerning the idea that Indigenous woman considered their own people barbarous and were therefore inspired to side with the settlers will contain examples that were clearly inspired by the Pocahontas legend. But there were other factors as well which determined the way Indigenous women were represented in these Indianergeschichten. The idea that women recognized the sovereignty of the conquerors and actually welcomed their invasion was first proposed in the German world by a philosopher by the name of Cornelius de Pauw.

5.3.1.2 Cornelius de Pauw

German representations of Indigenous women were influenced by two opposing beliefs about the image of the Indigenous Peoples of the so-called new world. Almost all of the depictions by German authors of the nineteenth century were influenced by one of these two views and many were paradoxically influenced by both.

The first of these opinions is almost identical to the Pocahontas Perplex. It is that Indigenous women welcomed the European invaders of their land and considered their own people barbarous. This was the opinion espoused by Dutch philosopher Cornelius de Pauw. Susanne Zantop, a well-known scholar of Indianergeschichten, stresses his influence on German depictions of Indianer in her book, *Colonial Fantasies*. De Pauw was born in Amsterdam in 1739. Later he moved to Berlin, where in 1768 he published an influential philosophical treatise in French, which was almost immediately translated to the German as *Philosophische Untersuchungen über die Amerikaner*. This thesis had a significant influence on German thought at the time (Ette 10). De Pauw was a "protégé of Frederick II of Prussia," (Zantop 47) so his influence was felt in Germany. He had never visited the so-called new world, but that did not prevent him from having a strong opinion on what the inhabitants there were like. De Pauw's opinions were taken very seriously by the German intellectual community:

> after 1770, every philosopher, writer, or even natural scientist attempting to classify or describe the peoples of the New World felt compelled to engage in de Pauw's arguments, either explicitly or implicitly. (Zantop 48)

His opinion is very negative. He claims the Indigenous peoples were a weak race that welcomed their conquerors with open arms. "Alle Erzählungen stimmen ein, dass die Indianer über die Ankunft der Europäer außerordentlich erfreut waren, die wegen ihrer Geilheit, in Vergleich der Eingebornen, den Satyrn glichen" (De Pauw 54).

What makes this statement apply specifically to Indigenous women is that De Pauw depicts the Europeans as Satyrs when compared to the Indigenous men. In Greek mythology Satyrs were "represented as uncouth men, each with a horse's tail and ears and an erect phallus" (Augustyn et el 1). They had an insatiable lust for sex as symbolized by their permanently erect penis. The interpretation of de Pauw's statement would have to be that when he writes "Indianer" were pleased to see European men, he really means "Indianerinnen" were happy to see these ultra-masculine figures. By making this statement de Pauw is expressing the opinion that Indigenous men had a very weak sexual drive. De Pauw uses other evidence to back up this claim including his opinion that there was a lack of bodily hair in Indigenous men (55). His publication established a view of Indigenous men as "The Other." De Pauw continues to illustrate that it was actually the Indigenous women who welcomed the Europeans because they were yearning for men with a stronger sex drive. He emphasizes this theory by giving examples

where large numbers of these women would offer themselves sexually after they were captured. For example, he states that that the morning after their capture "kamen mehr als fünf tausend Amerikanische Weiber in das Lager der Spanier und ergaben sich freiwillig" (55). He claims to be retelling a tale given by an eyewitness who observed "wie wenig sich die Amerikanerinnen geweigert hätten sich den Europäern zu ergeben" (55). These observations by DePauw remained "strong and enduring" well into the nineteenth century (Ette 10). They helped to establish the myth that somehow, even despite the cruelty of the European invaders, Indigenous women welcomed their invasion as an improvement over their previous life. Susanne Zantop refers to this as "The fantasy of 'love at first sight' and of the voluntary surrender of Indian princesses to superior European conquerors" (13). It is a European version of the "Pocahontas Perplex."

5.3.1.3Alexander von Humboldt.

The second, and diametrically opposite view of De Pauw's, was that of the world traveller and proponent of the Romantic philosophy, Alexander von Humboldt. He actually did travel extensively in the so-called new world. He published an account of his findings in a work entitled *Reise in die Aequinoctial-Gegenden des neuen Continents (1799-1804)*. According to Ottmar Ette, a Professor of Romance languages and Comparative literature at University of Potsdam, Humboldt created "a new discourse on the (so-called) New World" (3). He did this by introducing structures "that allow us to focus on the Americas not as 'the other' but as a highly interrelated part of the world" (Ette 3). De Pauw had tried to depict the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas as different and weaker than Europeans, but now as the nineteenth century began, Humboldt's view, that the human race was the same everywhere, came to the fore. This can be demonstrated by looking at what Humboldt believed to be a true story from his travels. This story demonstrates that the love of a mother for her children is the same everywhere in the world. It puts a human face on an Indigenous mother, who up to then would have been considered "the other" in European circles, partially due to De Pauw's influence. The story also strongly contradicts De Pauw's view that Indigenous women somehow yearned for the sexual prowess of the European invaders and willingly surrendered their bodies to them. Von Humboldt relates a story about an Indigenous woman who lived on the Atabapo River. Humboldt tells how this Indigenous mother along with her young children was captured by Catholic missionaries. She was separated from her children because the Catholics wanted to force her into slavery. Her

children were to be raised in Catholicism. This missionary goal gave the priests what they espoused as a just reason for their cruelty. The woman made three unsuccessful attempts to escape in order to reclaim her children before starving herself to death (Humboldt 294-298). As Humboldt relates the story it is obvious that his sympathies are with the Indigenous woman and that he condemns the Catholic church for what it is doing. This is shown in statements like: "sittliche Verworfenheit unseres Geschlechts, an den Gegensatz zwischen der Tugend des Wilden und der Barbarei des zivilisierten Menschen verewigt wird" (294). This is a very powerful statement, because many nineteenth-century German authors of "Indianergeschichten" are criticized today, even though their stories show how cruel the settlers could be. What is pointed out is that the cruelty is so often depicted as perpetrated by a few so-called "Bad Apples." The systematic cruelty of the ruling government to eliminate both the Indigenous Peoples and their culture is ignored. In this case Humboldt makes it clear that it is the Catholic church, backed by the ruling government, that is committing these barbarous acts. He can also not be criticized for referring to the Indigenous as "Wilden" because he makes it clear through the narrative that he is using the word ironically. It is the Indigenous woman that is civilized and the invading settlers who are the savages. He argues his theory that the people of the so-called new world are highly interrelated with the people of the European world by stressing the virtues of motherhood. Any European mother reading this account could not only sympathize, but empathize with the feelings of this Indigenous Woman as she fights to regain her children. This story goes completely against de Pauw's idea of Indigenous women welcoming the invading settlers. This woman fights against the Catholic savages to her last dying breath. The story is also diametrically opposite to the Pocahontas story. One of the biggest appeals of Pocahontas to the settler mentality was that she became a Christian. She represented the success missionaries could have "saving the souls" of savages. In von Humboldt's story the Indianerin is a heroine because she opposes the influence of the church on her children and is willing to give her life for this cause.

5.3.1.4 "Der Stein der Mutter oder der Guahiba-Indianerin."

It was stated earlier that Alexander von Humboldt was a proponent of the Romantic philosophy that opposed DePauw's viewpoint. This is supported by the fact that the Romantic poet Adelbert von Chamisso adapted this story into the poem "Der Stein der Mutter oder der

Guahiba-Indianerin." This poem will be discussed in detail because it advocates the antithesis of de Pauw's theory that Indigenous women actually welcomed the European invaders and therefore were culpable in the colonization of their people. This is important, because Chamisso's poem will be used as a standard for measuring other German depictions.

Like Humboldt's narrative, Chamisso's poem stresses that the Indigenous woman wants no part of the culture of the Spanish invaders. She struggles against any association with her captors. She never stoops to the strategy of co-operation in return for favours. Her escapes are described in great detail, highlighting her ability to use the force of nature to cover her tracks. Chamisso stresses the power of nature and how the women is one with this force, which her captors can neither cope with nor understand. This depiction of nature as a strong positive force that aides the woman's efforts is diametrically opposed to De Pauw's view of the hemisphere of the so-called new world. De Pauw sees the nature in this hemisphere as monstrous and degenerate saying: „die Hälfte der Erdkugel von der Natur so gehasst sein, dass alles auf derselben ausgeartet, oder ungeheuerlich war, ist, ohne Zweifel, ein großes und schreckliches Schauspiel" (2). He associates this degeneration with the lack of sexual drive in its male inhabitants, thus causing the women to willingly summit to the sexual desires of their captors. Chamisso, on the other hand, paints a picture of a powerful force of nature, that the Indigenous woman and her husband are in harmony with. She is loyal to her husband, who is himself a strong force of nature able to hunt jaguar. The jaguar rules the forest. "Da herrscht im Wald der grause Jaguar" (Chamisso line 7), but the husband is even more powerful than that because he hunts the Jaguar: "Verfolgte wohl den Jaguar der Vater" (line 39). This is significant because in the original story believed by von Humboldt to be true, the husband was fishing not hunting. "Der Vater war auf dem Fischfang" (Humboldt 294).The fact that the romantic Chamisso changes the husband's occupation to hunting, specifically the Jaguar, shows he wants to present the Indianer as a dominant force of nature. This directly and deliberately contradicts Cornelius de Pauw's theory that Indigenous men are weak and that everything in this hemisphere is degenerate. Chamisso does not depict anything degenerate about the force of nature in this hemisphere but instead describes it as "Unwirthbar, unzugänglich, wunderbar" (line 5). There is no question that Chamisso sees nature as powerful, but in a very favourable way using the adjective "wunderbar." Instead of co-operating with her captors the woman uses this powerful

force of Nature to cover her escape. She does this during the rainy season, a time when the forest is particularly difficult to traverse.

> "Zur Regenzeit, wo selbst der kühnste Mann
> Nicht wagt den nächsten Gang auf Landeswegen" (lines 84 and 85).

But this woman is able to successfully travel thirty miles "An dreißig Meilen mag die Strecke fassen" (line 97) under these conditions in search of her children, "das hat das Weib vollbracht" (line 96). Chamisso depicts the Indigenous woman not as "The Other" but as a mother, the same as any mother anywhere in the world: "Sie fühlte Mutterliebe, Kern des Lebens" (line 69). Motherlove is something that is found everywhere in the world because it is the "core of life."

There is no mystery or evidence of a higher power in the methods of the Catholic invaders. They steal children and indoctrinate them into their religion. The woman, however, has mysterious powers because she can do "Was nicht der keckste Jäger ohn' Erblassen" (line 95) can do, as she traverses the thirty miles of jungle in search of her children. She travels through a "Schattenreich" (line 92) making the journey sound mystical. How she does it is not explained, giving her a sort of spiritual power. She is able to co-ordinate her wishes with the natural world around her and is a part of the powerful force of Nature. The agents of the church and government are the degenerate ones, as they can no longer blend in with nature, or be one with it, instead must fight against it.

It is not surprising that Chamisso would introduce the theme of nature being damaged by so-called civilized behavior because he was part of the German Romantic movement that believed:

> that human beings in modernity have become estranged from nature, and that ideally, we are to overcome this condition of alienation by accepting that humanity depends upon and is part of nature rather than standing outside it. (Stone 42)

This theme of the German Romantic movement would therefore advocate against De Pauw's theory that Indigenous women would see the European invaders as powerful sexual beings. It would argue against the logic that Indigenous women would see any advantage in co-operating with what they would perceive as "The Other." Since these women were closer to nature than the Europeans, they were already in the preferred state. Alison Stone of Lancaster University implies that the Romantic movement's concept of harmony with nature is an answer to today's ecological crisis saying that "we need to re-orient ourselves intellectually, and to rethink and

reimagine what it would be to be reconciled with the natural world, in the far-reaching way that the Romantics attempt" (52). One can see this message of "re-orientation" in the Chamisso poem, where the Indianerin is in the preferred state of harmony with nature and the Catholic Church needs to rethink its position. This idea that Indigenous Peoples are to be admired because they live in harmony with nature is still prevalent in Germany today and this admiration has certainly been influenced by the strong German connection to the Romantic movement. This should be kept in mind in any discussion of the German admiration of the people of Turtle Island, despite the stereotypes that they have created.

