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## **An Evaluation of Native American Treatment in Alabama History Textbooks**

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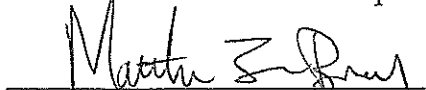
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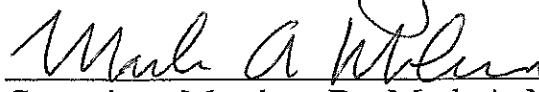
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**An Evaluation of  
Alabama History Textbooks  
and their Treatment of Native Americans  
By Chelsey R. Wilson**

**Introduction**

This study is an evaluation of a sample of Alabama history textbooks published throughout the past sixty years. Its purpose is to identify the manner in which Native Americans are portrayed and to expose biases using methods influenced by the work published by previous textbook evaluators (Henry 1970; Loewen 2007; Pratt and McDiarmid 1971). A sample of fourth and ninth grade textbooks beginning in the 1950s was selected for this project. The textbooks were selected based on their availability (most of them were found in the University of South Alabama Library) and year published. The final sample represent a variety of authors and publishers; the complete list of textbooks initially examined for inclusion in this study can be found in Table 1.

Arguably, Native Americans are the most misunderstood ethnic group in the United States. Most people do not know a Native American nor have they visited a reservation, so they lack information from direct experience. Instead, most of the information on Native Americans derives from popular culture which has homogenized the diversity of the various cultures into a Plains Indian stereotype (Young 2002). On the other hand, exposure to local Native American cultures comes at least once in the classroom, usually for two to three weeks, in a fourth or ninth grade history class. While student learning concerning America's first inhabitants ultimately derives from the teacher, their main tool is the textbook assigned by state school boards. Unfortunately,

biases held by members of the school board through textbook choice and held by teachers based on their prior experiences and education greatly impact student learning.

**Table 1. Textbook sources found in the University of South Alabama Libraries**

Title	Year of Publication	Author	Publisher	Grade Level
Alabama History	1915	Joel C. Du Bose	B.F. Johnson Publishing Company	Unknown
Life in Alabama	1937	Susan K. Vaughn	Dixie Book Company	Unknown
Alabama History for Schools	1957	Charles G. Summersell	Colonial Press	9th Grade
Know Alabama	1961	Frank L. Owsley, John C. Stewart, and Gordon T. Cappell	Colonial Press	4th Grade
Alabama Mounds to Missiles (supplement)	1966	Helen M. Akens and Virginia Pounds Brown	The Strode Publishers	4th Grade
The Land Called Alabama	1968	Malcolm C. McMillan	Steck-Vaughn Company	9th Grade
Alabama History for Schools	1975	Charles G. Summersell	Viewpoint Publications	9th Grade
This is Alabama	1975	Merle T. Carroll	Steck-Vaughn Company	4th Grade
Our Alabama: Yesterday and Today	1980	Rebecca Carwile, Azalia Francis, and Harry Joiner	Southern Textbook Company	4th Grade
Your Alabama	1980	Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton	Viewpoint Publications	4th Grade
Alabama History for Schools	1981	Charles G. Summersell	Viewpoint Publications	9th Grade
This is Alabama	1981	Merle T. Carroll	Steck-Vaughn Company	4th Grade
The Story of Alabama	1986	Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton	Viewpoint Publications	9th Grade
The Alabama Story	1993	Robert Norrell	Yellowhammer Press	4th Grade

Title	Year of Publication	Author	Publisher	Grade Level
Alabama: The History, Geography, Economics, and Civics of an American State	2005	Leah R. Atkins, and Harvey H. Jackson	Crystal Clear Press	4th Grade

History is anything but objective, and what is taught in the classroom is governed by a cycle: what teachers and school board officials were taught when they were in grade school will carry over into the next generation. Historiography, the study of historical writing, demonstrates, in part, how changing interpretations of the past influence the recording of history. Contemporary historian George Iggers (2005) has discussed how the field of history has changed beginning in the twentieth century from a tradition of antiquity and event-oriented field toward a more social science-oriented field (Iggers 2005:3). Loewen (2007:6-7), however, argues that textbooks ignore modern research and instead repeat the same narrative over and over again. The historical narrative, as described by Iggers, is a characteristic of classical antiquarian history and the problem with it is that "while it proceeds from empirically validated facts or events, it necessarily requires imaginative steps to place them in a coherent story. Therefore a fictional element enters into all historical discourse" (2005:2). History is biased because it was written by individuals with motives, preconceptions, and culturally determined social rules. These, either consciously or subconsciously, will determine how the story is told. Likewise, anthropologist Eric Wolfe expressed his concerns with the way history is turned into a moral success story in *Europe and the People Without History* (1982). In his book, he points out that "we have been taught, inside the classroom and outside of

it, that there exists an entity called the West, and that one can think of the West as a society and civilization independent of and in opposition to other societies and civilizations"(Wolfe 1982:5). The lack of an understanding of the interconnectedness of all human beings and the relationships between people of different cultures leads students and teachers to view nations and societies as independent entities. When teaching about Native Americans, textbooks ignore the enculturation that occurred to both European colonists and Native American cultures.

Beginning in the 1970s and continuing today, perhaps as an outgrowth of the Civil Rights Movement, there was a trend within the education system to evaluate and rewrite school textbooks that reflected the racist and biased attitudes of the previous decades. Comprehensive studies of numerous textbooks from throughout the nation found that none of the textbooks in print met the basic criteria for acceptable classroom use (Ferguson and Fleming 1984; Henry 1970; Loewen 2007). This was particularly the case with regard to the treatment of Native Americans where authors tended to be sympathetic towards European exploration and colonialism. Many studies found that Native Americans were treated unfairly and, in some cases, as less than human in not only textbooks but in many popular children's books as well (Henry 1970; Hirschfelder et. al. 1999; Mihesuah 1996). This movement to expose and eradicate the negative portrayal of Native Americans in public school textbooks resulted in the publication of official guidelines for evaluating textbooks for biases against Native Americans (Pratt 1972). Unfortunately, some textbooks in classrooms today continue to be the subject of controversy, which demonstrates the need for constant evaluation by not only school board officials but parents as well (Birnbaum 2010; Michon 2010). These recent

controversies bring to light the issue that history in the classroom is determined by the dominant attitude of the time period, and not based solely on factual, objective information of the past.

History textbooks in general are thought of as boring and irrelevant to students today (Loewen 2007). This is because textbook authors tend to play it safe when it comes to controversial issues. History textbooks rarely discuss the past in terms other than optimistic progressivism. They promote nationalism and avoid parts of history which shed negative light on this country. This optimism regarding American heritage usually results in textbooks blaming the victim.

In history textbooks throughout the nation, authors usually refrain from admitting that European invaders were wrong in their conflict between them and Native Americans (Henry 1970, Hirschfelder et. al. 1999, Loewen 2007). Instead, textbooks find problems with Native American culture to justify the invasion: societies were in decline when the Spanish first arrived; they were stuck in a Stone Age culture; or they were without the benefit of Christianity. In addition, textbooks often transform people of history into national heroes in a process Loewen (2007:11-30) calls "heroification." These people of history, chosen by textbook authors, are stripped of their faults, weaknesses, and their misdeeds, and are instead transformed into someone perfect and flawless. Due to the use of these approaches, students will never understand the true cause of failure or how to avoid the same mistakes of the past.

According to James Loewen (2007:93), "Historically, American Indians have been the most lied about subset of our population." Henry (1970:7) argues in *Textbooks and the American Indian* that "a textbook has no right to be wrong, or to lie, hide the

truth, or falsify history, or insult and malign a whole race of people. That is what these textbooks [evaluated by the American Indian Historical Society] do." Students have little choice but to read and trust the textbooks assigned to them, and while misinformation harms all students, minority groups suffer the most. Native Americans in the classroom today are forced to endure lessons of shame, which create insecurity and low self-esteem. American Indian students are taught that their ancestors were primitive, savage, and foolish. Using these revelations as inspiration, an evaluation of Alabama history textbooks for anti-Indian bias is necessary in order to expose misinformation, heroification, and ethnocentrism, and work toward minimizing biases such that our history enlightens the present.

## **Research Methods**

The research methods used in this study to analyze Alabama history textbooks included a content analysis as well as a rubric of six specific criteria. The series of criteria were developed based on the previous works of Henry (1970), Hirschfelder et. al. (1999), Loewen (2007), and Mihesuah (2004). When evaluating textbooks, these criteria were used to determine whether or not a textbook should be considered acceptable for classroom use. In order to perform a quantifiable analysis of Native American treatment in each textbook, a content analysis was conducted based on the technique labeled Evaluation Coefficient (ECO) analysis by David Pratt (1972).



## Criteria

*Textbooks and the American Indian*, published by the American Indian Historical Society in 1970, is an excellent example of textbook analysis due to input by Native American leaders, scholars, and students. In addition to outlining general criteria for identifying anti-Indian bias, more than three hundred American history textbooks in use at the time of its publishing were evaluated (Henry 1970). When determining whether or not a textbook is acceptable for classroom use, it minimally must provide accurate data and avoid generalizations. For example, stereotypes of Native Americans are usually not only false, but often are prejudiced and harmful. Some common stereotypes that should be avoided in public school textbooks include Native Americans as warlike and treacherous, Native Americans as all the same, and Native Americans as a vanished race (Mihesuah 2004:23-27,51-54,77-78). It also is suggested that the history of Native Americans should be presented as an integral part of the history and development of America instead of proposing that the American Indian's only contribution was that of material goods (Henry 1970:14).

