Examing the Historical Representation of Native Americans within Children’s Literature

Lauren Hunt
Eastern Illinois University

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Eastern Illinois University

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Name of Applicant: Lauren Hunt
E#: 12345812
Local Address: 1108 Johnson Avenue, Charleston, IL 61920
Home Address: 3111 Harvest Hill, Bloomington, IL 61705
Telephone: (309)830-8672
email: lmhunt@eiu.edu

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Booth Library, and specifically the Ballenger Teacher Center, played a large role in facilitating this content analysis research study. Before my mentor, Dr. J. Bickford, and I began the research, I checked out children’s books about Native Americans from the Ballenger Teacher Center. I also used Booth Library’s website to borrow more children’s books about Native Americans from other libraries across the state.

Once I had all of the books, I randomly selected 15 to create a random and representative sample. Then, I read a few books and recorded observable patterns and anomalies. I presented these patterns and anomalies to my mentor, and together we created a content analysis research instrument to analyze the sample of books for historical representations and misrepresentations of Native Americans. In short, I identified tentative patterns, developed these patterns into testable codes and then tested the presence of those codes.

The books that I acquired from Booth Library laid the foundation for this study. Once the books were analyzed, my mentor and I used the information from each book’s analysis to determine our findings and to identify patterns among our sample. This information was important because Native Americans are often included in elementary school curriculum. As a result, elementary school teachers often use children’s literature to teach their students about Native Americans. The findings from this study proved that often times such literature is historically misrepresentative and omits important information. This omission centered on the conflicts and violence surrounding European-Native American contact. To encourage teachers to
continue to use literature and best practices for teaching social studies, we provided primary sources that could serve as supplements to teachers who use children’s literature to teach about historical events.
Examining the Historical Representation of Native Americans within Children’s Literature

In this research, I evaluated the historical representation of Native Americans in children’s literature. The portrayal of Native Americans in children’s literature is important because Native Americans are commonly included within elementary school social studies curriculum. For this reason, teachers should know how the literature they select historically represents Native Americans. This historical representation includes—but is not limited to—their interactions with European explorers, colonists, and eventually Americans. Teachers must be aware that publishers of children’s books are businesses; their job is to sell books. As a result, these companies do not always ensure that the books they sell are historically accurate. In order to sell more books, publishing companies may potentially disregard historical accuracy, or historicity, by avoiding controversial topics. By doing so, the literature may not be representative of historical people and events. This ahistoricity could emerge in books about Native Americans that narrow their focuses to only include information about their culture, religion, or folktales and give little reference to the historical path they took from controlling North America to being isolated and marginalized. This ahistoricity could also emerge through the omission or significant minimization of accounts about violence. Historical misrepresentations can take many forms (Bickford, 2013; Williams, 2009). Heroification and villainification each happen when one person is given entirely more credit/blame for changing history than is deserved. Exceptionalism emerges when an atypical, extraordinary historical figure is portrayed as typical. Presentism occurs when people view the past with their contemporary perspectives or with information of which the historical figures were unaware. Omission surfaces when important information is excluded from a historical account.
Understanding historical misrepresentations is even more important now that Illinois has adopted the Common Core State Standards (CCSS), which have rigorous literacy expectations across content areas that begin in lower elementary school. CCSS expects educators to use an increased use of informational texts. More significantly, they stress the importance of using multiple informational texts so students can evaluate multiple perspectives. Through CCSS, students will begin to understand (and evaluate) the importance of the use of evidence, perspective, and bias. CCSS requires that teachers use primary and secondary informational texts. The children’s literature represents the secondary informational texts. I located and modified primary sources that will balance out the historical misrepresentations within the secondary sources.

Methods

To conduct this research, I used *inductive content analysis*, a rigorous qualitative approach (Bickford, 2013). I first collected titles of children’s tradebooks focused on the Native Americans published in the last quarter century. To generate a sizeable data pool, I used reliable and popular search engines to collect titles with reading levels of 1.0 – 4.0 (see Appendix I). To create a random and representative sample, I randomly selected 15 titles. Once the sample was created, I read a few books and recorded observable patterns and anomalies. This provided me with areas of historical representations and misrepresentations that were in need of evaluation (see Appendix II). I then read each book and recorded the findings, which were based on determining the frequency of emergent patterns of historical representation and misrepresentation. This qualitative research project – from the hypotheses to the data collection methods through the analytic techniques – follows best practice research.

Findings
Through inductive content analysis, I identified many patterns. Some findings would appear predictable, like book characteristics such as intended audience and genre. Other patterns are significant for elementary educators, like various forms of historical misrepresentation. These are detailed in the following subsections.

