

Citation Label  
Comparative Ethnic Studies Archives, UC Berkeley  
Archive Call Number: CES ARC 2013/1  
Box No. 2 Folder No. 7 Date 4/24/17

### Introduction

This writer, in American Tribal Higher Education, has traced the development of post-secondary educational programs for American Indians and has commented upon the almost exclusively Anglo-American nature of those programs as developed for Indians by non-Indians. The failure of most United States universities and colleges to develop courses in American Indian Studies is seen as being directly related to the Anglo-American orientation of United States universities and to their being part of a network of Anglo institutions designed, consciously or otherwise, to suppress or ignore non-Anglo cultural heritages.

### The Significance of the Native People and Heritage

It is estimated that there are more than thirty million Americans speaking native Indian languages living in the Americas today, while perhaps as many as one hundred million Americans possess some degree of native ancestry. The native genetic heritage is clearly the dominant strain in Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Mexico, Greenland, and most of Central America, while indigenous ancestry is one of the important elements in the racially-mixed populations of Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, and Panama. Elsewhere in the Americas, as in the United States, Canada, the West Indies, Uruguay and Argentina, the Indian racial heritage has been important in certain regions or provinces but has tended to be absorbed within a dominantly African or European population. Nonetheless, "Indians" and tribal groups survive in every mainland American

republic (except in Uruguay where a rural mestizo or mixed-blood population alone survives) and even on a few Caribbean islands.

It is difficult to estimate the number of persons of native descent currently residing in the United States because the census has never sought to enumerate all such persons and because much mixture took place during the colonial period. There are, however, at least five million individuals with a significant degree of Indian ancestry, including some 600,000 members of tribal organizations and the bulk of the Mexican-American population. In addition, several millions of Anglo-Americans, Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans, French Canadians, and other persons possess varying degrees of native descent. Black Americans, in particular, share in the Indian genetic legacy. One survey indicates that about one-third of the Afro-Americans sampled knew of an Indian ancestor. Historical records indicate extensive African-Indian intermingling in the West Indies and the southern United States during the colonial period. Entire tribal groups were absorbed into the black population in the South and the West Indies and that process continues in some areas to the present day.

In summary, it is quite obvious that the genetic legacy of the Native American is great indeed, especially as one considers the whole of the Americas. It is also apparent from population statistics that the Indian and part-Indian peoples of the Americas are increasing in number at a rapid rate, particularly as compared with predominantly middle-class European-derived groups. In the United States, as well as in Latin America, the Indian-part Indian population possesses a very high birth rate and the proportion of persons of native descent in the total population will doubtless steadily increase in the future.

It may well be that as many as 30 million (maximum estimate)

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or 10 million (minimum estimate) United States citizens possess some degree of indigenous American ancestry. For the majority of these people, of course, the amount of Indian "blood" is proportionally slight but the fact of a firm genetic connection with America's ancient past is a reality nonetheless. For example, a person whose last pure Indian ancestor was born in ca. 1800 could be descended from as many as 2,000 Indians who were living when Christopher Columbus first landed in the Bahamas.

In summary, the biological or genetic legacy of the Native American is of considerable significance, especially from Mexico to Paraguay. In the United States, it would seem clear that the modern North American people have collective roots which extend not only to Europe, Africa, and Asia but also back into the ancient American past.

The Historical and Cultural Legacy

(In The United States)

The way of life of the dominant population in the United States is often referred to as "Western European" or simply as "Western" (i.e., a part of "Western Civilization"). In point of fact, however, much that is basic to this way of life originated in the Middle East and North Africa (the wheel, monumental architecture, supra-tribal political organizations, horticulture, Christianity, Judaism, et cetera). The culture of the dominant North American population is thus a very mixed or heterogeneous heritage.

This mixed heritage, which has become the common legacy of all North American people, also derives a significant part of its character from contributions made by Native American groups. To a considerable degree all who reside in the United States have become "Indianized" while at the same time, of course, Indians have become "Europeanized". Unfortunately, this process of borrowing from the native population has been largely overlooked by students of so-called "American Civilization" and is, therefore, not well understood by the average citizen.