When evaluating textbooks, perhaps the most important question to ask is "are the claims made about Native Americans based on factual information?" One would hope that this question is unnecessary, but unfortunately, this cannot be assumed. For example, many textbooks base their information of Native American culture and population size at the time of European contact solely on European accounts without considering archaeological evidence and contemporary historical research (i.e., Dobyns 1966; Walthall 1980; Hudson 1978). While textbooks place Native American population at no more than 1 million, other scholars estimate the population at minimally ten to

twelve million people, and some as high as ninety million Native Americans before European contact (Dobyns 1966). Many textbook authors fail to recognize that Native American populations were reduced up to three-fourths in some tribes, by the spread of disease which swept through the continent faster than European explorers (Dobyns 1966; Hirschfelder et. al. 1999:91-92). There are other negative implications of a low estimation of the Native American population other than providing false information, as it also acts to justify European settlement.

In general, most textbooks describe a division of labor between Native American men and women. Men were portrayed as warriors and hunters, and women as farmers, cooks, and weavers. These gender stereotypes are not only potentially harmful to Native Americans today, but to all students as well, as it reinforces socially constructed gender roles as natural. The portrayal of a definite division of labor within Native American culture is a clear reflection of the anti-feminist attitudes present in the time the textbooks were written. In her article, "You Can Hide but You Can't Run," Diane Gifford-Gonzalez (1993) exposes gender specific stereotypes in illustrations of Paleolithic life and encourages artists depicting prehistoric lifeways to collaborate with scientists in order to depict a wide range of possible gender roles, different from the stereotypes of today.

While there are many negative stereotypes concerning Native Americans, one of the most prevalent (and harmful) is that Native Americans were brutal, savage, and warlike. When textbooks describe confrontations between Europeans and Native Americans, white Europeans nearly always are depicted as victims, while Native Americans are considered brutal murderers. When Native Americans came out

victorious, it is considered a massacre, and when colonials won, they are patriotic heroes.

Keeping all of these issues in mind, a rubric was created with certain criteria designed to determine whether or not a textbook is acceptable for classroom use. The criteria were influenced most by *Textbooks and the American Indian*, as well as by *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities*, which provides common stereotypes and debunks each of the myths regarding Native Americans. The following criteria have their basis in these sources, but were modified for specific application to Alabama History textbook evaluation. Each textbook was evaluated minimally with the following criteria:

**1) Is the information presented in the text about Native Americans accurate and relevant?** All too often, textbooks provide generalizations in place of facts, which result in stereotypes. What many textbook authors fail to recognize is that history is not just a static body of facts to be memorized. Rather, it is a dynamic and disputed field of study in which almost nothing is known for certain. All too often, history textbooks present information as definite and not open to dispute. A prime example of this is the hypothesis of the Bering Land Bridge crossing. While this hypothesis is the most widely accepted by scientists today, it is only one of several hypotheses postulated by other researchers. Loewen suggests that textbooks ought to list other theories (2007:96). Native American tribes have their own beliefs and theories of their creation.

**2) Are generalizations and common stereotypes about Native Americans avoided?** This is perhaps the most important of the criteria because of the negative

outcomes of generalizations and stereotypes. That Native Americans are “angry”, “war-like”, and “primitive” are harmful, but common assumptions. Non-Indian students can develop prejudices at a very young age, and history textbooks very rarely do anything but instill negative attitudes toward Native Americans and other minorities. To Native American students, however, these harmful stereotypes hinder the development of healthy self-images and racial identities. In order to be acceptable for use in classrooms today, textbooks should avoid using generalizations, promoting stereotypes, and making value judgements toward people of any culture.

**3) Are Native Americans portrayed as the original explorers and settlers of the Americas with highly sophisticated and complex societies?** When textbooks portray de Soto and Columbus as the first explorers of America, they are misleading the reader. In reality, Native Americans had an extensive knowledge of the geography of the continent, and had highly developed trade routes and large settlements. Many textbooks describe Native American culture as simplistic and primitive, which is an inaccurate portrayal. Native American culture was complex and diverse.

**4) Are Native Americans presented as a dynamic group of people with many different cultures that are constantly evolving and not static?** Native American cultures are often presented as rooted in a savagery stage of evolution derived from a unilinear evolutionary perspective popular in anthropology at the end of the 19th century, but long discredited. From this perspective, the evolution of early cultures is

described as a progressive transition from savagery to barbarism and eventually to civilization. The belief that quality of life improved over time has been argued against by many anthropologists including Marshall Sahlins (1972) who claims that hunter-gatherers are members of the "original affluent society." Further, the diversity of Native American nations as comparable to other places in the world is ignored.

**5) Does the textbook accurately describe the religions, philosophies, and**

**contributions of Native Americans?** It is important for students to understand the complexity of Native American culture. All too often, the only contributions of Native Americans listed in textbooks are those of material goods and geographic names. Alabama Indians had complex religions, sophisticated governments, and detailed philosophies before European invasion. They were by no means the "cave-man" image conjured for the popular conception of "primitive" societies. Textbooks that only describe Native American culture by comparing it directly to European culture should not be considered acceptable for classroom use.

**6) Are the lives and situations of Native Americans in the world today adequately**

**and accurately described?** Native American students cannot relate to a history class which omits much of the history of their ancestors and forgets to mention their present situation. The American Indian Movement, founded in 1968, expressed a growing sense of pan-Indian identity that should have influenced textbook authors to recognize the contemporary presence of Native Americans.

## **Content Analysis**

In order to provide an objective analysis of Alabama history textbooks, the final evaluation method employed is the content analysis method developed by David Pratt and Garnet McDiarmid in their evaluation of social studies textbooks in use in Ontario, Canada (Pratt and McDiarmid 1971). Pratt and McDiarmid argue that children's attitudes toward other ethnic groups are taught early, and once learned, are difficult to change. In their study of public school social studies textbooks, the authors focus on the quantitative analysis of statements about certain minority groups, including Native Americans. (Pratt and McDiarmid 1971:33-46). The content analysis method used is detailed in David Pratt's *How to Find and Measure Bias in Textbooks* (1972). The content analysis instrument developed by Pratt is called the Evaluation Coefficient Analysis (ECO Analysis), and requires the researcher to tally up words which express a favorable or unfavorable value judgement of a particular group, and in this case, Native Americans. Examples of Native American value judgment words include "savage," "friendly," and "hostile," among others. After tallying up the adjectives used to describe a certain minority group, in this case Native Americans, the next step is to create a table which includes the descriptive word, the direction of the word (positive or negative), and the page number. The ECO analysis provides a percentage score which indicates the extent to which a textbook portrays a minority group favorably or unfavorably. This formula is provided in Figure 1.

## **Textbook Study Sample**

The University of South Alabama library has a number of Alabama History textbooks spanning a number of decades (Table 1), and this collection is a treasure trove for researching the presentation of the state's past. Internet searches for such textbooks indicated that no other such collection exists. For this study, the oldest textbooks were not evaluated because they were written before significant archaeological insights into the prehistory and history of Native Americans were available and less is known about their grade level and use. A number of the textbooks forming this collection are from the 1980s, so a textbook published in the 1980s for each of the ninth and fourth grade were selected for the study sample.

In all, four fourth grade textbooks and an equal number for the ninth grade were examined. The ninth grade sample includes textbooks published in 1957, 1968, 1975, and 1986 so there is roughly on average 10 years between the publication of each. Today, Alabama history is not taught in the ninth grade and it is undetermined when it ceased being offered at this grade level. Alabama history is required in the fourth grade today and the sample examined includes a textbook published in 2005 and still in use in some Mobile County public school classrooms, as well as those from 1975, 1980, and 1993. In all, six decades of textbooks are included in this sample and six publishing companies were represented. In the ninth grade sample, Viewpoint Publications is represented twice, and Steck-Vaughn Company and Colonial Press once. One textbook, *Alabama History for Schools* by Charles Summersell had six editions from 1957 to 1981, two of these were evaluated in this study. In the fourth grade sample, Crystal Clear Press, Yellowhammer Press, Southern Textbook Company, and Steck-Vaughn Company were represented.

General evaluations of each criterion is discussed first. Next, each textbook is examined individually and in some cases general comparisons with other textbooks are drawn. A general consideration of the relative focus on Native Americans is made along with contextualization of the author's approach to Native Americans in the introduction. This is followed by the results of the content analysis and then an evaluation regarding each criterion. Each individual evaluation ends with a discussion of whether or not the textbook should be considered acceptable for use in the classroom.

#### General Evaluation of Criteria

- 1) All the textbooks evaluated in this study presented the Beringia crossing as an undisputed fact, although it is only one of many theories of how the Americas came to be originally settled. Not one textbook offers another explanation for prehistoric exploration, nor do they provide native explanations of their existence. Worse, most of the textbooks treat Native American exploration as accidental, following wild game and unintentionally discovering a new continent. For example, *This is Alabama* stated that America's first inhabitants "did not know they were discovering a new land and a new continent. They were only looking for better hunting grounds" (Carroll 1975: 11). The assumption that these earliest explorers reached the New World accidentally is a negative value judgment with no basis in archaeological evidence. Many other examples of inaccurate statements were found in both ninth and fourth grade textbooks.



- 2) The content analyses performed in this study reveal that most of the textbooks promote stereotypes and generalizations of Native Americans. Some of the most repeated terms include "hostile", "primitive", and "savage". These terms and the violent and vacuous stereotype they purport are harmful for all students. While the "savage" stereotype is most common, others found in this study include "cave man-like", "simple", "primitive", and more.
- 3) Textbooks in this study all described Spanish invaders as the first explorers of this land and European colonists as the first settlers. In reality, however, Native Americans were the first explorers of this land who had settled all regions of the country long before Europeans proposed that the world was round.
- 4) Diversity among Alabama Indians is rarely presented in Alabama history textbooks. While most textbooks offer a definition of the "five civilized tribes," most do not describe variation in religion, language, and philosophies of the individual tribes. More often than not, an overly simplified and generalized description of Native American culture is given without distinction.
- 5) The textbooks in this study rarely describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions of Native Americans correctly. More often than not, Native American religion is described as universal, instead of different in every tribe. Additionally, the political, social, and other contributions of Native Americans are ignored in the sample of Alabama history textbooks. Instead, most authors tell of the place names

which were named after Native American tribes and leaders as their only contributions to America.