Thus, from the romantic point of view, de Pauw's concept of a "bipartite world"(Ette 5) with a degenerate force of nature and degraded male population in the western hemisphere seems ridiculous. Even common logic should argue that there should be no reason or advantage for female Indigenous women to be attracted to European invaders and therefore favour them over their own people. De Pauw's theory others Indigenous Peoples, whereas the romantic theory of Humboldt sees all humans as part of the same family, who ideally need to live in tune with nature. His depiction of this independent, powerful Indigenous woman, who is in tune with nature, presents a strong argument against De Pauw's concept. However, DePauw's *Philosophische Untersuchungen über die Amerikaner* has had a "long-term and often subcutaneous effect" (Ette 10) on the European attitude toward the western hemisphere. Its attitude shows itself very clearly in the depictions of Indigenous women by European and non-Indigenous American authors. The idea that an Indigenous woman would take the part of the settlers over her own people is found extensively in these depictions. This attitude has not changed much since De Pauw's myth of Indigenous women willingly giving themselves up as sexual objects. Since Green has called this idea "The Pocahontas Perplex," the story of Pocahontas will be used as a standard for De Pauw's way of thinking, just as Chamisso's poem will be used as the standard for Humboldt's attitude.

One final note should be made about Chamisso's poem. It uses its heroine as vehicle for a cause that has stood the test of time as it defends the rights of Indigenous Peoples. The poem can certainly be looked upon as an early and stark warning against the philosophy of the Canadian Residential School System. As noted previously, however, Chamisso does change the "true" story as recalled by Humboldt, if only slightly. In the poem the Indianer husband is hunting a jaguar instead of his true activity which was fishing. This romanticizes the activity of the

Indianer, thus strengthening the power of Chamisso's argument that this man is the master of his world. He hunts the mighty jaguar who is king of the animal world. His manipulation of the story, however, shows the seeds of romanticizing actions that the Germans are criticized for today, when they idolize Indianer. This is a case where a German author turns his Indianer character into an enigmatic symbol. The Guahiba-Indianerin and her husband are no longer real people, but transformed into symbols of a righteous cause. Chamisso may have had the best of intentions, and his poem does deliver a powerful message, but he is introducing the idea of stereotyping Indigenous Peoples, that has become a major problem.

5.3.1.5 "Die weiße Lilie vom Okano-See"

A German language example of a story that used the Pocahontas myth as a model, is an account from the United States by an unknown German reporter. He describes what he claims to be a true occurrence in an 1858 edition of *Die Gartenlaube*, a German magazine. Here is a summary of his story. About twelve years previously a young girl from the Winnebago tribe had arrived at the guard post of Fort Snelling, which is located at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers in the state of Minnesota. She urgently requested to be admitted at once, since she wanted to speak to the commandant. The fort, however, had been closed for the day, so the sentry turned her away. But she repeated her request so urgently, sometimes even in tears, that the man finally decided to report the incident to his officer. She was allowed to speak to a major Dean, to whom she revealed a secret plan by her chief, Wiando-te to attack the fort with 1200 braves. Due to this information the major was able to foil the planned attack. The girl's Winnebago name is never revealed, but the major refers to her as "Die weiße Lilie vom Okano-See" (Stolle 315).

The story is told in a way that is meant to solicit sympathy for the girl. First the fact that she is referred to as "Die weiße Lilie," is significant. This is not her name or even a translation of her Winnebago name (which is not given). The name is meant in some way to describe her. Since she is not a white woman "weiß" must refer to her character and her intentions which are thus depicted as pure as the white colour of a lily. The following describes how she knows there is going to be an attack.

> Die zurückgebliebenen Frauen seien mit der Maisernte beschäftigt, und sie habe ihre Zeit danach gewählt; auch wisse außer ihr keine um das eigentliche Ziel der Unternehmung.

> Sie allein habe die Berathung der Männer belauscht; der große Geist habe sie dabei beschützt, sie und die Weißen, die ihr so freundlich gewesen. (316)

She chose her time when the other women were harvesting maize. To spy on someone and try to overhear what they say, means that you suspect that they are up to no good. This statement is saying that this woman is living among people, whom she thinks have evil intentions. Sympathy for her is achieved through the narrator by implying "der große Geist" is with her. The fact that this claim is in subjunctive mood indicates that she herself believes the great Spirit is on the side of the settlers. She obviously had a Eurocentric point of view even before she heard the plan, otherwise she would never have deliberately spied on her own people in the first place. For some reason she sympathizes with the perceived enemies of her people. A weak explanation as to why she would sympathize with settlers is given as follows:

> Das arme Mädchen war ein paar Mal nach dem Fort gekommen, und man hatte ihr daselbst den feilgebotenen Vorrath von Mocassins und ähnlichen selbstgearbeiteten Kleinigkeiten bereitwillig abgekauft. Aber Indianer vergessen und – verzeihen nie! (316)

Somehow the customary act of trading with the settlers has caused her to look at the white people as benefactors. The adjective "arme" is used to define her, creating a reaction of sympathy by the reader, even though no explanation is given, as to why she should feel like an outcast, while living with her own tribe. Her motivations are all those of a settler woman not an Indigenous woman. That is because the story has been passed on by settlers, who have ascribed to her, what their feelings would have been in the situation she is in. Phrases such as "Der ganze teuflische Plan" (316) and "wüthenden Anfällen von 1200 rachgierigen Dämonen" (316) and "In den wilden Gesichtern der anwesenden Winnebagoes" (316) used by the narrator show that the whole tale is presented from a Eurocentric point of view. The plan is only "teuflisch" from a settler perspective. From an Indigenous standpoint it would rid the country of people that are stealing land. The Indigenous peoples themselves are only "rachgierigen Dämonen" with "wilden Gesichtern" to the settlers. To the Indigenous inhabitants of this country they are the people that they would live with and deal with, in everyday matters. Not surprisingly the story is told from a biased settler point of view, because it could only have originated from the people living in the fort at that time. They were the ones who had everything to lose if the Indigenous Peoples tried to rid their land of the white trespassers. The Indigenous woman is therefore depicted as a hero, when in reality she is a traitor to her own people. If a white woman would had

run to the chief of the Winnebagos and revealed major Dean's counter plan, there is no question that she would have lived in infamy forever. The same would be true if a white man had committed this treason. An Indigenous woman can betray her own people, however, and be recorded in history as a hero. The reasons for this are both racist and sexist. The racist reason is that the cause of an Indigenous Person is assumed to be wrong and not worth fighting for, when compared to the cause of the settler side. The sexist reason is the idea that a woman could not possibly have the resolve a man would have in carrying out a battle plan that involves casualties. It is an example of Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality applied to the intersecting identities of indigeneity and womanhood. This bias does not apply to a white man, white woman, or Indigenous man. It only applies to an Indigenous woman. Though the story is told from a settler point of view, thus depicting the woman as a hero, anyone reading the story from an Indigenous point of view would have to question the woman's motives.

The story is so biased that one would have to question its accuracy. It is far more biased toward the settler point of view than most German stories of Indianer fiction. This can be explained by the fact that it must have originated from the inhabitants of the fort. The Americans were the colonial power and anything that accommodated the advancement of settler habitations would be looked upon favourably by them, no matter what the moral implications were. Hence the woman is depicted as a hero, even when the story is retold by a German reporter.

5.3.1.6 Hih-lah-dih, in Johannes Scherr's *Pilger der Wildniß*

German authors were very capable, however, of depicting "The Pocahontas Perplex" in their own fiction. Hih-lah-dih, an Indigenous woman, in Johannes Scherr's *Pilger der Wildniß* (1864), is a classic Pocahontas figure. She is the fictional sister of Metacom, who actually did live from 1638 to 1676, as chief of the Wampanoag People. The historical Metacom came to hate the white settlers and saw them as an existential threat to his people. He tried to drive the settlers away from his land. He was considered a dangerous enemy by the settlers, and in 1676 was hunted down and fatally shot. His head was mounted on a pike in the town of Plymouth Massachusetts. His body was "drawn and quartered" (Sayre 84). In Scherr's fictional version of the story, Hih-lah-dih betrays her brother Metacom because she has fallen in love with a white settler by the name of Thorkil. His position as a representative of the settler society is cemented into the story by that fact that Hih-lah-dih continually refers to him as "Das Goldhaar." His

golden hair seems to be what makes him more sexually attractive to her than the men from her own tribe. This fits well into de Pauw's claim that Indigenous men were not as sexually attractive to their own women as the invaders were. Just as in the Pocahontas story Hih-lah-dih takes the side of the settler society over her own Indigenous People.

Hih-lah-dih's depiction as a friend of the settlers demonstrates exactly why the Pocahontas trope is so harmful to Indigenous societies. Her action of siding with the white man, that she is in love with, over her brother, gives credence to the argument that settlers actually had a right to be on the land of the Indigenous Peoples. The fact that Hih-lah-dih is described as a positive heroic figure works in a way that counters Indigenous rights. If she is depicted as a wonderful person, it supports her decision to betray her brother. Therefore, saying Hih-lah-dih's name means "Die Reine Quelle" (779) indicates that her decisions will be made using some sort of "absolute righteous moral values" not biased settler values, which is the reality. In the previous example the name "Die weiße Lilie vom Okano-See" was used for the same purpose. Scherr pushes this even further by having Hih-lah-dih say "Wohl, Hih-lah-dih klingt gut und ist ein Name von guter Vorbedeutung" (779) encouraging the reader to look at her future actions as honorable.

When looked upon from an Indigenous point of view her actions are dishonorable. She tells the white trespasser that her brother has a treasure of gold. She believes that her brother has stolen the gold because she only sees the settler's side of the story. Just like the reader she hears the narrative that claims he is guilty of theft from a Eurocentric point of view. The reader is manipulated by the author the to believe this fictional narrative that is now connected to the historical figure, Metacom. Hih-lah-dih, the fictional sister, is more than willing to believe this accusation of her brother, not because she has moral values stemming from a "Reine Quelle," but because she was created by a Eurocentric thinking author. Thus, her statement "Jetzt sei es in einer Ecke unter der Erde versteckt. Sie wolle das Goldhaar hinführen, das gelbe Metall zu holen" (1848), not only betrays the fact that her brother has the gold (something that would have helped him finance his fight to save his people from extinction if the story had been true), but tells the white trespasser where he can find it.

Her brother, Metacom, does express the Indigenous point of view, as he speaks to Hih-lah-dih, after he has learned of her treachery, referring to the bad influence "Das Goldhaar" has had on her.

> Er hat das Herz meiner Schwester mit Torheit angefüllt, daß sie, aller Scham und Zucht vergessend, sich dem Feind ihres Volkes an den Hals wirft und den Häuptling, ihren Bruder, zum Gespötte der Weiber macht (2585).

Metacom's words are empty as far as the Eurocentric reader is concerned, because he has been labelled a thief by Scherr, thus tainting his opinion. The author is turning the reader against the opinions of Indigenous peoples, by allowing this legitimate argument against Hih-lah-dih's actions to be spoken by what he has depicted as a villain.

Hih-lah-dih's retort to this is:

> "Nein," entgegnete Die Reine Quelle mutig, "nein, nicht der Teufel hat mich angestiftet, zu tun, was ich tat; der gute Geist hat mich getrieben, damit das Blut meines Blaßgesichtbruders nicht über das Haupt meines Häuptlings komme." (2585)

Here she is referred to as "Die Reine Quelle" not just "Hih-lah-dih" which is used most of the time. Her words are to be taken as the "Pure Source" of the truth. She is described as "mutig" with all of its positive connotations. The name is not used to give the reader a positive depiction of an Indigenous woman, but rather to support her opinion that her brother is in the wrong. She as an underdog is still brave enough to support the cause of the settlers. It is the "gute Geist" who is helping her with her decision, just like "der große Geist" "weißer Lilie" when she is betraying her tribe. Hih-lah-dih is saving "das Goldhaar" so that her brother will not have blood on his hands. This is a situation directly out of the original story, where Pocahontas saves John Smith so that her father Powhatan will not have blood on his hands. She refers to her authentic brother as "meines Häuptlings" and the settler as "meines Blaßgesichtbruders" thus othering her own blood relation and supporting de Pauw's theory of the welcoming of the actual other. By depicting a fictional Indigenous woman in a positive way, Scherr has stacked up evidence against the real life Chief, Metacom. History books already give a Eurocentric point of view when depicting Metacom's war with the settlers near Boston. Scherr accentuates this bias against Metacom by inventing a sister, with all the wonderful attributes of Indigenous women, but who is a Eurocentric thinker. Her fictional opposition to her brother tips the scales in favour of the settler cause.