**Intended Audience**

I had originally intended to examine books for elementary students. I limited the data pool to only books intended for kindergarten through fifth-graders. The majority of books \( (n = 9; 60\%) \) had intended audiences of upper elementary students in grades three through five. The rest of the books targeted early elementary students. This seems predictable considering the background knowledge needed for a reader to grasp distant historical events.

**Genre**

Knowing the topic is historical, the genre of the majority of books was not surprising. A simple majority of the books \( (n = 8; 53\%) \) was singularly narrative non-fiction. A small percentage \( (n = 3; 20\%) \) was distinctly historical fiction. Interestingly, a noticeable minority portion \( (n = 4; 27\%) \) was of an unexpected genre: folktales, myths, and legends. Two were singularly so (Goble, 1998; Oughton, 1992) and two others were of mixed genre. One blended folktale with historical fiction (Bruhac, 2000b) and another combined folktale with narrative non-fiction (Lorenz & Schleh, 2004). Surprisingly, not a single book was distinctly expository.

**Main Character and Demography**

During analysis, I examined many aspects of the main character. I wanted to determine both the number of main characters in each book and their gender, ethnicity, and affiliations. This information relates to the perspective of the story. Research indicates that most children’s books include only one perspective (Williams, 2009). Research has also indicated the
overwhelming majority of books about contact between Native Americans and Europeans center on the perspective of European explorers (Bickford, 2013). I found one pattern to be present and another pattern to be absent.

First, the vast majority of books \((n = 13; 87\%)\) had one or two main characters, with all but one book (Ortiz, 2004) having a single main character. No books had more than two main characters. Of the two books that had no main characters, neither centered on a single historical person but instead focused on cultural aspects of Native America (Bruhac, 2002; Ashrose, 1993). This was similar to previous findings on number of main characters (Williams, 2009).

Second, every book \((n = 15; 100\%)\) focused entirely on the perspective of Native Americans. Not a single book centered on colonists or explorers from Europe or the emerging United States. This was quite different from the children’s books about 1492 and Columbus’s interactions with Native Americans, which had a majority—but not all—of the books written from the European perspective (Bickford, 2013).

**Historical Implications of Contact**

On a worldwide scale, Jared Diamond has examined how various societies emerge and conquer others (Diamond, 1999) while others collapse (Diamond, 2011). Within the Americas, Charles Mann has explored what native societies looked like prior to Columbus (Mann, 2005) and in the years after first contact (Mann, 2011). Scholars understand the conflicts, which were usually violent, that quickly emerged and the starvation, disease, and eventual demise that followed.

Since these things are violent, negative, and sad, I was not expecting the children’s authors to include every aspect. I was also not expecting that the majority of books \((n = 9; 60\%)\) would disregard entirely all negative events and issues related to interactions between Europeans
and Native Americans. I looked for discussion of the first contact, conflict, language barriers
that contributed to misunderstanding, starvation, disease, the historical path Europeans would
take, the historical path Native Americans would be forced to take, and anything else of
relevance. A minority of books ($n = 6; 40\%$) mentioned at least one implication of contact.
Only two (13\%) books include three or more aspects. (Such omission will be discussed below.)

**Culture, Tradition, Religion, and Livelihood**

Considering the lack of details provided about contact with European settlers and
colonists, the abundance of details about Native Americans’ lives and livelihoods was surprising.
I examined the children’s books to see what was mentioned about traditions, customs, religion,
rights of passage, and obtaining food through farming, hunting, fishing, and gathering. Almost
three-quarters of the books ($n = 11; 73\%$) mentioned two or more aspects of culture and
livelihood and three (20\%) of these mentioned all of these (Ashrose, 1993; Lorenz & Schleh,
2002; Ortiz, 2004). A minority of books ($n = 4; 27\%$) mentioned only one aspect.

**Themes of Historical Misrepresentation**

As noted in the introduction, there are many themes of historical misrepresentation.

Presentism, chronological ethnocentrism, omission, exceptionalism, heroification, and
villainification appear in many different ways in children’s literature. Four were common in
children’s literature about Columbus (Bickford, 2013) and three were common in children’s
books about slavery (Williams, 2009). Omission was present in all of the children’s books about
Native Americans, but it was the only one that was common. Exceptionalism, heroification, and
villainification emerged sporadically in just a single book or two. This omission centered on the
conflicts and violence surrounding European-Native American contact.
It is positive and surprising that omission was the only prevalent theme of historical misrepresentation. Yet omission should not be taken lightly. Since only the perspective of the Native Americans was included (mentioned above) and because the majority of books disregarded the violence associated with contact with settlers and colonists, a young reader would likely not see two important aspects of this historical era. First, a young reader would not likely see Native Americans as being victimized. Second, a young reader would not likely see European settlers and colonists as the aggressors and perpetrators of violence. The bully/victim dynamic is overlooked when the interactions between Europeans and Native Americans is omitted. Native Americans, therefore, are presented as a distant relic of a bygone era or as a modern anomaly without a past. In fact, only one book connected the historical past with contemporary presence of Native Americans (Ashrose, 1993).
### Primary Source Materials