- 6) The fact that Native Americans and their descendants might have a presence in the classroom is ignored by all textbooks being reviewed. The reader develops a sense that Native Americans, if they exist at all, are happily living on reservations, but are otherwise not considered fellow citizens. By not describing the current situation of Alabama Indians, textbook authors are denying the existence of a significant ethnic group of Americans. It also makes it seem as if Native Americans are gone.

**Alabama History for Schools**  
**by Charles G. Summersell**  
**9th Grade**  
**1957**

*Alabama History for Schools* dedicates 18 pages out of 517 (3.5%) total to the study of American Indians. The first chapter focuses mainly on the material objects left behind in the archaeological record. The content analysis (Figure 1) demonstrates the overall treatment of Native Americans is derogatory. Apart from describing the material goods left behind by the earliest Americans, the text details a division of labor that very much resembles American social norms of the 1950s. For instance, on page 8-9, the textbook describes the roles of Native American women and men: "Cooking was a woman's job, and the Indian women did most of the other hard work also... The principal jobs of Indian men were hunting, fishing, and fighting, but they did some manufacturing

also. Choctaw men were willing to help their womenfolk with the work, but the Chickasaw braves did not want to do any work which they thought the proper duty of women." Overall, the religion, social life, art, and government of early Native Americans as described by the author is grossly oversimplified and in some cases ethnocentric. In particular, the religion of Native Americans is described in a very ethnocentric manner. The author struggles to compare Native American religion to Christianity in the passage below (Summersell 1957:13-14):

All reasoning beings turn to a Power that they feel is stronger than themselves from which they can receive help in time of trouble or to which they can express gratitude for benefits received. We know that savage people often worshiped many gods and usually thought that these gods were represented by material objects, such as the sun or stars... However, to understand the early American Indian it is important to know that his ideas of what was right and what was wrong were in many ways quite different from those of the Europeans. One of the principal benefits which the Indian received from the white man was Christianity. What would our lives be like today without Christianity? This is a question to consider when we think of the uncounted generations of Indians who lived on Alabama soil without the benefit of Christian principles.

The treatment of Spanish invaders is particularly noteworthy. Piñeda, Narváez, and de Soto are portrayed as heroes. This process is described by James Loewen (2007:11-30) as "heroification", and occurs in textbooks throughout the country. When reading Chapter 3 (The Spaniards Came First: Explorers Before De Soto), the reader is provided no reasons to sympathize with Native Americans, who lacked an equivalent to the modern border patrol to deter illegal aliens and explorers alike. In fact, after reading about the many hardships the Spaniards were forced to endure, a ninth grader in the 1950s and 60s would have a hard time understanding why the Native peoples acted so

harshly towards Europeans unless they were indeed " blood-thirsty savages." The harsh actions of de Soto and his men are almost always justified in the text. For example, the author states on page 40 that "It was De Soto's custom to seize Indian chiefs in one village after another to serve as hostages, that is to guarantee the good conduct of the Indians in his relations with them (Summersell 1957:40). This statement puts his kidnapping in a practical, "common sense" perspective as opposed to an injustice. The actions of Spanish invaders are also justified by the fact that they brought Christianity to the "savages."

After the first chapter inadequately describes prehistoric lifeways, the textbook largely ignores the subsequent history of Native Americans. Their interaction with European colonists, when mentioned, is regarded as mutual up until the Creek "massacre" at Fort Mims. The brave American frontiersmen who fought against the "menacing" Creeks, such as Andrew Jackson, Sam Dale, and Jeremiah Austill are again heroified (Summersell 1957:138). After the Creeks were defeated, according to the author, all Tribes eventually ceded most of their land to white settlers. The text leads the reader to assume that Native Americans disappeared after 1819 (Summersell 1957:142).

### Content Analysis

The ECO analysis (Figure 1) of the text revealed that terms directly describing Native Americans were rare. That is an indication of how Native Americans played a very minor role in the text, and how they largely were ignored. When Native Americans were described however, they were predominantly described negatively. The ECO

analysis revealed that overall, Native Americans were presented 30% positively (70% negatively).

### Criteria Evaluation

**1) Is the information concerning Native Americans presented in the text accurate and relevant?** The author minimally describes the Native American way of life, but when he does it is not entirely factual. The author barely describes Native American culture. For instance, the author never gives a population estimate nor does he provide dates or even list the different periods of Alabama Indians. However, the author makes several generalizations that negatively judge Native American lifestyles and may lead the reader to make false assumptions. A prime example of this is how the author describes the "Government of the Indians" (Summersell 1957:6):

At the head of each tribe was the Indian chief. The chief was far from being a king, although European explorers sometimes called him a king. The chief's position was not always hereditary. He was chosen by the warriors, usually but not necessarily from the family of a former chief. The chief was the leader of the tribe in battle, and his authority was much greater in time of war than in time of peace. When Indians advanced on an enemy, the normal position of the chief was at the head of the column. The loss of a chief in battle was a great calamity, but it was even more disgraceful if the enemy secured the scalp of the chief. Therefore, if a chief fell in battle, his followers would scalp him themselves to keep the enemy from doing so.

This passage reveals several recurring themes, or trends, of the textbook. The first is that the author is obviously uncomfortable describing Native Americans in a positive light according to modern standards. For instance, instead of describing Native American government as being a democracy, he explains in a very roundabout manner that the chief was chosen by the warriors. The second trend is the focus on violence

and warfare. The textbook begins by describing the violent actions of Native Americans and reiterates it at every opportunity. The actual lifestyles of Native Americans did not consist of daily battle and warfare, but that is exactly the image the textbook provides. The third and final trend witnessed in this passage and reflected throughout the text is the absence of female contributions. Historians (Hudson 1978) have recognized that Native American women often played a major role in the leadership and decision-making of most tribes. These prevalent trends contribute to the overall disapproval of the textbook for use in the classroom.

## **2) Are generalizations and common stereotypes about Native Americans**

**avoided?** Unfortunately, generalizations and stereotypes make up the bulk of the information provided about Native Americans. A few of the common Native American stereotypes found in the text include the "primitive", "stone age", "cave-man" like Indian; the "hostile savage" on the "war-path", and the immoral Indian who worships material objects.

## **3) Are Native Americans portrayed as the original explorers and settlers of the**

**Americas with sophisticated and complex societies?** Quite the opposite, in fact, Spanish invaders are described as the first explorers of the New World, and European colonists as the first settlers. Native Americans, on the other hand, are described as nomadic and primitive people who just happened to already be here when the continent was first discovered by a European white man.

- 4) **Are Native Americans presented as a dynamic group of people with many different cultures that are constantly evolving and not static?** The textbook fails again in this regard. The diversity of Native Americans is ignored completely, and Native Americans are instead portrayed as simple primitives who were stuck in the stone age.
- 5) **Does the textbook accurately describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions of Native Americans?** Native American lifeways are simplified and described from an ethnocentric point of view. When describing the religion of Native Americans, the author is blatantly critical and disrespectful. The ways of life of the American Indians are constantly compared in negative ways to Western ideals.
- 6) **Are the lives and situations of Native Americans in the world today adequately and accurately described?** As far as the textbook is concerned, Native Americans do not exist today. There is no mention of their forced migration westward or the development of reservations. Clearly, the textbook was written without regard to Native Americans today.

#### Discussion

Overall, Alabama History for Schools does not meet the standards for acceptable class room use. While it contains a large amount of information, the quality of the information is ethnocentric. Native Americans are portrayed negatively with harsh and

unfair criticisms. The accomplishments of white males are exaggerated while the roles of women and minorities were ignored or oversimplified.

**The Land Called Alabama**  
**Malcolm C. McMillan**  
**9th Grade**  
**1968**

The study of prehistoric Native Americans is the subject chapter 2, with 15 out of 411 (3.6%) pages dedicated to this discussion. An examination of the index revealed that Native Americans are only mentioned again on eight more pages (dealing with European contact), the last page they are found on is page 117, under "Indian Removal." The author claims that the knowledge of prehistoric Alabamians is only knowable through what is uncovered by archaeological excavations. The fact that Choctaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Chickasaw tribes, referred to as "the five civilized tribes," are still present in America today is largely ignored, as is their rich oral history and ethnohistorical accounts of Europeans at the time of contact. The relationship between British colonists and Native Americans is described as a peaceful one after the British adopted the effective French policy of bribing the Indians with gifts and favors and signing "friendship treaties" with each Indian nation. On page 64, the author states, "At first, the British were inclined to a harsh policy with the Indians as contrasted with a French policy of bringing the Indians to Mobile for congresses in which they were bribed with gifts and shown many favors. Monberault, a Frenchmen who remained in Mobile, convinced the English that the French method was more effective" (McMillan 1968). The subsequent history of early colonists and their interactions with Alabama Indians is



characterized by how European colonists were able to "control" local Native American groups in order to fight for either the French, Spanish, British, or eventually American colonists. For instance, on page 69, the text explains how the British government "recognized Alexander McGillivray's great influence over the Creek Indians. He kept them loyal to the British during the American Revolution whereas the Cherokees to the north sided with the colonists. After Spain controlled West Florida, the Indians were largely contacted and controlled through the great merchant firm of William Pantón" (McMillan 1968). American expansion into Alabama is portrayed as a progressive movement that went smoothly for both Americans and Indians until the Creek War, which was instigated by the British and Spanish. During the Creek War, according to the author, American settlers fought bravely against the "blood-thirsty savages" (McMillan 1968:85). When describing the events of Indian removal, the author is sympathetic towards the Cherokees because "they were no longer savages. No other tribe had so fully adopted the white man's way of life" (McMillan 1968:118). The Choctaws and Chickasaws, however, "accepted the inevitable and moved peacefully beyond the Mississippi River" (McMillan 1968:118). Native Americans are not mentioned in the text again, and the reader gets the sense that their removal was natural and inevitable.