She goes even further in her treachery by telling the captain of a warship where her brother will be fighting the settlers near the ocean. This ultimately leads to Metacom's defeat and death. In the end Hih-lah-dih commits suicide. She is still a Eurocentric thinker as she commits

this act. It was a European not an Indigenous concept that people committed suicide through desperation. Suicide was unknown in Indigenous culture. In an article written by E. Pauline Johnson, which appeared on the front page of the Toronto Sunday Globe on May 22, 1892 this fact is confirmed. The Canadian Mohawk author wrote a criticism of the depiction of a suicide by a female Indigenous character in settler Canadian fiction, that can be directly applied to Hih-lah-dih and her creator Johannes Scherr:

> Her unhappy self-sacrificing life becomes such a burden to both herself and the author that this is the only means by which they can extricate themselves from a lamentable tangle, though, as a matter of fact suicide is an evil positively unknown among Indians. (2)

She goes on to say that in her time at the turn of the century, some Indigenous men might destroy their own lives through the use of liquor, but that previously, "self-destruction was unheard of." This fact, that Indigenous Peoples did not often commit suicide, is corroborated by Seth Allard, a professor at Wayne State University and a member of the Chippewa Tribe of Sault St. Marie, in his 2018 book, *Guided by the Spirits*, about the problems of Native suicide in the twenty-first-century. Quoting interviews with elders of the Ojibway Tribes in Sault St. Marie he recorded statements like "'Suicide didn't really happen,'" (43) concerning the time before the mid-twentieth-century. He says: "none of the elders recalled ever having heard of it (suicide) in the early days" (43) and "there had been only one case in 25 years" (43).

Hih-lah-dih's reason for taking her own life is also significant. She commits suicide because she realizes that, even though she saved his life, "Das Goldhaar" will never marry her. His heart belongs to the settler woman "Lovely." Again, the echoes of the view that Cornelius de Pauw put forward in 1768 come to the fore. In effect "Das Goldhaar" represents the European "Satyrs" which were more sexually attractive to Indigenous women than their own men.

In this novel the Indigenous men are almost all depicted as "bloodthirsty savages." In most German novels there are at least some Indianer who are friendly to the settlers, giving the author an opportunity to paint a positive picture of Indigenous men. Their depiction in this book is much closer to that of American depiction of the "Indian." It should therefore not be surprising that there is an English version of this book. It is not a translation, but is presented as an original book called *Golden-Hair*, by the British author Sir Lascelles Wraxall, published in 1865. *Pilger der Wildniß* was published in 1864.

Here is the passage in Wraxall's novel describing Hih-lah-dih's death.
"But they arrived too late. Hih-lah-dih's pure, good heart no longer beat: she had gone to her people" (4393). The equivalent passage in the Scheer Novel is: "Aber sie kamen zu spät, in dem grünen Versteck lag Hih-lah-dih, den dreischneidigen Dolch im Herzen" (3061).
The first sentence of the Wraxall quote is a direct translation from Scheer's German, but the second sentence is not. Wraxall seems to be relating Hih-lah-dih's death as a symbol of the death of her race, as he says, "she had gone to her people." He also talks about her "pure good heart" making it clear that the narrator of the text does not look on her as a traitor, but rather as a heroine, because she helped the settlers. The German version relates how Hih-lah-dih's settler friends mourned her passing, but the narrator does not give any opinion on whether she is innocent or not. When information is given about Hih-lah-dih's grave the English narrator praises her nobility: "The grave of this noble-hearted and amiable daughter of the wilderness was dug at the foot of a beech-tree close at hand" (4402). The German version remains more neutral. "Am Fuße einer Rotbuche wurde ihr das Grab gegraben" (3060).

No evidence was found as to which book was plagiarized. Neither book is categorized as a translation.

5.3.1.7 Dunkles Haar in Karl May's *Winnetou III*.

Another classic Pocahontas character is a woman named Dunkles Haar in Karl May's *Winnetou III*. The name May chose for her already shows a Eurocentric point of view. It is hard to believe that having dark hair would make an Indigenous Person stand out enough from her compatriots that she would be named for this colour. This might, however, happen if the Indigenous Person lived in Germany. May was really looking at his fictional woman from a German point of view when he named her.

Dunkles Haar falls in love with the German hero, Old Shatterhand, during the time he is a prisoner of her tribe, the Kiowas. Her father offers Old Shatterhand his freedom, if he will marry his daughter. If he refuses, he must die. Old Shatterhand refuses this offer. May is accused of bias against Indigenous women by Nancy Grimm because his hero does not agree to marry Dunkles Haar. She quotes one of the reasons given by Old Shatterhand for his refusal, which was that he could not see how he and the "Indianerin" would have anything in common. Grimm does not mention the fact that by marrying the girl he would only be fulfilling his part of a quid pro quo. She does not mention that Old Shatterhand makes it clear that he likes her, but does not love

her. At first Dunkles Haar believes he said he loved her. She talks to Old Shatterhand about what one of the men guarding over him told her: "'Old Shatterhand hat gesagt, daß Dunkles Haar ihm sehr gefällt'" (305). To this Old Shatterhand answers: "'Er fragte mich, ob du mir gefällst, und ich habe ja gesagt'" (305). She clearly shows that she now understands that the guard misled her and that in case "gefallen'" meant "like" not "love" because she immediately drops the subject and walks away. From this situation Grimm concludes that May has a bias against Indigenous women. May is not characterizing Dunkles Haar negatively at all. He says she has "ein gutes Herz" (314). May even brings her character back into *Winnetou IV*, where she still has a good relationship with Old Shatterhand. What May is actually criticizing in this instance is the practise of European men marrying Indigenous women in return for membership in the tribe, thereby acquiring the right to own Indigenous lands. Old Shatterhand refers to these men as "Halunken" who marry an Indigenous woman "nur um sie später zu verlassen; die oft gar bei jedem andern Stamme eine andere Frau haben" (315). As Amber Dean explains, some of these "Squaw men" took an Indigenous female partner but then "quickly abandoned them" (110). A bias against these men existed in European society during May's time. "'Squaw men' were cast as deviant because of their non-conformity to European, particularly British, nineteenth- century social and sexual norms" (Dean 100).

Saying that May portrays the relationship between Dunkles Haar and Old Shatterhand in a negative way is an oversimplification of the problem in this depiction. Just as "Pocahontas was acclaimed as a powerful example of the triumph of civilization over savagery" (Coward 74), so is Dunkles Haar depicted as the same type of archetype, when she decides to help the civilized Old Shatterhand escape from her own "savage" people. But her tribe, the Kiowas, are not cast as the villains, but rather as misguided dupes of the settler evildoer, Santor. After Old Shatterhand escapes with the aid of Dunkles Haar, he is able to help the chief of the Kiows, Pida, regain a medicine packet, that Santor had stolen from him. Dunkles Haar's decision to disobey her chief is proven to be the right one, despite the fact that it was Pida who had taken Old Shatterhand captive in the first place. Pida and Old Shatterhand even team up to cause the death of Santor, who had murdered Nscho-tschi in *Winnetou I*. Unlike the previous example, where Hih-lah-dih, betrays the chief of her tribe, thus causing his death, Dunkles Haar's decision proves advantageous for her chief. This depiction is, however, just as harmful as the first, because it portrays the Indianer as childlike and not able to make informed decisions, that are for their own

good. May makes clear that this portrayal was deliberate in *Winnetou IV*, when the Karl May character argues to an Indigenous acquaintance that the "Bleichgesicht" was sent to the so-called new world "Daß kein Mensch, kein Volk und keine Rasse Kind und Knabe bleiben darf" (56). He says that the coming of Europeans to the so-called new world gave the Indigenous Peoples there a chance "aus diesem Burschen- und Bubenalter herauszukommen" (57). May even goes so far as to say: "daß endlich ein Jeder, der dennoch stehen bleibt und nicht vorwärts will, das Recht, noch weiter zu existieren, verliert" (57). This is an example of the kind of Eurocentric thinking that has been so harmful to Indigenous Peoples. He is saying that Indigenous Peoples had to be civilized by the Europeans in order to take their proper place in the world. The "Indianer" were childlike, therefore the "Indianerin," Dunkles Haar, who realized that, had to release the European captive so he could bring everyone onto the path to civilization. This is an example where a positive depiction of an Indianerin actually produces a negative image for Indigenous Peoples.

Dunkles Haar, just like Hih-lah-dih, is therefore an extreme example of the Pocahontas Perplex. It is important to note how opposite the message sent by her actions is from those of the Indigenous woman in Adelbert von Chamisso's poem. The Europeans invaders have nothing positive to offer the Guahiba-Indianerin. She is the civilized person and they are the savages. Chamisso is indicating that the Indigenous way of life is closer to the proper way of living than the European one. The German Romantics thought that the Indigenous Peoples had a direct connection with nature. They believed that for that reason Europeans could learn from them. For Romantics nature had to be looked at as something through which God speaks to humans. Only "als einer Selbstoffenbarung Gottes wird die Natur selbst als sprachhaft gedeutet und mit der Wortsprache verglichen" (Schmitz-Emans 87). This language that nature speaks has to be interpreted as if it were a hieroglyphic, and is therefore mysterious. Since the Indigenous Peoples were considered as being closer to nature, they could interpret her language. May depicts the Indigenous woman, Dunkles Haar, positively, but her actions undermine the rights of the Indigenous to autonomy. In the same way Hih-lah-dih is depicted positively, but her actions also say that Indigenous women do not believe in the cause of their savage male counterparts. The behavior of both women put them in the same category as Pocahontas. The Indigenous woman in Chamisso's poem has the opposite attitude to that of Pocahontas. She supports the theory that Indigenous Women believe in their own way of life just as much as the men.

German “Indianergeschichten,” therefore, cannot be looked at from one direction, saying they all support the Pocahontas story. Some do and others support the opposite. Many fall in-between to differing degrees. The following sections gives some examples.

5.3.1.8 Glanzauge in Anton Ohorn’s *Der weiße Falke*.

Glanzauge is the sister of the fictional Huron chief Anatohas in Anton Ohorn’s novel *Der weiße Falke* (1882). The story is loosely based on the historical events surrounding the founding of the city of Montreal. Though Glanzauge and Anatohas are fictional, they do come in contact with and befriend Paul de Chomedey, sieur de Maisonneuve, the man who is credited as the founder of Montreal. Glanzauge befriends Maisonneuve’s fictional sister, Marie. At the beginning of the story Glanzauge appears to have potential as a Pocahontas character. For one, she is described as being beautiful. “Die junge Huronin war in der That schön; schlank gewachsen wie die Königskerze, mit zierlichen Händen und Füßen, mit außerordentlich regelmäßigen, mildfreundlichen Gesichtszügen“ (12). The assertion of her mild-friendly facial features seems to be setting up a love affair with the hero Maisonneuve the way Pocahontas fell in love with John Smith. However, she does not become involved with Maisonneuve. Her relationship with Marie on the other hand seems to have the potential as a demonstration of how the Indigenous woman yearns to be like the settler woman. When she is introduced to Marie, the reader is told that Glanzauge “kauerte ... sich neben Marie nieder und streichelte ihr noch immer Haar und Hände” (12). That night as Marie slept the narrative states:“sie wusste nichts davon das eine braune Mädchengestalt die ganze Nacht über an dem Fußende ihres Lagers kauerte (13). The fact that the verb “kauern“ is used to describe Glanzauge’s body position, makes it sound that she is assuming a position of subordination to Marie. The two women seem to strike up a close friendship as Glanzauge „hing der schönen Weißen ihren Wampumschmuck um Nacken und Brust, und Marie streichelte ihr dafür liebkosend die braunen Wangen (17). Later, “Glanzauge pflückte die Blumen an dem Wege und reichte dieselben Marien, welche sie zum Kranze flocht, und ihn auf das dunkle Haar der Indianerin legte“ (19). Though there is no evidence given that this will become some kind of a homoerotic love affair, one can see the potential for a close friendship between Marie and Glanzauge, who apparently admires the characteristics of the allegedly more civilized white role model.

Although at this time she visits her new settler friend at her home, Glanzauge does not abandon the Indigenous way of life. She remains with her own people. “Sie fühlte sich wohl in den Wigwams ihres Volkes” (173). She has pleasant thoughts about her settler friends: “ohne dass sie eigentlich Sehnsucht nach den Wohnungen der Bleichgesichter empfunden hätte“ (173). She has no wish to go and live with them permanently. She falls in love with an Indianer named Skandavati. Most importantly she does not convert to the Christian religion. The purpose of the establishment of the city of Montreal was to create a mission to convert the Indigenous Peoples in the surrounding area to Catholicism. That is what inspired Maisonneuve to travel to New France and logically that would have been what inspired his fictional sister, Marie, to come with him in Ohorn’s novel. The fact that Glanzauge refuses to convert shows that, though she likes Marie a lot, she stands with the beliefs of her people. Glanzauge will not convert to Christianity, despite the continued hounding by the French priest, Father Brebeuf: Glanzauge “war nicht zu bewegen zur Annahme des Christentums” (166). Her reason for not converting does not seem to be because of an overwhelming religious conviction, but instead because of respect for her brother.