*Figure 1.*

**Totem Pole Glossary**

**Raven:** The mercurial trickster of Northwest Coast Native lore. Curious and mischievous, often misbehaving but never boring

**Sea Turtle:** This totem is representative of Mother Earth

**Thunderbird:** A mythological bird known to manifest the rolling of thunder while beating its wings and creating lightening when blinking its eyes. Known to kill whales

**Eagle:** Intelligent and resourceful. He rules the sky and is able to transform himself into a human

**Wolf:** Very powerful totem who can help people that are sick or in need

**Bear:** A teacher symbol as it is believed that Bear taught the People to catch salmon and pick berries

**Frog:** Known for bringing wealth and is associated with Copper Woman. In another myth, frog was held down in fire, when it burst lava flowed and engulfed an entire village

**Otter:** The otter is a mischievous creature that is also a symbol of laughter, curiosity, grace, and empathy

**Salmon:** The salmon symbolizes instinct, persistence, and determination

**Owl:** The owl is a very respected animal and is thought to symbolize the souls of the departed

**Killer Whale:** Whales are honored as strong and brave fish. The mythology of the killer whale is that is will bring food and assistance to a chief or other important person lying helpless and/or wounded

*Note.* Interpretation varies by tribe [http://www.gullitotempoles.com/TotemPoleSymbols.html](http://www.gullitotempoles.com/TotemPoleSymbols.html)
Figure 2. Native Americans holding up their hands toward totem pole. Chicago Daily News, Inc., photographer. Published 1929. Summary: Image of a group of Native American adults and children wearing traditional Native American clothing and headdresses standing next to a totem pole on a field in Chicago, Illinois, holding up their hands toward totem pole. A crowd is standing in the background. Notes: This photonegative taken by a Chicago Daily News photographer may have been published in the newspaper. Cite as: DN-0088619, Chicago Daily News negatives collection, Chicago History Museum.
In Oraibi they were living, and at the Hohóyaw village lived the Hohóyawtu (certain black Beetles). It was always hot and the wind was blowing, and it did not rain. As these Beetles drink rain-water they became very thirsty. Some became so thirsty that they died. So their chief said one time: "Let us have a dance and perhaps if we dance it will rain, because if it does not rain we shall all die!" "Very well, we shall have a dance," they said, "and maybe it will rain then. and we shall not die." So one evening they assembled to practice for the dance and their chief made a little song for them. This they were practicing. They practiced a while in the evening, and then they went to sleep. The next day they were going to have their dance. Early in the morning they got up and their chief made four nakwákwosis for them. He deposited the nakwákwosis west of their little village, and spoke to the clouds in the San Francisco mountains saying: "We are thirsty here, so you come quickly this way and bring us some water that we may drink and not die." So he returned to their village and they dressed up for the dance. They painted their bodies black, and then they danced. They were in a hurry because they were thirsty. Their chief began to pray to the clouds in the San Francisco Mountains. "Come this way quickly and bring us water." So they were formed in a line now and one of them acted as leader. By this time a cloud was forming in the mountains. They now sang the following song: Yoookwaa yooookwahayaha, Rain, rain. As they were singing, the clouds came nearer and it began to rain and thunder, and the water began to fall so that they could now drink. When they had quenched their thirst they were very happy and ran about because they were no longer thirsty.

Historical Topics

Why will you take by force what you may obtain by love? Why will you destroy us who supply you with food? What can you get by war? ... We are unarmed, and willing to give you what you ask, if you come in a friendly manner. ... I am not so simple as not to know it is better to eat good meat, sleep comfortably, live quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with the English, and being their friend, trade for their copper and hatchets, than to run away from them. ... Take away your guns and swords, the cause of all our jealousy, or you may die in the same manner.

*Figure 1.* Speech by Powhatan, as recorded by John Smith [http://www.smithsoniansource.org](http://www.smithsoniansource.org)

Since that you are heere strangers and come into our Countrey, you should rather confine yourselves to the Customes of our Countrey, than impose yours upon us.

*Figure 2.* A wicomesse Indian to governor of Maryland, 1633 [http://www.smithsoniansource.org](http://www.smithsoniansource.org)

*Figure 3.* The Deerfield Massacre of 1704, in which Indians and French allies attacked and burned the settlement.