### Content Analysis

The ECO content analysis revealed that the textbook is overall unfavorable toward Native Americans. After tallying up all value judgments of Native Americans, the result was 39, on a scale of 0-100, 0 being completely unfavorable and 100 being completely favorable. The complete list of evaluative terms can be found in Figure 2.

## Criteria Evaluation

### **1) Is the information presented in the text about Native Americans accurate?**

While the author rarely makes outright false statements, he does use generalizations that can lead the reader to make false assumptions about Native Americans. The following paragraph provides an example of a false statement and why the textbook does not meet this first criteria. Population estimates in this textbook are overwhelmingly conservative. On page 18, the author states that "It is important to remember that all of North America north of Mexico was sparsely settled when the first Europeans arrived. Some scholars believed that not more than 1,000,000 Indians lived in the whole area." Why does the author think it is important for students to remember that North America was sparsely settled? Not only is this a very conservative estimate, even for the time period it was written, but it is a clear attempt to downplay the significance of Native Americans and justify European conquest. Before the 1960s (when this textbook was published) even conservative aboriginal population estimates by social scientists were much larger, as much as 12 million to 40 million (Dobyns 1966). Anthropologists such as Dobyns pointed out the problem in estimating prehistoric populations based solely on the accounts of European explorers: diseases introduced by the first invaders to North America spread so rapidly that by the time the Europeans reached villages, their population had been severely diminished by as much as ninety percent (Dobyns 1966, Henry 1970:16).

## **2) Are generalizations and common stereotypes about Native Americans**

**avoided?** This textbook does not meet the second criteria. Generalizations and stereotypes are prevalent throughout the text. On page 19, Choctaw Indians are described as "darker than most Indians, but this may well have stemmed from their dislike for water. They took few baths despite the smoke and dirt from their campfires." This is a blatant stereotypical and downright offensive statement that has little or no historical basis. The use of terms such as primitive, warlike, strange, cruel, and brutal is found throughout the text to describe Native Americans. As witnessed in the content analysis, the textbook often makes value judgements with regard to Native Americans. In many instances, Native American culture is negatively compared to European culture: on page 27, the author states that the absence of work animals in the New World explains "the backwardness of Indian culture as compared to that of Europe," and on page 26 it is stated that "the Indian was still in the stone age, although the hills of North Alabama were full of iron ore" (McMillan 1968). Comparisons such as these display a prejudice against Native Americans that was prevalent during the time period it was written.

## **3) Are Native Americans portrayed as the original explorers and settlers of the**

**Americas with highly sophisticated and complex societies?** Although it is clear to the reader that Native Americans were here several thousand years before Europeans invaded, colonization and the removal of indigenous populations are treated as natural and unavoidable occurrences. Europeans are described as the first explorers and settlers of Alabama, although that is a clear contradiction to the fact

that Native Americans had settled on the land well before European invasion (page 17). The idea of manifest destiny, although not defined outright, is prevalent throughout the text. For example the author states on page 27, "With the coming of the white man to Alabama, the Indians' days in the area were numbered." Removal of Native Americans to Oklahoma is described as a peaceful transaction through mutual treaties. Except, of course, for the "blood thirsty" Creek tribe who refused to move peacefully and instead waged war and "massacred" innocent settlers (pages 82-88).

**4) Are Native Americans presented as a dynamic group of people with many different cultures that are constantly evolving as opposed to static?** Prehistoric Native American culture is presented as primitive and stuck in the Stone Age. The text briefly touches on three different periods of culture including the earliest Alabamians, the Shell Mound Archaic people, and the Mound Builders. According to the text, the most important Indian tribes were those found by "the first explorers and settlers of Alabama. For it is then that the white man's history books begin also to record Indian history" (McMillan 1968:17). Those tribes are described as the "five civilized tribes," the two Cherokee tribes, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek.

**5) Does the textbook accurately describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions of Native Americans?** The textbook focuses mainly on the material objects made by early Native Americans. When religion is described, there is no distinction between different tribes, but only an oversimplified description of how their religion was different from Christianity. It is stated on page 22 that "Alabama Indians

did not build great temples in which to worship. In fact, they did not have formal services for worship.” Instead, priests and medicine men had “magic powers,” and they “believed in an afterlife, often called the ‘Happy Hunting Ground’” (McMillan 1968). It goes without saying how demeaning that sentence is towards Native Americans, for it criticizes the religion and spiritual beliefs of an entire group of people.

**6) Are the lives and situations of Native Americans in the world today adequately and accurately described?** There is no mention in the text that Native Americans have a presence in our country today except in far away reservations. In fact, Native American removal is briefly mentioned, and the Trail of Tears is left out of the history book completely. After the Creek War was covered in chapter 7, Native Americans are not mentioned again.

### Discussion

This textbook is one of the most offensive one in this study regarding Native Americans. There was significantly more terms used to describe Native Americans than any other textbook. Some of those that were used include primitive, backward, warlike, savage, strange, among others. Overall, this textbook fails to meet the criteria for acceptable classroom use.

**Alabama History for Schools  
by Charles Summersell  
1975  
9th Grade**

Not much has changed in this edition from the 1957 edition, which is unfortunate because neither textbooks are considered acceptable for classroom use. Twenty out of 616 pages (3.2%) concerns Native Americans. Right away, they are portrayed as violent people. The author begins the first chapter by discussing "Indian Ballplay": "Indian ballplay was a dangerous game which makes our competitive sports of today look tame indeed... Often the players were severely injured and sometimes killed" (Summersell 1975:2). The author uses a lot of space to discuss carbon dating, a recent technique at the time the textbook was published. In a short section titled "Paleo Indians," the author not only mentions Paleo Indians, but Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian people as well (Summersell 1975:4-5). Treatment of Native Americans in the text is not positive, more often they are presented as childish savages. For instance, on page 16, the text states: "Many people have thought of Indians as strong and silent savages; but no one who ever witnessed a screaming horde at a game of chunko or ballplay would think of them any longer as silent" (Summersell 1975). With this statement, the author refutes a myth that Native Americans are silent, but reinforces the myth that they are savages.

After contact, Native Americans are described in the text as either tools used by Europeans or as an inconvenience. These Native Americans are often called either "friendly" or "hostile." They are not described as the original inhabitants of the land whose lives were being negatively impacted by invaders with no regard to human life. Nor are they given credit for the many foods, ideas, and technologies the Western World borrowed. Instead, they are rarely mentioned after de Soto's voyage except as trade partners of the European settlers. The Creek War, according to the text, was

really a war between France and the United States and England which Native Americans just happened to be caught up in. While it may be true that the U.S. and England had politics tied into the war, the text fails to point out that the Muskogee and Seminoles were fighting to keep their land which their families and ancestors had settled for thousands of years. The forced removal of Native Americans off their native lands is discussed in just a few sentences on page 181: "Over the question of the removal of the Indians, Governor Gayle and President Andrew Jackson had a long argument.... [Francis Scott] Key helped work out a compromise with Gayle, and the Indians were removed from Alabama" (Summersell 1975). The author apparently does not view the history of Native Americans important.

### Content Analysis

The ECO Analysis revealed that the text overall is negative towards Native Americans. At 42%, most of the terms used (a list can be found in Figure 3) were offensive and/or derogatory towards American Indians.

### Criteria Evaluation

1) **Is the information concerning Native Americans presented in the text accurate and relevant?** The information provided about Native Americans is very ethnocentric and not entirely accurate. The first chapter, which describes prehistoric life is simplistic and misleading. The description changing culture of the Southeast Native Americans in the text is confusing. Descriptions of the different time periods comprise less than one page of text. On page 7, the author states that "The civilization of

Alabama Indians was not so highly developed as that of some other Indians, such as the Mayans in the Yucatan or the Pueblos in the southwestern part of what is now the United States. However, the natives of Alabama did have a higher civilization than those Indians of the Great Plains, or of California, or than that of most other Indians in what is now the United States. For this reason, the Alabama tribes are called 'the Civilized Tribes'" (Summersell 1975:7). This sentence is an opinion that is stated as a fact, one that is misleading and harmful to Alabama Indians today.

**2) Are generalizations and common stereotypes about Native Americans**

**avoided?** Native Americans are only presented as stereotypes and generalizations. Most of the comments about Native Americans are unfair and offensive. In a quote mentioned earlier, the author makes an offensive comment in a section titled "Indian Arts," "Many people have thought of Indians as strong and silent savages; but no one who ever witnessed a screaming horde at a game of chunky or ballplay would think of them any longer as silent" (Summersell 1975:16). The text is full of many references to the "savage indian," often calling individuals "violent" and "menacing" (Summersell 1975:49, 63, 148).

**3) Are Native Americans portrayed as the original explorers and settlers of the**

**Americas with sophisticated and complex societies?** The prehistory of Native Americans is described in two pages. It is confusing to the reader and is extremely over simplified. Native Americans are not portrayed as the original explorers and settlers of the land, but there is no explanation of how ancient groups got here.



Different Native American cultures are described as being either less or more civilized than the other. The author states over and over again that they were stuck in the Stone Age. For instance on page 6, the author states that "Before the first Europeans came to Alabama, the Indians here still lived in a Stone Age culture. In contrast, the Europeans of this time were in the Iron Age of civilization" (Summersell 1975). Again on page 13: "[Native Americans] did not have metals in sufficient quantity to make much difference in their lives. The metal which could have been most useful to them was iron, but they did not know how to use the iron ore which was so abundant in Alabama" (Summersell 1975). The reader gets the sense that these Native Americans who did not use iron and who were stuck in a Stone Age were unsophisticated people.