> “Mein Bruder hat mir nichts verwehrt,” sagte das Mädchen sanft, aber entschieden, „aber ich achte ihn, und was er tut, tue auch ich, weil es recht ist, was er tut. Wird er zu Euren Füßen sitzen, wenn Ihr redet, so wird auch Glanzauge kommen und Euren Worten lauschen; solange er aber an dem Gotte der roten Kinder festhält, wird auch Glanzauge nicht anders glauben.“ (174)

What made the story of Pocahontas such a propaganda weapon for the European view of the world was that she converted to Christianity. It is interesting to observe what enthusiasm the following quotation from the early twentieth-century in *Harper’s Weekly Magazine* shows for Pocahontas’ rejection of her own Indigenous spiritual values: It starts by saying that Pocahontas was setting out for England “as a bright example for the Virginia Company to exhibit to the people of England of the first-fruits of Christianity in the new colony” (Pratt 958). It mentions that she was the first “red Indian in whose heart has ever burned the love of Christianity” (958) and that the Bishop of London hoped that she would be helpful in the advance of Christianity in the so-call new world. Since this article was written near the time of this novel, it is relevant that Ohorn does not have his fictional heroine convert to Christianity. Ohorn does also not advance DePauw’s point of view that Indigenous women were only too anxious to desert their weak male

counterparts, since it is obvious from the citation that she considers her brother as a strong example of how she should act. But even with these progressive viewpoints, Ohorn cannot help but show the chauvinistic viewpoint of the time that a woman should follow the example of the men in her life. Glanzauge is independent of the settler point of view, but her world is depicted as having the same rules as the European world, where it is the man who decides how his woman will act. She does, however, say "weil es recht ist, was er tut" indicating that she has thought about this decision herself. She clearly supports Indigenous beliefs not European beliefs, thus negating de Pauw's argument of these women considering their men as savages.

Ohorn creates a minor female character in the middle of the novel who is a Pocahontas figure. Marie is taken captive by the Iroquois, who are the enemies of the French settlers in Montreal. She comes in contact with an Indianerin named Narramatah who reminds her of Glanzauge. "Narramatah erinnerte an Glanzauge" (245). This statement informs the reader that Narramatah is a character they should have sympathy with, since Glanzauge is the heroine of the story. Narramatah, however, decides to betray her own tribe. When Marie first asks for help, Narramatah refuses: "Die Indianerin schüttelte trübe den Kopf; sie wollte nicht zu Verräterin werden an ihren Stamme" (245). But Marie starts to cry, throws herself on the ground and embraces her knee. This brings tears to Narramatah's eyes and "Sie versprach zu helfen" (245). This is the exactly like the depiction of "Die weiße Lilie vom Okano-See" (Stolle 315). The female is depicted as if she does not really believe in the cause of her tribe. She has a weak resolve and is easily manipulated by an appeal to her emotions thus feeding into the stereotypical depiction of women as being overtly emotional. She herself knows that helping Marie will make her a "Verräterin," but from the author's, and therefore the reader's, point of vew, she is a hero.

Unlike Chamisso, Ohorn seems to have no overriding philosophy guiding his work. He has some redeeming qualities in that he allows Glanzauge to stand up against the settler beliefs. However, the sexist European philosophy of the time influences him as he makes her dependent on her brother's opinions. He is also influenced politically, taking the point of view of the Hurons, who are supported by the French, over that of the Iroquois, who are supported by the English. Therefore, Narramatah's act of disloyalty to her tribe, is depicted as something positive. This example of paradoxical philosophies shows clearly that this German depiction is not meant as a propaganda message, to influence the colonization of Indigenous Peoples. It is simply a product of its time in which sexist and racist attitudes were prevalent in European society.

5.3.1.9 Canondah and Rosa in Charles Sealsfield's *Tokeah*

A German nineteenth-century novel that actually reveals the Pocahontas perplex as problematic is Charles Sealsfield's *Der Legitime und die Republikaner*. Charles Sealsfield was the pseudonym of the Austrian author Carl Anton Postl, who had lived in the United States before he wrote the novel. His first version of the book published in 1829 was in English, and called *Tokeah; or, The White Rose*. In 1833 he reworked the book into German and gave it the other title. An Indianerin, Canondah, and her sister, Rosa, originally the daughter of a settler, discover a young wounded European man in the woods and nurse him back to health. This act seems to put Canondah in the same position as Pocahontas, but there are many key differences. She does not fall in love with the European man. At first, she helps him, the way any human being would help another in distress. She also does it because she believes her sister, Rosa, loves the man. "Canondah hat ihre Hand in Freundschaft dem Fremden entgegengestreckt, als sie sah, daß das Herz der weißen Rosa sich nach ihm sehnte," (43). Unlike Pocahontas she realizes that for her, helping a white man is morally wrong as she says: "aber die Tochter des Miko hat nicht gehandelt, wie sie sollte" (43). She realizes that disobeying her father, the Miko (chief), is wrong. She refers to herself as a fool for doing so. She believes she has been a "Törin gewesen, und ihre Hand einem Feinde ihres Volkes gereicht" (43). She explains why her action is harmful.

> "Meine Schwester (Rosa) ist sehr jung, und sie kennt nur sehr wenig unsre Feinde, die Yankees. Sie senden ihre jungen Männer in die Wigwams der roten Männer, um ihre Herden, ihr Korn, ihre Büffelfelle zu zählen, und wenn sie wieder zu den Ihrigen kommen, dann zeigen sie ihnen die Pfade, die zu der Roten Dörfer führen, und dann kommen sie und nehmen unser Vieh und Korn und lachen der roten Männer." (43)

Talking about the harm that can come from any act of kindness toward settlers is something that the other Pocahontas stories both English and German downplay. This quotation shows clearly that the settlers will take advantage of the kindness shown to them in order to accumulate wealth for themselves. It also categorizes the problem as a systemic problem. So many fictional accounts of Indianer, including those of Karl May, depict only a few greedy settlers as the villains. On the whole, however, "good" colonizers, like Old Shatterhand, are depicted as friendly people trying to help the Indianer. Here all Americans ("die Yankees") are depicted as swindlers. This depiction reveals a systemic effort by all colonizers to take advantage of Indigenous Peoples.

In other Pocahontas stories both English and German, the role of the Indianerin as a "Verräterin" is downplayed. They present the Indianerin as a hero for helping the settler. Canondah is presented as a positive character throughout the story. She is especially strong when compared to her foolish emotional white sister Rosa. Canondah herself believes that the white man she is saving is making a fool of her. "'Mein Bruder', versetzte die Indianerin ebenso gelassen, ‚hat eine gekrümmte Zunge, und er will seine Schwester zum Narren machen'" (46). In this case when Canondah says "seine Schwester" she is referring to herself. She feels he is making a fool out of her by getting her to help him. Her act of kindness shows that she loves her sister and will do anything for her, but Canondah carries the guilt for helping the settler, throughout the novel. As Canondah expresses her continuing feeling of guilt, Rosa tries to comfort her by saying that God will make her an angel in heaven because she helped a person in distress: "Der gute Gott würde Canondah unter seine Engel aufgenommen und sie ewig selig gemacht haben, weil sie einen Bruder gerettet" (84). To this Canondah gives a surprisingly non-Eurocentric answer:

> „Engel!" wiederholte die Indianerin. – „Canondah will kein weißer Engel dafür sein, daß sie den Späher in ihr Wigwam gelassen hat. Sie will gar kein weißer Engel sein. Canondah würde nimmer froh unter den weißen Engeln sein, die ihre Brüder morden und von ihrem Lande vertreiben." (84)

These words contradict Rosa's Eurocentric point of view. Canondah has perfectly articulated the Pocahontas Perplex. This criticism of Indigenous women acting in a friendly way to colonizers is a rarity among authors of Indianergeschichten. It is a concept that in most cases is too abstract for Eurocentric thought. Questioning the image of Pocahontas in the settler world did not really take place at all, until much later when Indigenous Peoples themselves obtained a voice. Sealsfield's comprehension of the problem through the eyes of Canondah is therefore ahead of its time. Note how Canondah represents white heaven as being full of murderers and thieves.

It is noteworthy that Sealsfield wrote this story in 1829, long before Johannes Scherr created Hih-lah-dih in 1864. Hih-lah-dih does not express any feelings of guilt over betraying her brother. She mourns his death, which was a direct result of her treason, but her thoughts at the time are entirely consumed in feeling sorry for herself because "das Goldhaar" loves someone else. She kills herself because she cannot have "das Goldhaar," not because she betrayed her brother. She is a classic Pocahontas figure as described by Rayna Green in the beginning of this

chapter, “saving the man out of love” (704) and violating “the wishes and customs of her own 'barbarous' people to make good the rescue” (704). Green’s ultimate Pocahontas goes so far as to “perhaps suffer death” (704). When Hih-lah-dih kills herself, she is treated as a tragic hero by the settlers in the story and by the author. There is no insight into her guilt for betraying her people. Similarly, Dunkles Haar in Karl May’s *Winnetou III* (1893) is treated as a hero for betraying her people in order to release Old Shatterhand. Again, there is no discussion or mention of her guilt. May has created a classic Pocahontas figure with no indication at all that her actions are problematic. Sealsfield’s Canondah feels guilty even though the man she saves does not consciously mean her people any harm. Her expression of this guilt is an insightful look at the Pocahontas Perplex long before other non-Indigenous writers recognized it as a problem.

Canondah expresses very clearly that no good can come out of act of kindness to the settler. Her prediction turns out to be correct. In the end no advantage is gained by the Indianerin for helping the settler. The young man goes back to his own people. He becomes a British aristocrat, Sir Arthur, and marries Rosa, who is now called Lady Graham. She has forsaken her Indianer father, Tokeah, and goes back to a settler life. The following is a description of her new life.

> All breathed peace and silence. On the piazza of a magnificent mansion, sat Sir Arthur, and upon his right his beautiful wife, Rosa, whom we now introduce to our readers, as Lady Graham. (*Tokeah* 195)

No judgement is given by the narrator in this quotation whether Rosa did the right thing by leaving Tokeah. It seems, however, that the result is being reported as satisfactory since “all breathed peace and silence,” and because she clearly moves up in status. Arthur has forgotten all about Canondah, who is now dead, and he is happily living with Rosa. It must be stressed that it was the resourceful Canondah who saved his life and not the inept Rosa. The book ends with a scene where Rosa is reunited with her birth father who says:

> “The subsequent wars rendered all my efforts fruitless-she was lost.” “Lost, where?” demanded Lady Rosa, who now rushed into the room; “Lost among the Indians on the road from New Orleans.” “Father!” exclaimed Lady Rosa, sinking before. (207)

These are the last sentences in the English version of the book and the evidence would seem to indicate that the author meant it to be a happy end. But read from an Indigenous point of view this is the opposite. Canondah saved the settler because she loved her sister, Rosa. Canondah is

now dead and Rosa has left the “Indianer” people she grew up with. The phrase ”Lost among the Indians” is symbolic of the idea that during Rosa’s time with the “Indianer” she was lost. The insinuation is that during her time with her loving sister, Canondah, she was a castaway, in need of rescue. Canondah’s prediction is correct when she says the saved settler would come back to the Indianer village later after being saved and take away “unser Vieh und Korn und lachen der roten Männer” (43). He took away something far more valuable than animals and corn. He took away her sister.

The novel makes it necessary for the reader to answer a difficult question. Does Rosa do the right thing when she turns her back on her Indianer farther, Tokeah? Rosa was taken from her mother as an infant by the “Indianer.” The author thus puts the Indianer in a place of great disadvantage from this opening situation. This depiction promotes the stereotype that Indianer would steal children and kill their parents. At first these Indianer seem like the savages of many English depictions, but the book goes on to show Rosa living among reasonable, loving people. Her Indianer sister, Canondah, is depicted as a hero. She is a positive three-dimensional character. At the end of the book the reader must make a decision as to where Rosa belongs, just like Rosa herself. Should she stay with the Indianer, who have loved and nurtured her, or should she go back to white society? From the way the last two sentences of the novel are presented and read from a Eurocentric point of view, the decision would seem obvious. She has done the right thing. This is a prime example of a German author sympathizing with Indigenous people, but not being able to complete this depiction because of his own Eurocentric systemic racism. He shows Indianer in a way that his readership will look favourably at them, using his heroine Canondah. But in the end, it is his Eurocentric biases that still tilt the story toward the white point of view.

This story, however, can be read from an Indigenous point of view. The novel demonstrates very clearly why the Pocahontas perplex is concerning to Indigenous Peoples. The whole time Canondah is helping the young British man, she enumerates all the reasons why what she is doing is wrong for her people. She can think logically because her motivation is not the blind love of a “sexually superior” white man, but instead a love for her sister. Her act of mercy and human kindness toward the settler has no reward. All her predictions of the negative consequences of acting like a Pocahontas come true. When read from an Indigenous point of view, the conclusion is that no kind act of an Indigenous Person toward a settler goes unpunished. There is no happy end for an Indigenous Person who befriends a settler.