“Colonel Chivington did, on the morning of the 29th of November, surprise attack … camp of friendly Indians and massacre a large number of them, (mostly women and children,) and did allow the troops of his command to mangle and mutilate them in the most horrible manner.”

*Figure 4.* S.G. Colley, U.S. Indian Agent, *Report, Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War*, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, 1865.

“A long time ago this land belonged to our fathers; but when I go up to the river I see camps of soldiers here on its bank. These soldiers cut down my timber; they kill my buffalo; and when I see that, my heart feels like bursting; I feel sorry.”

*Figure 3.* Santana, Chief of the Kiowas, 1867. U.S. Bureau of Ethnography Annual Report, 17th, 1895.
"I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. He who led the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them have run away to the hills and have no blankets, no food; no one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me my chiefs. I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever."

*Figure 6.* Indian Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, upon his surrender to the U.S. government troops, September 1877.

*Figure 5.* “Promise of the High Plains,” ca. 1880s in *The Railroaders*. Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division (Call # Portfolio 20, Folder 16)

**Discussion**

My findings contribute to both the field of history education research and also to elementary classrooms. First, there is limited research on historical representations within children’s literature. Second, CCSS requires increases in students’ reading of informational texts. In the recent past, history content was reduced in the elementary schools. Teachers often rely on children’s tradebooks to incorporate history into their curriculum; however, they are
likely unaware that children’s tradebooks can be so historically misrepresentative. While there have been no less than a dozen studies in the last two decades on historical misrepresentations within *textbooks*, the same is not true for children’s *tradebooks* (Bickford, 2013).

There is limited research on the historical representations within children’s literature. Findings from the research on historical representations within children’s literature indicate the presence of historical misrepresentations, but the scope and depth are limited and the vast majority did not use rigorous research methods (Field & Singer, 2006; MacLeod, 1998; Williams, 2009). Bickford (2013), my mentor for this research, was one of the few researchers to examine the historical representations within children’s literature. This study expands the field of social studies education research on children’s literature. This study will support teachers because it will identify representative and accurate children’s literature—and age-appropriate and truncated primary source material—that can be used in the classroom.
Appendix I – Data Pool


Appendix II – Research Instrument for Native American-Based Literature

1. Author’s name, publication date, title, company.
2. For (about) what age/grade was this book intended?
   a. Primary (k-2)
   b. Intermediate (3-5)
3. What is the book’s genre?
   a. Historical fiction
   b. Narrative non-fiction
   c. Expository
   d. Graphic novel
   e. Something else
4. Who were the main characters? Describe the main characters.
   a. Name
   b. Age
   c. Gender
   d. Ethnicity/race/religious/tribe/occupation/role affiliation (European, Settler, American, Colonists, Explorers, Pilgrims, Puritans; North American, Indian, Native American, Wampanoag, or Pokanoket)
   e. Was this person important enough to be given a speaking line?
   f. Anything else of relevance
5. What historical events/issues were mentioned? Describe in detail.
   a. First meeting
   b. Conflict
   c. Language barriers
   d. Starvation
   e. Disease
   f. The historical path the European settlers would take
   g. The historical path the native cultures would take
   h. Anything else of relevance
6. What about the Native American cultures were mentioned:
   a. Animals
   b. Farming
   c. Hunting, fishing, and gathering
   d. Traditions/customs
   e. Rights of passage
   f. Religion
7. Which common historical misrepresentations emerged:
   a. Presentism
   b. Chronological ethnocentrism
   c. Omission
   d. Exceptionalism
   e. Heroification
   f. Villainification
8. How did the narrative end?
9. Were any primary sources incorporated? If yes, in the foreword, narrative, afterward?
10. Were there any parts of the book historically inaccurate or implausible?
References


Annotated Bibliography


This book was acquired on an interlibrary loan from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. *The Very First Americans* contributed to this research because it was evaluated for its historical representations of Native Americans.


While completing this study, I used this article as my guide to model my own research. This article explained how to conduct a content analysis. This was particularly helpful because I, too, used a content analysis to analyze each book for its representations of Native Americans. I also used this article to gain background knowledge on what similar research had been conducted before.


This book is from Booth Library’s Ballenger Teacher Center. It was examined for its historical representations of Native Americans.