- 4) **Are Native Americans presented as a dynamic group of people with many different cultures that are constantly evolving and not static?** The author presents the prehistory of Native Americans from a cultural evolutionary perspective. As witnessed on the first page, "A Forward Look": "Before any Europeans looked upon Alabama, Indians had lived here from one cultural stage to another for thousands of years. Eventually, Indians learned to build mounds and to live a better life through utilizing many of the natural resources of our state through more advanced ideas" (Summersell 1975). And again on page five: "Before the coming of the first white man from Europe into Alabama, the Indians of the area were in a stage of civilization known as the Middle Mississippian Period. This era marked the highest cultural development of Indians in prehistoric Alabama in art, very primitive industry,

agriculture, and in the building of temple mounds" (Summersell 1975). This idea is repeated on page 31: "The civilization of Alabama Indians progressed through the years" (Summersell 1975).

**5) Does the textbook accurately describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions of Native Americans?** Native American religions, philosophies, and contributions largely are ignored in this text. The Christian religion as it was associated with Native Americans is described more than their practiced religions. On page 19, the text states that "to understand the early American Indian it is important to know that his ideas of what was right and what was wrong were in many ways different from those of Europeans. One of the many benefits which the Indian received from the white man was Christianity" (Summersell 1975). The contributions of Native Americans listed in the text are only the place names that can be found today.

**6) Are the lives and situations of Native Americans in the world today adequately and accurately described?** No, the lives (or existence) of Native Americans today are not mentioned. The forced removal of Native Alabamians is discussed in a nonchalant manner. For instance, on page 181, the author states: "In the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek the Choctaws gave up the last of their lands in Alabama and thus added to the area of land which Alabamians could clear and farm" (Summersell 1975). This statement reflects a common trend in the textbook in which the idea of manifest destiny is the prominent attitude regarding Native Americans, and that they

willingly ceded their land. Their removal is mentioned only because of its favorable outcome for Americans (excluding "Indians").

### Discussion

This textbook, which changed very little from its earlier edition published 18 years before, does not meet the criteria for acceptable classroom use. Its themes of manifest destiny, portrayal of Native Americans as childish "savages," unquestioning praise of Christianity, and other iniquities are the reason why this textbook is not acceptable today, nor should it have been acceptable in 1975.

**The Story of Alabama**  
**by Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton**  
**9th Grade**  
**1986**

*The Story of Alabama* dedicates 22 pages out of 351 (6.2%) to Native American culture, almost twice as much as the previous textbooks. Chapter four of this textbook introduces America's first inhabitants as cavemen-like people who did not discover the continent but stumbled upon it by accident as they were following game animals. This is a trend common in many history textbooks, as witnessed by James Loewen. He claims that textbook writers like the Beringia story (that early humans crossed into the America's through the Bering Land Bridge, usually by accident) despite the fact that there is little archaeological evidence, "because it fits their overall story line of unrelenting progress" (Loewen 2007:97). The author of *The Story of Alabama* goes on to describe the artifacts of the "cave dwellers" and the "mound builders." The next

chapter titled "Southeastern Indians" provides descriptions of the various aspects of Native American life without distinguishing between the different tribes of the Southeast. War is the longest and most detailed section. The author explains the act of scalping on page 52: "When raiders killed a warrior, they sometimes cut around his head with a knife and pulled off the scalp. The scalp was tied to a small hoop, painted red, and preserved" (Hamilton 1986).

The next chapter is titled "Invaders from the Old World" and attempts to provide both sides of the story of the Spanish invasion. However, the author sympathizes more with the Native Americans. For instance on page 69, the author asks "How did these explorations affect the Southeastern Indians? From the Spanish, the Indians inherited chickens, hogs, and horses as well as strange and often deadly diseases like smallpox, typhus, measles, tuberculosis, chicken pox, and flu. They also had their first encounter with a people who enslaved them, burned their villages without reason, and valued copper, mica, and pearls above human lives" (Hamilton 1986).

### Content Analysis

*The Alabama Story* uses few adjectives to describe Native Americans but those that are used reveal an overall negative portrayal. The ECO analysis score for this textbook is 28.6%. See Figure 4 for a list of the terms found.

### Criteria Evaluation

**1) Is the information concerning Native Americans presented in the text accurate and relevant?** Textbook authors have a responsibility to the public to ensure the

information they provide is factual, or at the very least, backed up with legitimate evidence to support their claims. The author of *The Alabama Story* makes many claims without providing evidence. For example, on the issue of warfare (the longest and most detailed topic—a trend found in most textbooks), the author states that “Raiding parties sometimes brought back captives as slaves or to be tortured at the stake. Or they cut off the head of an enemy warrior and placed it on a post in their village” (Hamilton 1986:52). Even if these claims were true, they minimally should be substantiated with evidence. Statements such as these warrant the stereotype of Native Americans as angry war mongers.

**2) Are generalizations and common stereotypes about Native Americans**

**avoided?** Unfortunately, the author of *The Alabama Story* promotes harmful stereotypes of Native Americans. On page 43, she states that “Some of us think of Indians as warriors who scalped helpless pioneers. Others have an image of noble but childish ‘savages.’ Both concepts have some basis in fact...” (Hamilton 1986). Without attempting to refute these negative images, the author is helping to spread misled and hostile feelings toward Native Americans. For Native American students in the classroom, statements like these would spread feelings of low self worth.

**3) Are Native Americans portrayed as the original explorers and settlers of the Americas with sophisticated and complex societies?** The author describes the first inhabitants of America as wanderers who stumbled upon the continent by accident, not as the original explorers and settlers of this land. However, she

describes the Mississippian culture as highly developed: "Long before Christopher Columbus came to the New World, people with a highly developed culture inhabited the middle Mississippi River valley... Their economy combined farming, hunting, and gathering. They organized political units centered around large towns and ceremonial centers. They made beautiful pottery, stone carvings, and copper ornaments. They held a complex system of beliefs about the world" (Hamilton 1986:38).

**4) Are Native Americans presented as a dynamic group of people with many different cultures that are constantly evolving and not static?** The author presents the story of Native Americans as evolving over time, but in the cultural evolutionary perspective—always evolving towards perfection. Hamilton also describes the Southeastern Native Americans at the time of contact as all the same. Their customs and beliefs are overly simplified and generalized. For instance, on page 46 Hamilton describes their beliefs: "Indians believed in spirits, witches, and ghosts. When an Indian died, neighbors shouted and made noises to frighten the ghost up into the sky" (1986).

**5) Does the textbook accurately describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions of Native Americans?** As witnessed in the passage above, the religion and philosophies of Native Americans are overly simplified. Not surprisingly, their contributions also are simplified: "Southeastern Indians left a strong imprint on our daily lives. Our diet relies heavily on their corn, beans and squash. Their pumpkin

is our Halloween symbol. We still use some of their gardening methods such as 'hilling' corn" (Hamilton 1986:43).

**6) Are the lives and situations of Native Americans in the world today adequately and accurately described?** While this is the first textbook in this study to use the term Trail of Tears, little mentioned is made of Native Americans after their forced removal. There is no discussion of their status on reservations and elsewhere, and there is also no mention that Native Americans and descendants of Native Americans exist in Alabama today.

#### Discussion

While this textbook is better than most I have evaluated in this study, it still does not meet the requirements for acceptable classroom use. Even though it was published after the Civil Rights Movement and the formation of the National Indian Education Association, it fails to provide an accurate, objective lesson of Native Americans that is both beneficial and fair to students of all backgrounds.

This is Alabama  
by Merle Carroll  
4th Grade  
1975

This is Alabama begins discussion of Native Americans in Chapter Two, consisting of 16 out of 312 pages (5.1%). The migration of Native Americans into the Americas is described as an accident: "These people did not know they were discovering a new land and a new continent. They were only looking for better hunting

grounds" (Carroll 1975:11). This statement not only has no basis in fact, but it is ridiculous to think that the first Americans did not know they were discovering a continent. By definition, a continent is "a large land mass, surrounded by water," to say that they did not know they were crossing over into a another large land mass is to say that they were either blind or very stupid (Loewen 2007:97). The text suggests that the first group of people left Alabama when the animals left, and a separate group moved in later, called the "Shell Mound people" (Carroll 1975:11-12). After mentioning the Woodland people, the text states, "From these people, an even more advanced people appeared (Carroll 1975:14).

The next chapter, Chapter Three, discusses the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Creek tribes of Alabama. The Cherokee are described as a "brave, powerful tribe;" the Chickasaw as "good fighters" and "expert trackers;" the Choctaws as a "peaceful tribe;" and the Creeks as "the largest tribe" (Carroll 1975:19-20). After a short description of Creek village life and a Choctaw wedding, the chapter ends. The description of Native American culture pre and post contact is very short and vague.

De Soto is heroified as the text describes him in detail, even describing his time before the invasion. The author roots for the Spanish, saying that "[Indians] would prove no match for this strong, Spanish army" (Carroll 1975:31). The battle of Mabila was, according to the author, started by Tuscaloosa.

Native Americans are mentioned again in Chapter Eight, "The Creek Indian Wars." The Creek fought the United States, according to the author, not because they were fighting for their freedom and their land, but because "they were being pushed



farther and farther away from the best hunting grounds" (Carroll 1975:66). Andrew Jackson is portrayed as a kind but dutiful general on pages 77-78.

The cause of the removal of Native Americans is described on page 128: "Many settlers were moving into Alabama and the nearby states. They saw the best lands were owned by the Indians... Most of this land was used for hunting only. The many new settlers could not understand why they could not live on these 'empty' lands. A growing number wanted the Indians to move farther west" (Carroll 1975). Their forced removal is described as the "long, hard journey now called the 'Trail of Tears.' It is a sad, dark page in Indian history and in the history of the United States" (Carroll 1975:131).

### Content Analysis

The ECO analysis (Figure 5) reveals very little about the overall treatment of Native Americans. After the descriptive words were collected, the ECO score was found to be 58% positive. However, the following criteria reveal that the text does in fact portray Native Americans in a negative and harmful manner.