5.3.2 Pocahontas Exiles Herself and Becomes White

5.3.2.1 Nscho-tschi's attempt to move to St. Louis

The previous section shows how the Pocahontas Perplex gives the impression that Indigenous women are complicit with the settlers against their own people. This section will show how the act of adopting a settler way of life and totally abandoning their own traditions by Indigenous women is damaging to their prestige, even if they are not depicted as traitors to the cause of their people. This is what Nscho-tschi plans on doing with the support of her father and Winnetou.

Karl May's character, Nscho-tschi, is in no way complicit with the white trespassers. She emotionally defends the actions of Indianer as they oppose the invading settlers. She argues vigorously that European society is more primitive than Indigenous society. She does not violate the desires of her own "barbarous people" to rescue a white man the way Pocahontas does. She nurses Old Shatterhand back to life, but she does this with the blessing of her brother Winnetou and her father. Old Shatterhand is to be executed after he becomes well again and she expresses the opinion that she will accept this, because it is the will of her people. Only in the 1962 movie version of the story does she try to find evidence that will exonerate Old Shatterhand. In Karl May's novel she does not interfere in any way with her brother's decision to execute Old Shatterhand. This is contradictory to one of the main precepts of the Pocahontas story, where she talks her father out of executing John Smith, thereby saving his life. As Nscho-tschi gives Old Shatterhand the news that he is to be executed she shows no sign of sympathy. "In dem Tone, in welchem sie dies sagte, lag nicht eine Spur von Bedauern" (289). Nscho-tschi informs Old Shatterhand "Wer am Marterpfahle sterben soll, muß kräftig sein, daß er viel aushalten kann, sonst ist es keine Strafe für ihn (289). There is no sign here of the Pocahontas perplex in which the Indigenous woman tries to save the life of the settler. Nscho-tschi's last word to Old Shatterhand before he is to be taken away and executed are:

> "Nscho-tschi ist sehr betrübt über deinen Tod; aber sie würde sich sehr freuen, wenn keine Qual es vermöchte, dir einen Laut des Schmerzes und der Klage zu entlocken. Mache mir diese Freude und stirb als ein Held!" (299)

By this time, she has developed feelings for Old Shatterhand and admits that she is sad that he must die. But there is no thought of begging for his life. She keeps to the code of her

people, saying that his only salvation is to die as a hero. She represents the antithesis of the Pocahontas perplex, as she does nothing to save his life.

After Old Shatterhand's life is spared, due to Winnetou's decision, things change. She falls in love with Old Shatterhand. She still defends the Indigenous way of life, but she is willing to sacrifice this way of life, if that is what she has to do, to be with the man she loves. She now turns into a Pocahontas as defined by Rayna Green because she is willing to "exile herself from them (her own people), become White" (Green 704). It seems that May is trying to sit on both the settler and the Indigenous side of the fence at this time. As a European he is ashamed of the wrongs that are being done to the Indigenous Peoples. He uses Nscho-tschi as a vehicle to express this opinion by having her defend her people. But then he shows that he cannot get beyond the Eurocentric view that his culture is more civilized and is something that must be strived for. In Winnetou IV he expresses his true Eurocentric views as an older Old Shatterhand tells his Indianer friends: "Und daß endlich ein Jeder, der dennoch stehen bleibt und nicht vorwärts will, das Recht, noch weiter zu existieren, verliert" (57). As far as he is concerned it is the Indigenous Peoples that have to advance their civilization, or they will lose their right to exist. He makes clear why he believes this a few sentences later when his hero Old Shatterhand says: "Als aber die Indsmen nicht aufhören wollten, sich untereinander zu zerfleischen, sandte er (God) ihnen das Bleichgesicht" (57). May has made it clear in *Winnetou IV* that Old Shatterhands thoughts represent his opinion. May therefore shows that he is blind to the fact that Indigenous society is just as civilized as European society. Thus, Nscho-tschi's decision to learn the ways of the white man must be looked upon as May's idea of progressing. Martin Kuester, professor at Philipps-Universität Marburg, categorizes Nscho-tschi's trip to the east as a "preaching of non-Indian values" (220). He qualifies this as part of May's "outright admission that the German way is the better one, and as he is in narrative control, he can work towards a story that proves that" (220).

This version of the Pocahontas perplex is different from the previous category in that Nscho-tschi never does deceive her father or her brother. They are complicit with her decision to learn the ways of the settler. Like Kuester says, May is in "narrative control" and all his Indigenous heroes are working toward a world that he feels contains the best parts of both Indianer and European society. Kuester calls this a "dualism that he cannot convincingly overcome" (220). Nscho-tschi's argument praising the Indianer way of life, where she insists on

their "right to social and political self-determination" (Kuester 221) followed by her decision to go and live with a settler family, thereby admitting the "cruel fact that the weaker must yield to the stronger (Kuester 221), exemplifies this dualism. She wants to become what Indigenous women dislike most about the Pocahontas image. She wants to become white.

5.3.2.2 *Die Mandanen-Waise* and Intersectionality

5.3.2.2.1 Introduction

Nscho-tschi is never able to fulfill her goal of becoming acquainted with the customs of settler society, as she dies before she reaches St Louis. In this section a story will be discussed in which an Indigenous woman, like Pocahontas, does become part of settler society uncovering, despite her positive depiction, how much of the systemic racism in these German Indianergeschichten stems from ignorance of Indigenous culture.

When depicting Indigenous women of the nineteenth century, German authors made two major mistaken assumptions. First, they depicted all Indigenous women as if they were part of a monolithic society. The represented customs all seem to be the same, mostly modelled after the Indigenous Peoples living in the western United States. In reality many different tribes existed with hundreds of different customs. Second, they depicted the women as if they were all part of a patriarchy, just like the one these authors were familiar with in Germany. They assumed that the women all played a subordinate role to the men.

Both these assumptions are made by Balduin Möllhausen in his novel *Die Mandanen-Waise*. He falsely assumes, for example, that as a monolithic group, all Indigenous Peoples live in some type of tent. That is why when his embedded first-person narrator, Gustav, enters a Mandan village, it is represented as consisting of "mehrere indianische Zelte" (209). In reality, people of the Mandan nation lived in structures made of earth and wood (Fenn 53). They were large and usually circular, being 30 to 40 feet in diameter. They could be considered as permanent structures, since they lasted about 15 years and when rebuilding was necessary, they were built on the same place as before. The fact that Möllhausen depicts them as living in tents shows that he is following the false stereotype that all Indigenous Peoples were nomadic.

The female protagonist of the novel is a Mandan girl named Schanhatta. She lives in this village of tents, in what is depicted as a patriarchal society. After she is found by Gustav she is

converted into a Hausfrau, which is presented as a positive circumstance in the novel. But the nineteenth-century German Hausfrau was the ultimate subordinate inferior in the European patriarchy. As a Mandan woman, Schanhatta would have actually been born into a version of a matriarchal society. This fact seems to escape the author's consideration, as he celebrates her conversion into a useful housewife, which by Mandan standards would have been a demotion.

The Germany of the nineteenth century had a civil code in which the following is stated in §1354: "The husband is responsible for decisions in all matters affecting joint married life; in particular, he determines where the family is to reside" (Schaser 128). In the Mandan culture it is the woman that owns the house and decides where the family should reside as stated by Elizabeth A. Fenn in her book *A History of the Mandan People*:

> Mandan earth lodges were in every way the dominion of women. Women built them, women maintained them, and women controlled the space they contained. Even the family inside was maternal in structure. When a Mandan man married, he moved into the home of his wife and her sisters. He counted all her sisters as wives. Children born to the marriage belonged to their mother's clan. And just as a Mandan man counted all his wife's sisters as wives, so a Mandan child counted all its mother's sisters as mothers. After all, they lived together in the same earth lodge, which belonged to the maternal clan. (52)

What is being described here is a type of matriarchy. In a patriarchy the "reckoning of descent and inheritance" is in the male line, with **"**control by men of a disproportionately large share of power" **(**Merriam-Webster Online). In the Mandan system the inheritance of the house is in the female line. The women not only owned the lodges, but they were property owners as well because they lived on the same land from generation to generation.

The women both designed and built the lodges. This contradicts the frequently used claim that the work of female Indigenous Peoples was drudge work. These women did the work of building significantly valuable houses on land that belonged to them.

A reader of Möllhausen's book would learn none of these facts about the Mandan culture. His Mandan orphan Schanhatta informs the German man Gustav "Dies sind die Wigwams der Mandanen" (211). In her book *Indigenous Feminism* Joyce Green writes: "Some Indigenous Nations historically placed a high value on women's roles in society, indeed women in most Indigenous nations historically enjoyed far more respect, power and autonomy than did their

European settler counterparts" (10). From the information given one can see this advantage in respect, power and autonomy is noteworthy in the Mandan culture. Green continues saying "Contemporary Indigenous women are subjected to patriarchal and colonial oppression within settler society and Indigenous communities" (10). Balduin Möllhausen subjected his fictional Mandan woman to this very same patriarchal stereotyping, thereby giving his German reading audience a false impression. Möllhausen missed a chance of presenting a matriarchic society to a public that had no knowledge of such an arrangement.

5.3.2.2.2 Schanhatta

Schanhatta is just a child when she first meets the embedded narrator, her future husband Gustav. Gustav is a young man, who has travelled from his native Germany to the United States. He finds Schanhatta near the banks of the Missouri River (209), beside her dead mother and brother, who have died of the plague. Gustav convinces her to come with him. They experience a number of adventures. Gustav then moves to a part of the United States where the Indianer have been completely driven out of their homelands, near St. Louis (coincidentally the same place where Nscho-tschi wants to go to learn to be white). Schanhatta comes along with him willingly. They get married, and she becomes a Hausfrau. She cleans his house and cooks his meals. Gustav lives the leisurely life of a retired gentleman, doing whatever he wants to.

Gustav's efforts to colonize Schanhatta can be regarded as a metaphor for the way in which all European settlers attempted to colonize the Indigenous Peoples. The narrator uses a different metaphor to describe this process, comparing it to transplanting a flower from its natural surroundings into a cultivated garden.

> Indem ich die junge Indianerin Schritt für Schritt auf dem Wege der Bildung weiterführte, öffneten sich auch immer neue Seiten in ihrem Charakter, die mich innig erfreuten, so daß ich sie in Gedanken oft mit einem zarten Schößling verglich, der, aus erstickender Wildnis in edleren Boden verpflanzt, die sorgfältige Pflege des Gärtners mit der tadellosesten Blüte zu belohnen verspricht. (214 -215)

Möllhausen's narrator thinks his transplantation will be successful because the flower's current natural conditions are suffocating. This differs greatly from the Romantic point of view presented earlier and agrees with De Pauw's theory that the climate in the so-called new world was "besonders schädlich" (4) for its inhabitants. Möllhausen's narrator believes that cultivated

soil, the European way of life, is nobler. Ironically in gardening taking a flower out of its natural habitat into what seems like better conditions is mostly unsuccessful. Gustav carries out his colonization of Schanhatta, under the mistaken assumption that "Bildung" can only mean an education in European traditions.

When Gustav first meets her, Schanhatta does not speak German or English. She uses a combination of sign-language and "Sioux-Sprache" (211) to communicate. By the time she becomes his wife she speaks "reinem, wenn auch etwas fremdländischem Deutsch" (299). Gustav also teaches her how to dress in the German way.

> Wie sie sich unter meinen steten Bemühungen geistig unglaublich schnell entwickelte, so gewöhnte sie sich auch von Tag zu Tag mehr daran, einen höheren Wert auf ihre äußere Erscheinung zu legen. Auch verschmähte sie bald, ihre Gesichtszüge durch Malereien zu entstellen, nicht zu gedenken, dass sie den Schnitt ihrer Kleidungsstücke nach meinen Angaben der zivilisierten herrschenden Sitte etwas näher brachte. (215).

The assumption that as an Indigenous Person she is automatically in need of "geistig" development is a Eurocentric idea. It is a strong indication of the systemic racism that is in play because Schanhatta's colonization is presented as a positive process. The higher worth on the way she looked was based on European standards of beauty. Gustav's efforts on behalf of her intellectual development were depicted as successful because he convinced her to stop painting her face in the Mandan tradition. Just like the male voice of the magic mirror on the wall from the Snow White story, her fashion sense is judged by a man. Gustav's attitude is racist because it declares that the appearance of an Indigenous Person is not pleasing to a civilized person. It alleges that an Indigenous Person puts no importance on outer appearance. Schanhatta's clothing now matches "zivilisierten," which really means European, fashion standards more closely. This is reminiscent of the way Pocahontas is depicted in a dress, and European style pearl necklace in pictures like that shown in the Harper's Magazine article of June 29, 1907 (949).