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The Common Core State Standards are a state/national initiative teachers must use as a guide for teaching. The Common Core State Standards were developed to aid in ensuring that each student receives a high quality education. The standards detail the cognitive tasks that students in each grade should be able to complete. Elementary students, for example, are expected to refer to textual evidence during primary source analysis; distinguish the implicit bias or perspective of an author and explicit purpose of the author’s primary source; recognize fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment within a primary source; and examine the relationship between a primary and secondary source of the same topic. In completing the research, I intended to aid teachers by creating age-appropriate and abridged primary source materials that they could use to create high quality activities aligned with the Common Core State Standards, specifically those mentioned above.

After reading the chapters my mentor, Dr. J. Bickford, referred me to, I gained a stronger background on how and why people of certain regions flourished and others did not. This is especially important for this study because the study is based on European-Native American interactions. The author explained and argued that the reason that Europeans became so dominant is because Europe is longitudinally oriented. The author made the point that this was critical to their early success because when traveling, the climate stayed the same throughout. In all other continents, the climate changes the farther north or south one travels. This is important because historically when people were traveling, they had to carry more/fewer items depending on the climates they were going to endure. The author also claims that Europe became more dominant because they had more domestic animals than other continents. For example, Europeans could domesticate and eat cows. Other continents were not as fortunate and had other animals, such as horses, that were not as good for eating/domesticating. Learning this information was helpful because it me perspective as to why Europeans were able to dominate others, including the Native Americans.


After reading the chapters to which my mentor, Dr. J. Bickford, referred me, I increased my background knowledge on why certain societies self destructed and/or were conquered. The author made the claim that certain societies self destructed by misusing their available resources. Other societies failed because they were under constant attack from outsiders.

This book was borrowed on an interlibrary loan from National-Louis University. To facilitate this research, this book was analyzed for its representations of Native Americans.


This book is from Booth Library’s Ballenger Teacher Center. In this study, it was analyzed for its historical representations of Native Americans.


This was one of the resources cited in Bickford (2013). This resource contributed to this study because it is a non-rigorous study in that the authors only examined five books about Christopher Columbus. Therefore, it taught me what a non-rigorous research paper looks like and served as a guide in creating my research paper.


This book was borrowed on an interlibrary loan from Elmhurst College. To facilitate this research, this book was analyzed for its representations of Native Americans.


This book is from Booth Library’s Ballenger Teacher Center. In this study, it was analyzed for its historical representations of Native Americans.

This book is from Booth Library’s Ballenger Teacher Center. To facilitate this study, it was analyzed for its historical representations of Native Americans.


After reading the chapters to which my mentor, Dr. J. Bickford, referred me, my knowledge about the diversity, culture, and history of the Native Americans of both North and South America increased. The authors of this article claimed that the Western Hemisphere was widely populated and sophisticated before Columbus arrived. This information was pertinent to this study because it allowed me to examine the books with a wider and more detailed background knowledge on the history of Native Americans of both North and South America.


After reading the chapters to which my mentor, Dr. J. Bickford, referred me, I gained a greater background knowledge on how Columbus and the subsequent explorers, conquerors and colonists destroyed the native people. The information from these chapters is useful for this study because it details the interactions of Europeans and Native Americans. These chapters are also useful because their content is directly related to the content from Diamond’s (2011) book.

This article provided me with the best practices for teaching social studies. This information directly impacted this study because it allowed me to identify primary sources that would supplement the children’s literature that was evaluated. The article explicitly discussed encouraging students to use specific thinking patterns when reading and interpreting primary sources. These thinking patterns include source, context, corroboration, credibility, and “reading the silence” (what is said, how it is said, and what is left unsaid). These appear as questions like, who is—and what is known about—the speaker/writer? What type of document is it and what implications are inherent with this type of document? Who is—and what is known about—the intended audience? When—and what is known about—the time period in which this document was created? Through this document, to what or whom is the speaker/writer responding? Are there other documents or perspectives that corroborate or refute this speaker’s/writer’s claims? Most importantly, what does this document do? Students need to learn to first reflect on these queries prior to reading a primary source in order to purposefully read it. By including primary sources in the paper, we encourage teachers to use these best practices when teaching social studies.


This book was borrowed on an interlibrary loan from Elmhurst College. To facilitate this research, it was analyzed for its representations of Native Americans.


This book was borrowed on an interlibrary loan from Western Illinois University. To facilitate this research, it was analyzed for its representations of Native Americans.

This book was borrowed on an interlibrary loan from Elmhurst College. To facilitate this research, this book was analyzed for its representations of Native Americans.


Similarly to the article by Field and Singer (2006), this article was cited in Bickford (2013). It also contributed to this study because it is another example of a non-rigorous study. This resource allowed me to see that non-rigorous and non-empirical research can provide illustrative and interesting findings.


This book is from Booth Library’s Ballenger Teacher Center. To facilitate this study, it was analyzed for its historical representations of Native Americans.