### Criteria Evaluation

- 1) Is the information concerning Native Americans presented in the text accurate and relevant?** On page 33, the text falsely describes the battle of Mabila as instigated by the Alabama Indians: "De Soto did not try to hold Tuscaloosa as a

hostage. Instead, he gave him gifts and a horse... Tuscaloosa pretended to be friendly. Actually, he planned to fight De Soto." This is untrue; de Soto had in fact taken Tuscaloosa prisoner and had engaged in fighting. Another fabrication can be found on 67, in which the author provides a direct quote of Pushmataha after he was approached by Tecumseh: "Pushmataha spoke for peace. 'Do not fight,' he said. 'Only death and suffering come to those who fight. We must not forget we have promised the Great White Father in Washington that we will stay at peace. The white man has been a friend to us. Let us stand by our friends, the Americans. Tecumseh is a trouble maker!'" (Carroll 1975). "The Great White Father"! This speech is obviously made up.

## **2) Are generalizations and common stereotypes about Native Americans**

**avoided?** Stereotypes and generalizations regarding Native Americans are prevalent throughout the text. Creek Indian life is overly simplified and generalized on page 21: "Imagine you are a Creek Indian girl or boy... Your house was built by your father... Your father is a great warrior... Your father takes his spear and hunts the bear and deer and other animals... Most of the time your mother works hard. She weeds the garden, gathers the vegetables, grinds the corn, and cooks all the meals... It is the job of the Creek women to cut and carry firewood" (Carroll 1975).

## **3) Are Native Americans portrayed as the original explorers and settlers of the Americas with sophisticated and complex societies?**

No, the text claims that "These people did not know they were discovering a new land and a new continent"

(Carroll 1975:11). They are not portrayed as the original settlers of the Americas.

Their societies are not described and are not portrayed as complex or sophisticated.

**4) Are Native Americans presented as a dynamic group of people with many different cultures that are constantly evolving and not static?** The very short and simplistic description of the Alabama tribes on pages 19 and 20 tell the reader nothing about the diversity among Native Americans.

**5) Does the textbook accurately describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions of Native Americans?** No, these things are not mentioned in the text at all. In fact, Native Americans are more often portrayed as childlike, and in one instance, are directly compared to animals: "In many places in the United States, the Indians were being pushed farther west. American settlers were moving into Indian lands. These settlers were building houses and clearing forests for farms. The deer and other animals became fewer. The Indians were like the deer. They, too, needed forests and plenty of room in which to roam" (Carroll 1975:66).

**6) Are the lives and situations of Native Americans in the world today adequately and accurately described?** The text asks on page 131: "Did you know? The Indians were sent to a land called Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma. Many years later, oil was found on their new land. Many tribes became wealthy. But even the new wealth could not wipe away the sadness of their journey to the West" (Carroll 1975). The fact that Alabama Indians are present in Alabama today is ignored.

## Conclusion

This text overwhelmingly fails to be considered acceptable for classroom use. It is overly simplistic, to a point of offensiveness in many cases. Native Americans are portrayed as "savages" who were attacking the settlers. The author could not understand why the Creek fought so hard for their "hunting grounds," when in fact they were fighting for their homes, their families, and their freedom.

**Our Alabama: Yesterday and Today**  
**by Rebecca Carwile, Azalia Francis, and Harry Joiner**  
**4th Grade**  
**1980**

*Our Alabama: Yesterday and Today* dedicates the first chapter to Native Americans, titled "Alabama Indians," with 15 out of 270 pages (5.5%) on this subject. Being a short textbook, much of the information is oversimplified and important information is missing. The first chapter touches on the different periods of Native Americans through time, called the "cave dwelling Indians", the "mound builder Indians," and the "civilized Indians."

The text mostly describes what readers would find out of the ordinary and strange. For instance, the short discussion concerning the cave dwelling Indians claims that "The Indian women cleaned their homes in an odd way. The women did not sweep the floor or take out the garbage. They brought a basket of fresh dirt into the cave. They spread the dirt on the floor until the trash was covered. Next, the dirt was smoothed. Then the family had a fresh, clean floor" (Carwile et al. 1980:3). The Creek Indian section of the chapter describes the "hard test for manhood" each Creek boy was

expected to endure (Carwile et al. 1980:9-10). The authors also explain that "The Choctaws had a strange custom of flattening their babies' heads" (Carwile et al. 1980:12). Another description which is negative against Native Americans can be found on page 13: "The Chickasaw Indians were a warlike tribe... One early observer said that Chickasaws in war seemed 'more like devils than humans'" (Carwile et al. 1980). Over and over again the Native American lifestyle is described as simple, despite mentioning what was extraordinary about certain ways of life.

While the strange is highlighted, over and over again the Native American lifestyle is described as "simple." For example, on page 5, the text states that "Life in the mound builder's village was simple;" on page 8: "Creek Indian life was simple;" and again on page 15: "The simple life of the Alabama Indian seems to have been a good life. They lived close to nature" (Carwile et al. 1980).

The conflict between Europeans and Native Americans is given minimal consideration. The authors do not sympathize with De Soto and his men, and rightfully mentions that Native Americans were mistreated. However, English and American colonists are not portrayed as invaders as is the case with the Spanish. The battles between Native Americans and Europeans are described as exciting adventures, not horrible life changing events. People like Sam Dale and Andrew Jackson are heroified. The story even has a fairy tale ending when the text explains how the Creek Chief Red Eagle surrendered to General Jackson and the two became friends: "The surrender marked the end of the Indian trouble in Alabama. Red Eagle and General Jackson became life-long friends. Red Eagle went home to Baldwin County. He farmed until his death" (Carwile et al. 1980:52-53). After the war, the authors explain that Alabama

changed from Indian to American control in a series of peaceful treaties. Native Americans are not mentioned again after this.

### Content Analysis

The ECO analysis is inconclusive regarding the treatment of Native Americans in the text because only fifteen descriptive words were found. Regardless, the ECO analysis revealed that the description of Native Americans is about equal, at 46%. An entire list of the terms found can be viewed in Figure 6.

### Criteria Evaluation

**1) Is the information concerning Native Americans presented in the text accurate and relevant?** The textbook fails to give the reader an adequate introduction into the lives of Native Americans. It tends to focus on the extraordinary (and rare) aspects of Native American culture as opposed to how their lives could relate to those of students today. The description of the “cave dwelling Indians,” in addition to using an unscientific name to describe the Archaic period, has no evidence backing up the statement that the “Indian women cleaned homes in an odd way” (Carwile et al. 1980:3).

**2) Are generalizations and common stereotypes about Native Americans avoided?** This textbook is limited in the amount of information it provides, and generalizations about Native Americans and other groups of people are common. For example, the text states “The Indians believed in a ‘great spirit’ or a type of god. They had deep love and respect for nature. They believed that dying in battle was the best

way to have life after death. The simple life of the Alabama Indian seems to have been a good life" (Carwile et al. 1980:15). The textbook does not meet this criteria because of its focus on the abnormal, which encourages children to think of American Indians as weird and different from themselves. For instance, many value judgements are made about some particular aspects of Native American culture. In chapter one, the text states that "The Indian women [living in Russell Cave] cleaned their homes in an odd way. The women did not sweep the floor or take out the garbage. They brought a basket of fresh dirt into the cave. They spread the dirt on the floor until the trash was covered" (Carwile et al. 1980:3). When describing the Choctaw people, the only things the authors thought important enough to mention were: "They had a strange custom of flattening their babies' heads," they were peaceful farmers; Pushmataha was their greatest chief, and they had strange marriage ceremonies (Carwile et al. 1980:12-13). In the short section in chapter one under the heading "Indian Life," the image of the "noble savage" is portrayed: "The Indians believed in a "great spirit" or a type of god. They had a deep love and respect for nature. They believed that dying in battle was the best way to have life after death. The simple life of the Alabama Indian seems to have been a good life. They were close to nature" (Carwile et al. 1980:15). This "noble savage" stereotype was questioned by anthropologist Shepard Krech, who used a cultural relativistic perspective and historical evidence to refute the romanticized myth that Native Americans were more concerned with protecting the environment than other peoples (Krech 1999).

3) **Are Native Americans portrayed as the original explorers and settlers of the Americas with sophisticated and complex societies?** The textbook claims that the first Americans came here by following animals across the Bering Strait (Carwile et al. 1980:2). This implies that early Native Americans did not discover the continent, but stumbled upon it by accident. By giving credit to Spanish invaders as the first to discover and explore the New World, the authors are denying that Native Americans were as intelligent or as capable as Europeans. It was mentioned earlier that Native American lifestyles were described over and over again as "simple." The authors do not describe Native American cultures as being sophisticated or complex.

4) **Are Native Americans presented as a dynamic group of people with many different cultures that are constantly evolving and not static?** While the textbook fails to describe the different tribes of Alabama Indians adequately, there is an effort to teach students that Native Americans were not all the same and how they changed through time. The textbook fulfills this requirement.

5) **Does the textbook accurately describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions of Native Americans?** This textbook is not complex in the presentation of information and is insufficient in the descriptions of religions, philosophies, and contributions of Native Americans. Because the text is one-dimensional and overly simplistic, students taught with this book were unfortunate. This book would likely be judged boring and unchallenging by fourth graders.



**6) Are the lives and situations of Native Americans in the world today adequately and accurately described?** There is no discussion of the post-removal situation of Native Americans. In fact, Native Americans are last mentioned on page 53: "The Creek War of 1813-14 was the best effort by Indians to keep their lands. The Creek Indian War is also important because of what happened after it was over. Most of the Alabama wilderness changed from Indian to American control. The peace treaty opened the lands for settlers" (Carwile et al. 1980).

### Discussion

This textbook fails to meet the criteria and so it should not be considered acceptable for classroom use. Its portrayal of a simplistic lifestyle of Native Americans is an injustice to the descendants of Native Americans who lived complex lifestyles, and who were inventive and knowledgeable about the world around them.