A special note should be made of the fact that the narrator considers Schanhatta's habit of painting her face primitive. No evidence was found that Mandan women actually painted their faces. Möllhausen is therefore envisioning what he considers a primitive custom, attributing it to his Indianerin, and then criticizing this imagined custom for being unsophisticated. This attitude is also sexist. This European standard of refinement would not be an important consideration at all if she were a male.

5.3.2.2.3 Intersectionality[1]

Years later, after Schanhatta has been completely colonized, Gustav's success at conversion is judged by the frame narrator as follows: "Im übrigen, in der Kleidung sowohl als auch in ihrem Wesen, zeigte sie das Wesen einer gebildeten Frau, die in der getreuen Erfüllung häuslicher Pflichten ihre größte Befriedigung findet" (299). The nineteenth-century European standard for judging the "Bildung" of a woman seems to be based on her ability to fulfill her household duties. Schanhatta's level of contentment in performing these menial duties is presented as critical to judging the success of her true colonization. Schanhatta is now the same type of woman as Old Shatterhand's European wife. Both May and Möllhausen have a similar understanding of what an ideal wife should be. They are not capable of seeing the sexism and racism in their depictions because of systemic biases found in Eurocentric thinking. This combination of sexism and racism can be more clearly visualized by applying Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality to Schanhatta's conversion into a white woman.

Crenshaw's definition of the term "intersectionality" is as follows:

> "Intersectionality is just a metaphor for understanding the ways that multiple forms of inequality or disadvantage sometimes compound themselves and they create obstacles that often are not understood within conventional ways of thinking about anti-racism or feminism…" (Crenshaw 00:08-00:26).

In Schanhatta's case, as for all Indigenous women, the concept of intersectionality can be applied to the intersecting identities of Indigeneity and womanhood. The criticism of her fashion sense demonstrates this compound effect. It is racist because her Indigenous customs are being criticized. It is sexist because her "uncivilized" appearance would not be as important if she was a man. Schanhatta's intersecting identities of Indigeneity and womanhood have put her in double jeopardy through a single criticism of fashion.

The process of colonizing a Mandan woman is an exemplary case on which to apply the concept of intersectionality as it demonstrates that the compound disadvantages can be more than just a sum of their parts. As previously stated, the Mandan culture is matriarchal. Schanhatta is perfectly suited for her environment and should not be changing at all. In the Mandan tradition

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[1] The idea of demonstrating the concept of intersectionality using *Die Mandanen-Waise* was previously undertaken by myself in an essay for the graduate course GRMN 7330 at the University of Manitoba.

she would have been brought up as an independent woman. Möllhausen has doomed her to a subservient position, where her main goal is to be attractive to a white man and serve as his housekeeper. As Gustav's loyal wife, Schanhatta will have all the deficiency of rights that a German Hausfrau would have. If she were a woman who had grown up in Germany during the nineteenth century this would be an illustration of sexism only. Schanhatta as a Hausfrau suffers from sexism just as a German woman would, but even more significantly she suffers from racism, as her culture is taken away. Möllhausen makes sure he removes whatever semblance of an imaginary Indigenous culture he has created for her. The matriarchal rights of women were being taken away from them because the colonizers only understood the patriarchal system.

Mary Eberts, a litigation counsel to the Native Women's Association of Canada, describes the situation Indigenous woman were put in. She says that the European view was that of "the male as the patriarch and the female as his dependent and obedient wife" (79). She adds that "This view places Indian women at a grave legal disadvantage" (79). Rauna Kuokkanen, an Associate Professor of Indigenous Studies at University of Toronto adds to this: "As a result, Indigenous women's concerns about gendered, racialized violence are marginalized by both Indigenous and settler communities" (105). She says that this means that they have very little legal power when dealing with their own male Indigenous counterparts. Kuokkanen is summarizing how political intersectionality situates Indigenous women as subordinate to three large groups. These groups are white men, Indigenous men and white women. Using Schanhatta's situation as a model, she is subordinate to both her husband and all his friends and all the white women around her.

The fact that she has lost her status as an Indigenous woman follows the pattern of the law that existed in the Canadian Indian Act until August of 2019. In an article in APTN National News Justin Brake relates that "Until now (August 2019), provisions within the Indian Act meant women lost their status when they married non-Indigenous men, while men who married non-Indigenous women kept their status." (APTN Online). This shows how real life imitates fiction as, just like Schanhatta, all Indigenous women in Canada lost their status if they married a non-Indigenous man.

The ultimate irony is found in the fact that this book is framed in a way so that Schanhatta's life story is told by husband Gustav. He is the embedded narrator, relating her story to the male frame narrator. The novel is therefore organized in a way so that a fictional German

man is telling the story of a fictional Indigenous woman from his own point of view. Ironically, during this entire "Erzählzeit" Schanhatta is busy preparing supper for both men. Her place is in the kitchen, where she spends the hours needed for a white man to give his version of her life story. Her permission is not asked first, when Gustave invites the frame narrator, who is a stranger to both of them, to supper. "Gerade deswegen gestatten Sie mir, Ihnen etwas vorzusetzen. Meine Frau soll es Ihnen selbst bereiten" (298). As a white Hausfrau she can only say: "Jeder Freund meines Mannes ist mir herzlich willkommen" (299). She is not allowed to tell her own story. She is not allowed to live her own life. The intersection of sexism and racism that the author has subjected his fictional figure to has resulted in a disadvantage that is more than just a sum of its parts. The combination of sexism that took away her independence and racism that took away her traditions has resulted in a loss of power within her own social circle.

5.3.3 Pocahontas is a "Princess"

The fact that Nscho-tschi was depicted as a daughter of a chief was one of the deciding factors in identifying her as a Pocahontas figure, thus giving impetus to the comparisons of Pocahontas with depictions of other fictional Indianerinnen. Indigenous critics ironically refer to the daughter of a chief as a "princess" because settlers compared this kind of birthright to the European equivalent of that daughter of aristocracy. In reality, the Indigenous equivalent to a European princess did not exist in these cultures. Indigenous people did not have such a social structure. The "Indianer Prinzessin" is fictional. Any reference to an Indianerin as a "princess" in this paper implies this irony that makes the word itself an undesirable European stereotype. It was stressed in an earlier chapter about Nscho-tschi that being a "princess" made her important enough to warrant writing about her. Distinguished film scholar Edward Buscombe summarizes an identical opinion, except he is referring to the depiction of Pocahontas.

> In the first place, emphasis is given to her noble birth. It seems that whatever mis-givings the Europeans may have had about a mixed-race relationship, could be at least in part assuaged if the Indian woman made up for her racial inferiority with an elevated class status. Second, her beauty is important. Sexual desirability was another factor which could mitigate racial difference. These twin characteristics constitute virtually a sine qua non in stories of relationships between white men and Native American women, whether on the nineteenth-century stage or later, in the movies. (Buscombe 35)

This indispensable and essential condition of being a "princess" can also be seen in other nineteenth-century German stories about fictional Indigenous women. A great many of the Indianergeschichten studied for this paper, depicted their female Indigenous heroes as the equivalent to European aristocracy. The stories were not chosen with a prerequisite of containing a depiction of an Indianerin with this status. Though the choices of stories cannot be considered random, but rather a cross section of stories from the better-known German authors of Indianergeschichten, a survey of how many of them contain depictions of "princesses" does give some insight on whether such a character is a sine qua non. The following depictions were either daughters or wives of a chief.

1) Uinorintscha in Karl May's "Mutterliebe."
2) Nscho-tschi in Karl May's *Winnetou 1*.
3) Canondah in Charles Sealsfield's *Tokeah oder Die weiße Rose*.
4) Hih-lah-dih in Johannes Scherr's *Pilger der Wildniß*.
5) Glanzauge in Anton Ohorn's *Der weiße Falke*.
6) Arrita in Paul Margot's *Die Gefangenen der Apachen. Erster Band.* Wife of Chief Pantherkatze

In four of the stories Indigenous woman played a major role, but were not princesses:

1) The Mother in Adelbert von Chamisso's "Der Stein der Mutter oder der Guahiba-Indianerin."
2) Schanhatta in Balduin Möllhausen's *Die Mandanen-Waise*.
3) Dunkles Haar, in Karl May's *Winnetou III*.
4) Die weiße Lilie vom Okano-See

Of these four, however, only the first two were in the original cross-sectional reading list, which was chosen before it was decided that the topic of the thesis would be the depiction of Indigenous women. Therefore, from the original cross-sectional reading list, there were six princesses and two non-princesses.

Thus, the following assessment by Indigenous Scholar Janice Acoose of settler stories about Indigenous women also applies to German Indianergeschichten:

> Before a so-called good Christian white man could have relations with an Indian woman, however, she had to be elevated beyond an ordinary woman's status. In most historical references, such Indian women were thus accorded the status of royalty. (43)

This is very significant since Acoose's comments were strictly limited to English depictions, yet six out of eight German stories containing such "royalty" shows, that her knowledge of the settler mentality extrapolates depictions of Indigenous women in other cultures as well.

5.3.4 Death of a "Princess"

Looking more closely at the six depicted "princesses," it is significant that four of the six die in their respective narratives. All four are daughters of Chiefs. Both women of "royalty" that do not die are married to a Chief. Thus, in all of the cross section of Indianergeschichten read for this thesis, all four depicted daughters of chiefs die. These deaths occur before they have children. This could be an indication that the authors are predicting the demise of all the Indigenous Peoples. Lisa King, a professor at the University of Tennessee, whose interests are the rhetorical and cultural impact of contemporary German and European representations of Indigenous Peoples has applied this conclusion to the death of Winnetou.

> The defeat of the noble savage was, to the protagonist and many nineteenth-and twentieth- century German readers' understanding, inevitable, and so the trilogy ends with Winnetou converting to Christianity and then dying of a grievous wound earned in his final battle. (29)

King is saying that the death of Winnetou is a symbol for May's belief that the defeat and demise of the Indigenous race is inevitable. She links Winnetou's death to the following statement by Karl May in the preface to Winnetou I where he is referring to "der Rote" (2):

> Ja, er ist ein kranker Mann geworden, ein sterbender Mann, und wir stehen mitleidig an seinem elenden Lager, um ihm die Augen zuzudrücken. An einem Sterbebette zu stehen, ist eine ernste Sache, hundertfach ernst aber, wenn dieses Sterbebette dasjenige einer ganzen Rasse ist. (2)

If Winnetou's death can be linked to the prediction of the demise of the Indigenous race on Turtle Island, then there is even a stronger argument for the same conclusion about the death of Nscho-tschi, since it is the female that bears the fruit of life. There is no question that killing off a major female protagonist, who is obviously representing a race of people that is being depicted as being abused, is a symbol of the defeat of that race.

This type of conclusion is what Liz Millward, Janice G. Dodd and Irene Fubara-Manuel have made in reference to what they call a symbolic annihilation of lesbians on film and

television in their book *Killing off the Lesbians*. They write that the dead lesbian character in books of fiction, film and television "is a tired but persistent figure who haunts lesbians and other women with the message that their lives and stories are expendable" (10).

The four "princesses" that die in the Indianergeschichten are Nscho-tschi, Canondah, Hih-lah-dih and Glanzauge. Their deaths can certainly be interpreted as a symbolic annihilation of Indigenous women and through extrapolation the extinction of the whole Indigenous race. All four die a very disturbing death. Only in the case of Hih-lah-dih, however, can one come to the conclusion that death confers the message that the lives of Indigenous women are expendable. Though the white people are sad about her death, the novel has a happy end because the settler lovers can now carry on their life in peace. This message is accentuated by the fact that Hih-lah-dih commits suicide because she is rejected by the young white man she is in love with. Though she has been helpful in defeating her savage brother, Hih-lah-dih is now dispensable.

In the case of Nscho-tschi and Canondah, both die early in their respective novels. Nscho-tschi dies at the end of *Winnetou I,* but three more parts are yet to follow. Canondah dies half-way through *Tokeah oder Die weiße Rose*. Both works suffer when these two female characters are killed. The Winnetou novels no longer have a sense of direction after Nscho-tschi dies. The plot seems to wander aimlessly after this event. Old Shatterhand and Winnetou have adventures, with a vague final goal of avenging Nscho-tschi's death. Since many of these adventures were reworkings of stories May had written previously, it is little wonder that many of these events seem unconnected. The same is true for the death of Canondah. After she dies "Die Weiße Rose" becomes the main character in the book. Compared to Canondah, she is a shallow, weak character who cannot be considered a heroine. Her tearful requests for Canondah's help are a further example of the stereotypical depiction of women as being overtly emotional found in these Indianergeschichten. The fact that the second half of the story has a happy ending for her loses its importance because the real heroine of the story, Canondah has died. If the novel were read from an Indigenous point of view, the ending is actually a tragedy. It is an unrealistic ending because it lacks any indication that Indigenous Peoples would be able to come back and decolonize themselves, which is what in reality is happening.