**The Alabama Story**  
**Robert J. Norrell**  
**1993**

Chapter One of this text, with 14 out of 300 pages (plus an additional section of four pages in chapter three makes the percentage of the text regarding Native Americans 6.0%), is dedicated to Native Americans. The periods of prehistoric Native American culture are described on pages 16-25, including the Paleo-Indian period, the Archaic period, the Woodland period, and the Mississippian period. Anthropology and archaeology are well defined and relevant to the information. Culture and adaptation are

also described and help the reader to understand cultural change. The author rarely makes a claim without providing evidence; for instance on page 22, the statement that "Mississippian towns were familiar with war," is supported by the presence of palisades, bastions, and moats. The author provides statements such as "Archaeologists estimate that 3,000 people lived at Moundville during the A.D. 1400s," instead of assuming it as a fact (Norrell 1993:23). The author also says there are many things about prehistory that we simply do not know. European settlement is described as an invasion. Overall, Chapter One provides students with a culturally relativistic description of prehistoric Native American life.

Spanish invasion by Hernando de Soto is described in Chapter 2 as brutal and unfair towards Native Americans. After a description of the Spanish expedition, the author then describes the Alabama tribes after they had been negatively impacted by European contact. Emphasis is placed on how much had changed for Native Americans after the Spanish expeditions, especially regarding population size. An effort was made by the author to present both sides of the Indian versus American conflict. He explains that the outcome of the conflict was a result of the superior war technology of the Europeans.

The author attempts to provide the point of view of both the European settlers and the Native Americans when describing the escalating conflict between the two. For once, the fight at Fort Mims is not described as a massacre, but rather an unfortunate fight in the Creek War. The author never portrays Native Americans as the enemy, but describes the outcome of the war as a tragedy. The description of the removal of Native Americans is accurate. For each treaty mentioned between the American Indians and

the United States government, the implications for lives of the people involved are described. On page 93, the author discusses the Trail of Tears as follows: "In 1838 the United States moved into the Cherokee lands and forced them to march toward Oklahoma. Of the 18,000 Cherokee who walked the Trail of Tears to Oklahoma, 4,000 died along the way. It was a shameful thing for Americans to do to other Americans. It was an act that completely opposed the values of equality, democracy, and freedom for which the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution said America stood. The forced migration of Native Americans was a terrible event in our history, and we as Americans and Alabamians must never forget it happened" (Norrell 1993:93-94).

### Content Analysis

An evaluation of the descriptive terms used to describe Native Americans revealed that there were almost no value judgements made within the text. Only four descriptive words were found, including nomadic (pg. 16), settled (pg. 18), tribal (pg. 18), and unified (pg. 18). None of these words can be considered either positive or negative.

### Criteria Evaluation

**1) Is the information concerning Native Americans presented in the text accurate and relevant?** This is the first textbook in this study which I can say the information is accurate and relevant. It is also the first textbook that provides a chronologically correct description of Native Americans. In Chapter one, the time periods employed by archaeologists to investigate the past are used to describe the prehistoric life of

Alabama Indians. Chapter two describes the voyage of de Soto and explains his reasons for coming to the New World. The author describes the impact of contact with Europeans on Native American societies and vice versa in chapter three.

**2) Are generalizations and common stereotypes about Native Americans**

**avoided?** Overall, the author avoids making generalizations about Native Americans that could be perceived as harmful or negative. However, there is a tendency within the text to portray the “noble savage” image of Native Americans. For instance, on page 50, the text states that “The Indians of Alabama held beliefs and values that were very different from those of Europeans. The Indians thought of themselves as one part of the natural environment. They did not believe they should destroy or exploit nature—rather, they believed they should live in harmony with it” (Norrell 1993). Despite this overly simplified notion, the text provides a generally objective description of Native American lifeways.

**3) Are Native Americans portrayed as the original explorers and settlers of the**

**Americas with sophisticated and complex societies?** Native Americans are described as being the first explorers and settlers of the Americas as evidenced on page 15: the “first Americans moved down the continent of North America and then South America. It took thousands of years for these first Americans to see, and settle in, the big continents” (Norell 1993). It is important that students know the first settlers were Native Americans, which the textbook emphasizes. The text also provides descriptions of highly complex and sophisticated societies before the arrival of

Europeans: "By the time that the first Europeans arrived in Alabama in 1540, the Native Americans had created a complex society. They made good tools and were excellent farmers. They had built large urban centers. They had created a society with different positions—chiefs, nobles, and common people. They had a whole system of religious beliefs to explain where humans and nature had come from" (Norrell 1993:26).

**4) Are Native Americans presented as a dynamic group of people with many different cultures that are constantly evolving and not static?** The author describes the Paleo, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian cultures in terms of their changing subsistence, social customs, and political organization. While Mississippian culture is described as being more complex, it is not portrayed as more advanced or better than the past. Instead, change in culture is characterized by the need to adapt. For instance, "Many of the big animals the Paleo people hunted had become extinct... The Archaic people adapted, or changed, their culture to deal with extinction of the big animals. They hunted smaller animals for food. They invented a new, lighter spear to throw at faster-moving animals such as deer. They invented an axe to chop down trees. Land cleared of trees allowed berries and nuts to grow more easily" (Norrell 1993:17).

**5) Does the textbook accurately describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions of Native Americans?** This is again the first textbook to describe the contributions of Native Americans as a vital turning point for the Western World. For

example, "The Spaniards took home new foods—corn, potatoes, tomatoes, and other crops—that expanded and improved the diet of Europeans over the next centuries. This increase in food supply helped Europe's population to grow rapidly in the 1600s and 1700s. In that time some of that increasing population would come to the Americas to settle" (Norrell 1993:47). However, despite these contributions, the religion of Native Americans described by Norrell is very simplistic, and the author does little to describe their philosophies and other contributions.

**6) Are the lives and situations of Native Americans in the world today adequately and accurately described?** While this textbook is one of just a few that even mentions the Trail of Tears, it does not describe the situation of Native Americans today. Fourth grade students would benefit from learning about the Native Americans who exist today in Alabama, as well as those who can trace their ancestry here.

#### Discussion

Overall, the textbook is one of the most accurate and least offensive toward Native Americans in this study. However, based on the criteria developed from a variety of sources written by Native American scholars, the textbook should not be considered acceptable for classroom use today.

**Alabama:**  
***The History, Geography, Economics,***  
***and Civics of an American State***  
**by Leah Atkins and Harvey Jackson**  
**2005**

The text explains the first migration into the Americas through the Bering Strait hypothesis (following animal herds) and happening 12,000 years ago. The text states that "Living as hunters and gatherers was difficult" (Atkins and Jackson 2005:13). Some anthropologists have argued otherwise, that people in hunter-gatherer societies tend to be healthy, happy, and leisurely (Sahlins 1972). Unlike most of the other textbooks in this study which state hypotheses and speculations as hard facts, this textbook admits that "Physical records and remains cannot tell us everything, and there are questions that archaeologists and historians cannot answer" (Atkins and Jackson 2005:30).

The Spanish who came to the Americas searching for treasures are called bullies. However, the horrible deeds of de Soto are not mentioned, and the authors say that as de Soto was marching into Alabama, "The Indians warned de Soto that he was moving into an area controlled by hostile tribes," as if de Soto was the victim in the Maubila fight (Atkins and Jackson 2005:41). The text does not sympathize with the Native Americans in any situation. In fact, the American soldiers that fought Native Americans in the early years of the nation are heroified.

Thirty out of 398 pages are dedicated to Native Americans (7.5%). The bulk of the pages, however, are filled with pictures. Eighty pictures in the textbook portray Native Americans or their material culture. Out of those eighty, twelve are depiction of Native American men in battle or with a weapon. Eleven of the pictures are of weapons only.

### Content Analysis

The content analysis revealed that the words used to describe Native Americans in this textbook were mostly negative. According to the ECO analysis formula developed

by David Pratt, the textbook scored a 40. The words most often used were hostile and artistic. The complete list of the terms used can be found in Figure 7.

### Criteria Evaluation

1) **Is the information concerning Native Americans presented in the text accurate and relevant?** Native American culture is highly simplified in this textbook. Many statements are made that are opinions, but are presented as undisputed facts. On page 64, Native American women are stereotyped based on Western social norms: "Indian women were models of industry in their daily lives. While the men hunted or played at games, the women were busy keeping their homes. They raised the children, skinned hides, ground corn and nuts, and prepared the food. Women made the clothing and pottery...[They] were always busy. They also liked pretty things, so they made ornaments to wear. They were glad when men traded with the Europeans for beads and cloth" (Atkins and Jackson 2005). This quote is discussed further in the second criteria below. Native American diversity is ignored and culture is presented from an ethnocentric point of view. For example on page 74, the text discusses the creation of the Federal Road and the conflict it involved, but from the point of view of the European pioneers: "Even though there was a treaty with the Indians, the roads could be dangerous. A person traveling alone had to be on constant alert to the dangers" (Atkins and Jackson 2005:75). While the text avoids an outright accusation that Native Americans could not be trusted, this is exactly what they are implying.



**2) Are generalizations and common stereotypes about Native Americans**

**avoided?** The tone in which the textbook describes the relationship between Europeans and Native Americans is negative towards the later. While European soldiers are heroified, Native Americans who fought for their land and freedom are treated as bad men. The authors state "Tecumseh and his brother, known as the Prophet, made their way throughout the eastern United States. They stirred hatred among the Indian tribes toward the American settlers. They wanted the Indian tribes to unite to drive out the Americans" (Atkins and Jackson 2005:76). The section titled "Indian Women," quoted in the criteria above, is a blatantly ethnocentric assumption that is not backed up with evidence. By saying "they liked pretty things," it sounds like the authors are talking about children.

**3) Are Native Americans portrayed as the original explorers and settlers of the**

**Americas with sophisticated and complex societies?** The text gives credit to Vikings and, hundreds of years later, Columbus as the first discoverers of the Americas, despite the fact that Native American ancestors were the original explorers and settlers. The text does not describe Native American culture as highly complex or sophisticated. Neither does it go into very much detail about the political, social, and ceremonial aspects of Native American life.