The death of Glanzauge in Anton Ohorn's *Der weiße Falke* also takes away the only interesting and sympathetic character in this novel. The difference is that she does not die until the end of the novel. The happy end remains only for the settler female character, Marie, who

plans on going back to France. If interpreted from an Indigenous point of view, this ending is not the intended happy one, but instead tragic.

In the cases of Nscho-tschi and Hih-lah-dih there is another reason why their deaths are inevitable. They have been rejected by the settler hero of the novel, so the author can do nothing else but kill them off. Old Shatterhand has made it clear that he does not want to marry an Indianerin under any circumstances when he says: "ich aber war nicht nach dem wilden Westen gekommen, um mir eine rote Squaw zu nehmen" (*Winnetou I* 419). Since he won't marry her and she wants to marry him there is really no place for her in the novel anymore. Martin Kuester states: "May elegantly solves the problem of interracial marriage by having her (Nscho-tschi) killed off" (220). The situation for Hih-lah-dih is the same. She has been rejected by Thorkil, "Das Goldhaar," a name that makes it clear that he represents all white men. For Canondah, her fate is sealed because the author wants an ending, where "Die Weiße Rose" goes back to live with the settlers. If she had rejected Canondah, who cared for the helpless girl through her childhood, she would not have retained an innocent splendor and become unsuitable as a hero. For Glanzauge just as for Canondah there is no white man that has taken her heart, but her death at the end of the novel can be contrasted with the happy end for the white woman Marie. In all four novels the white hero lives while the "Indianer Prinzessin" dies.

All four authors show sympathy toward the cause of Indigenous Peoples. There is no reason to believe that because they predict the demise of the race they are in favour of this downfall. Johannes Scherr expresses the opinion that the Indigenous Peoples and the settlers could have lived peacefully together "wenn den Christen die Beherzigung ihrer Glaubenssätze näher gelegen hätte als grausame Vertilgungen und Verheerungen" (313). Charles Sealsfield also blames the settlers for the demise of the original owners of the land when he has Tokeah say about his people: "Ihre Leichname lagen auf der Erde gleich den Blättern der Bäume, und die langen Messer und die Gewehre der Weißen waren tief in ihr Blut getaucht" (32). Anton Ohorn uses the death of Glanzauge as the climax of his novel. She fights bravely to her death. Karl May even leaves some hope that there is still time to correct the terrible mistakes the settlers have made "Dieser Sterbende ließ sich nicht assimilieren, weil er ein Charakter war; mußte er deshalb getötet, kann er nicht gerettet werden?" (2). All four authors show that they sympathize with the Indigenous cause. Thus, by falsely claiming the demise of the Indigenous Peoples of Turtle Island is near at hand, they are participating in a type of systemic racism that they themselves

have claimed is wrong. Their narratives are ideologically conflicted. By symbolically killing off the whole race, through the death of their "princesses," they are adding to the rhetoric that claims that the extinction of the Indigenous Tribes has been achieved, and regrettable as it may be, it is time to move on. As has been pointed out by many Indigenous leaders, nothing could be further from the truth, with the Indigenous population still growing in the twenty-first century.

5.3.5 Pocahontas becomes a Christian

The last characteristic that Rayna Green states about a Pocahontas figure is "In most versions, she becomes a Christian" (699). She continues by saying: "Nearly all the 'good' Princess figures are converts, and they cannot bear to see their fellow Christians slain by 'savages.'" (704). This does not hold up at all for the German depictions of Indianerinnen. In none of the cases of the cross section of Indianergeschichten studied for this thesis does an Indianerin become a Christian.

All four daughters of chiefs die without converting to Christianity. In the cases of Canondah and Hih-lah-dih no attempt is made to convert them to Christianity and the religious conversion of Indigenous Peoples plays no part in their stories. In the case of Glanzauge, in Anton Ohorn's *Der weiße Falke*, conversion of Indigenous Peoples to the Catholic religion is one of the main themes of the novel. As has already been stated, Glanzauge will not convert to Christianity. This is despite the continued attempts by the now historically famous French priest, Father Brebeuf, to convince her to become a Catholic. Glanzauge "war nicht zu bewegen zur Annahme des Christentums" (166). This is significant because Brebeuf does convince many of her tribesmen and women to convert. He uses scare tactics in order to achieve these conversions, threatening the hesitant with eternal Hellfire. The transformations are not described as an acceptance of a true religious conviction by the Indigenous Peoples and therefore one could not accuse Ohorn of depicting religious conversion as a positive aspect of colonialization. Glanzauge and her brother, the true heroes of this book, come out looking courageous for not giving in and remaining loyal to their Indigenous customs.

Though Nscho-tschi is not converted to Christianity and no attempt is made to convert her, it is made clear that Old Shatterhand believes that a marriage between a white man and an Indianerin would only be legitimate if both are Christians. When Winnetou asks him about such a marriage: "Hält mein junger Bruder Old Shatterhand eine solche Ehe für unrecht oder recht?"

He answers “Wenn sie von einem Priester geschlossen und die Indianerin vorher Christin geworden ist, sehe ich nichts Unrechtes darin” (418). One must therefore conclude that this is exactly what Rayna Green is criticizing about the Pocahontas Figure in that conversion to Christianity is a prerequisite of her becoming civilized. The fact that Winnetou converts in Winnetou III makes it clear that May wants to stress this message to his readers.

When looking at all the stories that involve Indianerinnen to any degree, in only one other of the cross-section of Indianergeschichten examined does religion play a part. This is in Adelbert von Chamisso’s “Der Stein der Mutter oder der Guahiba-Indianerin.” In this story the message is the opposite of the one in the Pocahontas story. Here the Catholic Religion definitely represents evil. The Indigenous woman rejects outright everything the villainous priests have to offer. The poem is extremely negative toward the way the Catholic Church used Christian conversion as a colonizing method.

In all but three of the German Indianergeschichten, in the cross-section chosen for this thesis, conversion of an Indigenous woman to Christianity plays no part in the story. Of the three where conversion to Christianity is a major theme, two of them present this process negatively in the same way Rayna Green does, as a method to tame what the settlers consider savage behavior. In both these stories the Indigenous women are presented as heroic for withstanding any pressure on them to become colonized. Only Karl May, of all the authors studied, makes conversion to Christianity a condition that would make an Indigenous Women suitable to marry a white man.

The conclusion is that the role of the Pocahontas figures in German Indianergeschichten as “a bright example” of “the first-fruits of Christianity in the new colony” (Pratt 958) is negligible.

5.3.6 Awareness of the “Pocahontas Perplex” in Popular Culture.

Unfortunately, it is still counterintuitive for the non-Indigenous population to understand that the seemingly “positive” depiction of an Indigenous woman found in the Pocahontas story is harmful to the image of Indigenous women. Though released in 1995, Disney’s animated film *Pocahontas* is still the closest connection to this myth found in twenty-first century popular culture. The music in the movie won two Academy Awards, a Golden Globe Award and a Grammy Award and film grossed 346 million dollars at the box office (Hall 1). Its re-release in DVD form as late as 2016 make its popularity an ideal measuring tool to gauge how audiences of

this century view the Pocahontas story. The reception of this movie makes it clear that most people do not understand how this invented story negatively influences the image of Indigenous women.

James Berardinelli, an approved critic of the aggregator Rotten Tomatoes states in the web publication *Reelviews*:

> The only question about this movie is whether, without a happily-ever-after ending, it will attract the repeat business of Aladdin and The Lion King. Regardless of what the final box office tally says, however, Disney has come up with another winner. (1)

He perceives the ending as "not happy" because in the movie Pocahontas decides to stay with her People instead of going to England with John Smith. This is still a Eurocentric way of looking at the situation. No consideration is given to the problematic consequences that occur when an Indigenous woman is depicted as a hero because she is sympathetic to the cause of settlers against the will of her own people. "Children everywhere will flock to see it, accompanied by adults who rightfully recognize Disney animated films as solid entertainment for the over-ten crowd" (Berardinelli, 1). In the public sphere the movie invoked "widespread popularity" (Edgerton 97).

This is particularly harmful in a film that is meant for children. Eurocentric thinking is established during childhood. If a child is taught that Indigenous women wanted peace and comradery with that settlers to the point where they would willingly give away Indigenous lands to achieve this goal, then the child will always carry an underlying attitude that Indigenous Peoples should assimilate themselves into white society and quit making land claims. Even if they learn that this is wrong in later life, they will always carry this underlying foundation of Eurocentric thought that they will continually have to fight against and consciously contradict if it is to be overcome.

It should be noted that the film has been criticized as being harmful to Indigenous Peoples by scholars, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. The *Journal of Popular Film and Television* referred to Disney's *Pocahontas* as "The white man's Indian" (Edgerton 90). In an online publication *Women's Studies in Communication*, Derek T. Buescher and Kent A. Ono note "how the film's romantic narrative appropriates contemporary social issues of feminism, environmentalism, and human freedom in order to make racial domination appear innocent and pure" (1). But even some scholars miss the implication in the movie that Pocahontas is

encouraging her People to concede their rights to the settlers when she convinces her father to spare John Smith's life and then does not go back to England in order facilitate a peaceful union between the trespassers and the Indigenous Peoples. For example, Lauren Dundes, Professor of Sociology, at McDaniel College criticizes Pocahontas' decision to stay at home, only because, by doing this she could not fulfill her goals as a liberated woman. She writes:

> Was Disney subject to criticism no matter what ending it chose? The answer is certainly not. Either Pocahontas could have elected to stay home because she felt she would be more fulfilled in that setting or because she felt she would be able to accomplish more of her goals, perhaps as a leader advocating tolerance. (361)

Professor Dundes' feminist interpretation completely ignores the racist implications of the "Pocahontas Perplex" that would have been present no matter what ending the Disney studios chose. Dundas misses the connection that the tolerance Pocahontas would be advocating in this ending would involve giving settlers free rein to help themselves to the lands that her People call home. Dundas adds "Disney missed an opportunity to suggest that she would be a future peacekeeper" (361). The type of peace that would have been suggested by such an ending would be (and historically was) completely one-sided, with the Indigenous Peoples being at an enormous disadvantage having everything to lose and nothing to gain. Dundes' comments demonstrate that white mainstream feminism frequently does not meet the needs of women of colour. The "Pocahontas Perplex" is therefore one of those concepts "that often are not understood within conventional ways of thinking about anti-racism or feminism or whatever social advocacy structures we have" (Crenshaw 00:21-00:30). Dundas' comments about Disney's *Pocahontas* from a white feministic point of view do not "produce the same kind of reading" (Hollrah 1), that would be found in those who advocate for the rights of Indigenous women.

The popular German reception of the film was also favourable. German Wikipedia said: "Der Film erhielt überwiegend positive Kritiken"(1). The negative consequences of the Pocahontas Perplex were not a matter of much importance in the German popular media. Instead, as stated by Dr. Jordan Savage of the University of Essex, "In most recent, mainstream iterations of the Smith-Pocahontas fantasy, the aim is to emphasize that something new is fashioned by the inter-racial bond: a new historical period, setting new rules for interaction between Indigenous People and their colonizers," (8). She stresses that the Disney version of the Pocahontas myth is

a prime example of one of these iterations. This theme is reminiscent of the idea of the "inter-racial bond" that Karl May suggests occurs between Winnetou and Old Shatterhand. The emphasis in the Winnetou stories is that it is the German colonizers that will set the new rules for interaction between Indigenous Peoples and their colonizers. Dr. Savage states that the Disney film communicates the settler propaganda that "Pocahontas is different from the rest of the Powhatan people because she loves in the same way that white Europeans love" (8). May's message is that only the German colonizer can teach Indigenous Peoples to love "the same way that white Europeans love" (Savage 8).

5.3.7 Summary of "Pocahontas Perplex"

Not all depicted Indianerinnen can automatically be put into the "Pocahontas" category. Some, such as Nscho-tschi, Hih-lah-dih, Schanhatta, Dunkles Haar and die weiße Lilie vom Okano-See are similar enough to Pocahontas to conclude that her depiction might have served, if not overtly, then subconsciously as a model for their creation. Others such as Canondah, Glanzauge and Uinorintscha behave with enough independence to disqualify them from an association with Pocahontas. Finally, "The Mother" in Adelbert von Chamisso's "Der Stein der Mutter oder der Guahiba-Indianerin," is depicted as the opposite of Pocahontas, revealing the deadly and harmful influence of colonization. None of the Indianerinnen in any of the selected works were converted to Christianity, thus leaving them all lacking one of the major prerequisites of the "Pocahontas Perplex."

6. European versus Indigenous Perspective.

One should not conclude from this summary that because a depicted Indianerin cannot be categorized as a Pocahontas, that she is a satisfactory representation of an Indigenous woman. All depictions by German nineteenth-century authors, no matter how positive, exhibit a critical and thus disqualifying pattern.

The example chosen for demonstration is a scene from Friedrich Gerstäcker's novel *Unter den Pehuenchen* (1863). This representation is obviously positive toward Indigenous women and, in fact, ridicules Eurocentric thinking, yet the perspective from which it is told makes it unacceptable. A minor German character, a doctor, has been taken out on a hunting party by a group of Pehuenches. They are hunting what the author calls a "Strauß" (296) (ostrich) but what must have been a rhea since there are no ostriches on the pampas. This is how the scene in which the doctor encounters an Indianerin is introduced by the auctorial narrator:

> Er bemerkte dabei gar nicht, daß eine der jungen indianischen Frauen ihr Pferd ebenfalls aus der Linie gelenkt hatte und gerade auf ihn zuflog. – Ein sehr großes Tier schob jetzt, mit den kurzen Flügeln auf das ungeschickteste dabei arbeitend, dicht an ihm vorüber; sollte er mit Schrot oder mit der Kugel schießen? – Erst mit der Kugel; wenn er dann fehlte, traf er mit Schrot gewiß. Der Schuß dröhnte über die Ebene. (296)

Note the focalisation, which refers to the perspective through which a narrative is presented. The first half of the quotation is what in German narrative theory is called Nullfokalisierung, in which the narrator knows more than the characters in the book. The doctor does not notice the Indianerin, but the narrator still reports her presence. The second half starting with "sollte er …" is free indirect speech or in German "erlebte Rede." The words are still reported through the narrator as if they are his, but in reality, they are the thoughts of the doctor. This is an example of "interne Fokalisierung" where the narration states no more than the character, in this case the doctor, knows. The reader is seeing the world through the eyes of the doctor even though the impression is given that an all-knowing narrator is giving the report. The mixing of the two types of focalisation without a perspective from the point of view of the Indianerin, shows that even the narrator's supposedly auctorial point of view is through the eyes of a European.

The scene goes on to mock the judgement of the doctor. His shot with the rifle misses. He has no opportunity to make his planned second shot because his horse rears up, not being used to

the sound of a gun. The “jungen mutwilligen” (296) Indianerin passes him on the horse, laughing at his failure, and easily captures the “Strauß” with her bola, a silent weapon. The author in this way mocks the point of view of the doctor, who has no ability to anticipate the reaction of the Indigenously trained horse, reporting the story from his own Eurocentric point of view, mistakenly calling a rhea an ostrich. The scene is positive toward the Indianerin and negative towards the European, yet the narrative’s telling, from the point of view of the European doctor, cannot be avoided.

The doctor’s failed efforts to be a successful hunter using “advanced” European equipment and methods in this scene serve as an excellent metaphor for the attempts of German writers to depict Indigenous women. From a European point of view most of the depictions, like this one, are positive toward the Indianerin. But the instances of systemic racism in the depictions as a result of Eurocentric thinking, that have been pointed out, are too numerous to count. This shows that depicting Indigenous women, positive or not, the German writers could not overcome their European perspective and judgement.

7 Conclusions

This thesis has made a comprehensive analysis of the depiction of Indigenous women of the so-called new world in nineteenth-century German Indianergeschichten. Their characterizations are not, and could not be authentic images because the authors only had a superficial knowledge of the civilizations they were writing about. On the surface most of the depictions seemed to be positive despite the stereotypes that were created. It was found that these "positive" images can be just as harmful as the negative images of the old American movies, novels and television shows. In the hands of her German creators, the Indianerin becomes an enigmatic symbol at the intersection of various discourses. She is thus transformed into a symbol that is used at different times as a vehicle to espouse and negotiate various political, moral and religious issues.

The most popular artificial representation of Indigenous womanhood in the English-speaking world is the legendary Pocahontas. Though such a person existed, most of the story about her encounter with the settler John Smith is invented. This fictional narrative, however, has come to be the major discourse created and espoused by the settler world involving Indigenous women. When the characteristics of the most well-known German Indianerin, Nscho-tschi, were examined, she was found to have many of the same traits as Pocahontas. This discovery raised two major questions. How can the depiction of such a seemingly positive personality as Pocahontas be detrimental to Indigenous women and do other German depictions of Indianerinnen have characteristics similar to Pocahontas?

The answer to the first question has, unfortunately, not become self-evident to a Eurocentric thinking settler world even today. Mainstream white society has advanced enough to understand that the "bloodthirsty savage" image of Indigenous men is not true or appropriate. But the non-Indigenous population can still not understand why the notion of a beautiful "Indian princess," who falls in love with a settler, saves his life against the wrath of her savage father and, most importantly, learns to live in a white society, even adopting the white religion, can be harmful to the image of an Indigenous woman. The harm this image causes should be self-evident as demonstrated in Rayna Green dissertation "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture." This "Pocahontas Perplex" asserts that it is detrimental to believe that Indigenous women would betray the wishes and beliefs of their own People in order to adopt the so-called "superior" society of the European world. White society is more than

willing to believe this trope, however, because it eases the collective conscience of the settler world. In this world a "good Indian Woman" is one that is friendly and co-operative with white people. This imaginary female image has given settlers permission to take over Indigenous lands and change Indigenous laws. The Pocahontas image of the Indigenous woman asserts the false narrative that the paternalistic European world presents a friendlier attitude toward her needs than her own society does. This type of portrayal contributes to a point of view that Emina Mušanović and Ashwin Manthripragada say gives settlers a privileged position in a "still-ongoing settler colonial present" (398) and turns the future from "the unruly domain of the unknown" (399) to "a set of practices that render the future knowledgeable only for privileged constituents" (399). These "privileged constituents" are the non-Indigenous settlers who feed into narratives that condone colonialist objectives. The second question as to what extent other German depictions are similar to the Pocahontas legend thus becomes critical for today's world and the future.

In the chapter about the terminology used in this paper it was made clear that the German word "Indianer" could not be translated into the English word "Indian," the reasoning being that "Indianer" has positive, whereas "Indian" has negative connotations. In the course of this paper it was demonstrated that due to the "Pocahontas Perplex" the word "Indian woman/girl" has positive connotations for the settler population. It has these positive overtones because white people associate these women with friendliness toward the cause of colonization. Therefore, the second question to be answered in this study is: Does the positive nineteenth-century depiction of the "Indianerin" project her as equivalent to the settler friendly positive Pocahontas picture of the "Indian woman/girl?" If the favourable German perception is caused by portraying an Indianerin with Pocahontas characteristics, the effect of the representation becomes negative. There were enough similarities between Nscho-tschi and Pocahontas to warrant a comparison between other Indianerinnen of nineteenth-century German writing and the myth that was built around the Powhatan woman.

If these Indianerinnen from other German stories also had similarities to the Pocahontas trope, then a conclusion could be made linking the imaginary American and German views of Indigenous women. From the similarities between Nscho-tschi and Pocahontas the possibility did exist that the American and German views of the imaginary female Indigenous woman where the same.

It was found that the German depictions cannot automatically be classified into the category of Pocahontas projections. Even May's Nscho-tschi, who was found to have many Pocahontas characteristics, has attributes that contradict this designation. She makes an impassioned speech in favour of the Indigenous way of life condemning the infiltration of settlers into Indigenous lands. Therefore, one cannot classify her as a traitor to her people and their way of life. Contrastingly, many critics condemn her image because she decides to move to St. Louis in order to learn how to become white. Her depiction is a combination of two opposing views. Her many Pocahontas traits make her unfavourable. Her impassioned speech makes her an advocate for Indigenous rights.

Some other depicted Indianerinnen are clearly Pocahontas figures. Hih-lah-dih in Johannes Scherr's *Pilger der Wildniß* and die weiße Lilie vom Okano-See are even more settler friendly than Pocahontas. Their favourable projection in the eyes of settlers exists only because they are clearly traitors to the Indigenous cause. Dunkles Haar, in Karl May's *Winnetou III* saves Old Shatterhands life from the justice of her own people, exactly the way Pocahontas does. Even Schanhatta in Balduin Möllhausen's *Die Mandanen-Waise* must be considered a Pocahontas figure, as she plays a key role in helping her future German husband escape the Indianer, who are trying to kill him, and settles in nicely in the role of a German "Hausfrau."

The Mother in Adelbert von Chamisso's "Der Stein der Mutter oder der Guahiba-Indianerin" is, however, the diametric opposite of Pocahontas. The Mother does not in any way cooperate with the settlers. She is not a princess and there is no description of her physical appearance. She is uncompromising in her defence of her children and her way of life. She is portrayed as a hero because of her actions against colonization. If this mother represents "the idealized noble savage and his/her natural habitat and lifestyle as objects of desire" (Reusch 92), then the legendary Pocahontas is the opposite of this trope and not the Indianerin that "fascinated and even obsessed Germans" (Meyer 373). "Pocahontas's (The fictional figure created by Carl Friedrich Scheibler and countless other authors both German and English) endorsement of colonialism and her integral role in the colonization of America diverges from the common literary trend in eighteenth-century Germany" (Meyer 377). "She is endowed with a socially conservative agenda" (Meyer 377). She is not the "sexually liberated female native" who "served as an emancipating model of projection and desire for the German middle-class female" (Reusch 94). Even saying that the Guahiba-Indianerin represents the "noble savage" is too negative a

representation of what Chamisso is depicting. She may represent the "Edler Wilder" trope but one should remember, as Professor Reusch explains, there is no German equivalent for the word "savage" (96). An English German dictionary will say that the German word "wild" is part of the translation of the English word "savage." But to make the translation complete the words "brutal," „grausam," and "schonungslos" are added. "Wild" does not necessarily have these negative connotations of "savage."

Canondah in Charles Sealsfield's *Tokeah oder Die weiße Rose* is another character that cannot be called a Pocahontas. Her fear of becoming a "weißer Engel" in a settler heaven clearly demonstrates the harm the Pocahontas image can do for Indigenous Peoples. The naïve attitude of her white sister Rosa demonstrates that settlers cannot easily understand the argument against the Pocahontas depiction because it is counterintuitive to their Eurocentric thought.

Many other Indianerinnen such as Uinorintscha in Karl May's "Mutterliebe," Glanzauge in Anton Ohorn's *Der weiße Falke* and Arrita in Paul Margot's *Die Gefangenen der Apachen* are not Pocahontas figures. Glanzauge stands out as a heroic figure, who will not accept the Catholic religion, even though she is coerced by Father Brebeuf, still a hero in Canadian settler society, to accept it.

Patrice E. M. Hollrah, of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, stresses that accuracy and truth are the most important aspects of the depiction of Indigenous women. She goes so far as to say that specific tribal situations should be reflected in the writing. She believes that this can only be achieved when Indigenous women write about themselves. She writes that Indigenous female authors depict powerful women:

> who live autonomous lives. Considering the tribal constructs of gender relations when examining the female characters helps explain why these women are politically empowered, whereas using a Western theoretical framework, for example, white feminism, will not produce the same kind of reading or explain as well why these female figures are so impressive. (1)

Hollrah makes clear that accuracy is important when Indigenous authors write about themselves. She is saying that narrated world must be an authentic image of the real world. In German nineteenth-century Indianergeschichten, the narrated world differs from the real world because of the Eurocentric biases of the authors. It thus becomes evident that the nineteenth-

century German depictions as compared to the present-day representations of Indigenous women by their compatriots have absolutely nothing in common.

The accuracy that Dr. Hollrah is looking for is imposable to achieve when Indigenous women are depicted from a European perspective. A supposed auctorial narrator cannot be all knowing if he or she cannot tell the story using the internal focalization of the Indigenous women. Indigenous women rightfully demand accuracy in their depictions to the point where tribal constructs are identifiable. This study has shown that German authors cannot accomplish this, no matter what kind of good intentions they might have. Germans are nowadays still very interested in the Indigenous Peoples of Turtle Island. They still produce a great amount Indianergeschichten including children's literature perpetuating stereotypes. This study has shown the narratives about Indigenous women should only be written by Indigenous women. Their way of thinking has an abstract quality that a Eurocentric mind can only understand through their guidance. The German goal of learning about the People of Turtle Island is a noble one. The intentions of many of the nineteenth-century German authors were generally good. This study has shown that these intentions cannot be fulfilled when the writers have neither the knowledge nor cultural background to complete this task. Indigenous women must teach the world about themselves, just as they teach their children about their own heritage.

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