**4) Are Native Americans presented as a dynamic group of people with many**

**different cultures that are constantly evolving and not static?** While the authors discuss what changed about Native American material culture over time, they are not

presented as a dynamic group of people. There is no distinction between the different Alabama tribes besides geographical location. What is portrayed as more important in the text is which tribe fought for whom in the struggle for European control over the continent.

**5) Does the textbook accurately describe the religions, philosophies, and contributions of Native Americans?** The textbook does not describe any of these things. It discusses the material goods of Native Americans but not much else.

**6) Are the lives and situations of Native Americans in the world today adequately and accurately described?** This is the only textbook evaluated in this study that discusses the modern situation of Alabamian Indians. The Poarch band of Creek Indians is mentioned as a federally recognized tribe in Atmore, Alabama and the MOWA band of Choctaw as awaiting a request to become federally recognized.

### Discussion

This textbook does not meet the criteria for acceptable classroom use, which is unfortunate because it is in use in classrooms today. To make this text acceptable, there needs to be a more culturally relative and more detailed discussion of Native American culture. Native American religion, politics, and society should be described. The impact on both Native American and European culture as a result of contact should also be discussed.

## Conclusions

These textbook evaluations provide only initial insight into the nature of history textbooks in their portrayal of minority groups. While many studies involving textbooks and their portrayal have been performed throughout the years (Henry 1970, Hirschfelder et al. 1999, Loewen 2007), anti-Indian bias is still prevalent even among textbooks used today. None of the textbooks evaluated in this study met the requirements for acceptable classroom use.

The results of this study indicate a lack of substantial changes occurring in Alabama history textbooks over time. Generalizations and stereotypes are still just as prevalent in recent textbooks as they were in textbooks published before the American Indian Movement. Also, the contemporary situations of Native Americans are ignored in all of the textbooks except the most recent. Alabama history textbooks are in need of revision.

In the ninth grade sample, the average percentage of pages dedicated to Native Americans changed from about 3.5% in the first three textbooks from the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, to 6.2% in the textbook published in 1986. Despite this increase in pages dedicated to the discussion of Native American cultures, the textbook still fails to present the reader with a basic understanding of the diversity and complexity of Native American societies. None of the ninth grade textbooks evaluated presented the stages of Native American prehistory in terms used by archaeologists and other scientists. Instead, they used simplistic terms such as "cave dwellers" and "mound builders", as compared to the conventional terms Archaic and Mississippian. Another trend found in all ninth grade textbooks was the portrayal of Native Americans as violent. When

describing battles between Native Americans and Europeans, Europeans and later on white Americans, were always described as the victim. These trends remained prevalent throughout the decades. Regardless of the publisher or the author, the textbooks are all nearly identical, differing only in organization.

Much the same can be said about the fourth grade sample of textbooks. The only textbook to deviate from the normal (derogatory) treatment of Native Americans was *The Alabama Story* by Robert Norrell, published in 1993. Otherwise, the remainder of the textbooks presented Native Americans as hostile and Europeans as victims. The amount of pages dedicated to the discussion of Native Americans for each of the fourth grade textbooks are all higher than those of the ninth grade books by 2-3%. However, the fourth grade textbooks in this study all failed to meet the requirements to be considered acceptable for classroom use.

None of the textbooks evaluated give credit to Native Americans for their many contributions to European-American culture and assistance in the establishment of colonies as well as help in their survival. Native Americans taught early European settlers how to farm local foods and hunt and traverse the unfamiliar environment (Henry 1970:4-5). Both the fourth and ninth grade textbooks propagate unfair stereotypes of Native Americans, and only one textbook (Atkins and Jackson 2005) discussed the contemporary situation of Native Americans in Alabama.

In past studies (Henry 1970; Loewen 2007), evaluators found that modern textbooks in their sample had greatly improved from those in the past. In this study of Alabama history textbooks, however, that was not found to be the case. The results of this study indicate a lack of substantial changes occurring in Alabama history textbooks

over time. The textbook in use in classrooms today (Atkins and Jackson 2005), is just as faulty (or only slightly better) in dealing with Native American culture as the textbooks published in previous decades, other than the inclusion of contemporary Native Americans. This implies that the textbook selection and amendment process in Alabama has changed little in the past fifty years. For the sake of all students, it should be a priority of the school board to re-evaluate this selection process by working with Native American scholars, teachers, and students.

Both Native American and non-Indian students can be affected negatively by the prejudiced and biased attitudes cultivated by textbooks. Through the usage of terms such as those found in the content analyses for each textbook, authors, either knowingly or unknowingly, impart their own anti-Indian biases to students in Alabama. These prejudices, taught early, will most likely influence the rest of the students' lives. This, in turn, will affect the way they vote and how political decisions are made regarding Native Americans (and other minority groups) today. If students are not taught about the mistakes that were made in the past, they will inevitably be repeated. We must continue to question the conventions of history textbooks and urge parents, teachers, and school boards to re-evaluate the textbook adoption process. To further this study, an important component in the evaluation of these textbook would be to include the portrayal of African Americans and other minority groups.

Figure 1.

#	Term	Page	Direction	#	Term	Page	Direction
1	war-like*	6	-	13	warlike	43	-
2	strange	11	-	14	determined	43	0
3	savage	11	-	15	proud	43	0
4	primitive	12	-	16	savage	46	-
5	very primitive	12	-	17	angry	46	-
6	primitive	13	-	18	practical	48	+
7	savage	13	-	19	valiant	132	+
8	brave	13	+	20	reckless	132	-
9	kind	13	+	21	murderous	136	-
10	wise	13	+	22	bold	139	0
11	virtuous	13	+	23	menacing	139	-
12	fierce	43	-				

Figure 2.

#	Term	Page	Direction	#	Term	Page	Direction
1	primitive	15	-	34	crude	25	-
2	progressive	16	+	35	extravagant	25	+
3	impressive	16	+	36	warrior	26	0
4	sophisticated*	17	+	37	backward	27	-
5	exquisite	17	+	38	weak	27	-
6	civilized	17	+	39	highly developed	27	+
7	primitive	19	-	40	skillful*	28	+

#	Term	Page	Direction	#	Term	Page	Direction
8	crude	19	-	41	brave	28	+
9	dirty*	19	-	42	courageous	28	+
10	brave	19	+	43	determined	28	+
11	dedicated	19	+	44	splendid	35	+
12	primitive	19	-	45	graceful	35	+
13	warlike	20	-	46	proud	35	-
14	skillful*	20	+	47	haughty	35	-
15	respected	20	+	50	stout	36	0
16	powerful	20	0	51	savage	37	-
17	urban*	20	0	52	furios	37	-
18	important	21	0	53	brave	37	+
19	crude	21	-	54	inferior*	37	-
20	vengeful	21	-	55	brave	38	+
21	strange	23	-	56	hostile	38	-
22	guilty	23	-	57	bitter	38	-
23	warrior	23	-	58	friendly	43	+
24	rigid	23	-	59	friendly	53	+
25	stoical	23	0	60	troublesome	55	-
26	cruel	23	-	61	massacre	55	-
27	courageous	23	+	62	loyal	69	+
28	warlike*	23	-	63	bloodthirsty*	69	-
29	weak	23	-	64	squaw	75	-
30	disorganized	23	-	65	cunning	83	+
31	warrior	24	0	66	bloodthirsty	85	-

#	Term	Page	Direction	#	Term	Page	Direction
32	brutal	24	-	67	savages	85	-
33	dangerous	24	-	68	massacre	85	-

**Figure 3**

#	Term	Page	Direction	#	Term	Page	Direction
1	skilled	vii	+	17	warlike	46	-
2	dangerous	2	-	18	desperate	46	-
3	primitive	5	-	19	savage	49	-
4	primitive	5	-	20	angry	49	-
5	civilized	7	+	21	friendly	62	+
6	imaginative*	12	+	22	hostile	63	-
7	on the warpath	14	-	23	friendly	93	+
8	strong	16	+	24	resentful	137	-
9	savage	16	-	25	warpath	138	-
10	primitive	18	-	26	reckless	140	-
11	brave	19	+	27	valiant	140	+
12	kind	19	+	28	threatening*	143	-
13	wise	19	+	29	violent	143	-
14	virtuous*	19	+	30	bold	148	+
15	polite	43	+	31	menacing	148	-
16	fierce	46	-				



Figure 4.

#	Term	Page	Direction	#	Term	Page	Direction
1	wandering	37	-	8	developed	56	+
2	noble	43	+	9	angry	91	-
3	childish	43	-	10	scornful	94	-
4	savage	43	-	11	vengeful*	96	-
5	polite	49	+	12	angry	96	-
6	generous	53	+	13	foolhardy	97	-
7	childlike	53	-	14	infuriated	97	-

Figure 5.

#	Term	Page	Direction	#	Term	Page	Direction
1	brave	19	+	8	angry	34	-
2	powerful	19	+	9	powerful	67	+
3	expert tracker	19	+	10	trouble maker	67	-
4	peaceful	19	+	11	warpath	68	-
5	brave	22	+	12	angry	68	-
6	brave	33	+	13	angry	72	-
7	proud	33	0				

Figure 6.

#	Term	Page	Direction	#	Term	Page	Direction
1	odd	3	-	9	simple	15	0
2	simple	5	0	10	frightened	22	0
3	civilized	6	+	11	smart	24	+
4	simple	8	0	12	cunning	25	+
5	strange	12	-	13	peaceful	43	+
6	peaceful	12	+	14	warlike*	44	-
7	warlike	13	-	15	blood-thirsty	47	-
8	more like devils than humans	13	-				

Figure 7.

#	Term	Page	Direction	#	Term	Page	Direction
1	skillful	12	+	9	brave	59	-
2	excellent artists	13	+	10	enemies	59	-
3	skilled artisan	18	+	11	dangerous	74	-
4	fine artisan	25	+	12	hatred	76	-
5	true artisan	27	+	13	fierce	80	-
6	hostile	37	-	14	friendly	82	+
7	hostile	41	-	15	hostile	83	-
8	hostile	44	-				

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