The various European groups which invaded North America several centuries ago were all proud and ethnocentric peoples. They ordinarily considered themselves to be superior to other, culturally different, populations and even, in some instances, held themselves to be divinely-ordained conquerors or "civilizers." This supremely egotistical viewpoint led the English and the Spanish, in particular, to minimize the native influence upon the styles of living which gradually evolved in the conquered portions of North America. That the English of Virginia

and New England were, for example, economically dependent upon native inventions (tobacco, maize, hominy, squash, pumpkins, maple syrup, et cetera) did not lead to more favorable attitudes towards the Indians nor did this dependence lead to any early intellectual recognition of the presence of a modified culture.

Tragically, the ethnocentric insularity of Anglo-Americans (English-speaking persons) did not diminish with time. Even as the English way of life was being modified by forest warfare tactics, the fur trade, the Indian slave trade, dressed deerskin clothing, the canoe, the tobaggan, the political influence of the Iroquois confederation, thousands of native place names, hundreds of Indian words, and numerous other items, the Anglo-American persisted in obscuring the origin of these changes. The way of life and style of dress of Daniel Boone, for example, was highly Indianized but Boone was not, and is not, regarded as an Indianized person. Rather, his type of deerskin clothing has been regarded simply as a "pioneer" style variant of Anglo-American culture. Each trait borrowed from the native was emotionally "assimilated" and thereby became, in the popular mind, a non-Indian trait.

In the same manner, of course, the Anglo-American has taken over Afro-American musical contributions and made them emotionally his own.

The significance of this circumstance consists in the fact that while the European has indeed become Americanized (Indianized) and Africanized, this process has not served to materially diminish the Anglo's ethnocentric conviction of cultural superiority. The latter is sustained, in great measure, by sheer ignorance as regards the origin of much of what the Anglo regards as "his own!!"

Contributing to this ignorance has been the fact that Anglo-American scholars who write about North American history have tended to be products of their own particular ethnic past. That is, they have ordinarily seen historical events through the eyes of Anglo-American "pioneers" and "empire-builders." Thus most general histories of the United States are not histories of North America as a region nor are they histories of all of the many peoples who have resided in and contributed to the evolution of the United States. On the contrary, most such works are essentially chronicles of the Anglo-European conquest and of the development of the English-speaking white people during the succeeding four centuries. The test of any work which purports to be a general history of America is whether it commences with the 20,000 year story of the Native Americans or whether it dismisses the "aborigines" as a part of the "environment" and focuses its initial attention upon the "Old World" heritage of the colonists.

If the history of America is properly only the Anglo-European conquest, then the history of England would be only the Germanic conquest and subsequent events, which would obviously be absurd. English history begins with the earliest period that English historians can discover and then deals with the various Celtic groups, the Roman occupation, the later Celtic states, and finally the Germanic conquest. To leave out the pre-Germanic period would be to leave out an important part of the history of England, and in the same way the leaving out of the story of the Native American has rendered American history incomplete.

Of course, many would argue that it is impossible to deal with the history of the Indians because they had no written records; this, however,

is not a legitimate argument since the historians largely fail to integrate Hispano-American history despite the presence of large amounts of written documentation. The absence or presence of written sources does not appear to be a real reason for Anglo-European provincialism in history.

Although the natives of what is now the United States left few books and manuscripts of their own, they left a very large number of primary sources in the form of artifacts, village sites, cliff-dwellings, temple mounds, and other types of evidence with great historic value. Many archeologists have been studying and interpreting this material for use by the historian, but it must be confessed that few of the latter have ever made use of this wealth of data. Likewise, there is no lack of written documentary material dealing with the Indian from 1513 to the present. In fact it is to be found in almost every library and microfilm collection.

It is unfortunate indeed that the training which most American historians and educators receive is so European-oriented that it seems to blind them to the non-European cultural legacy. The first European settlers invariably adopted Indian farming techniques, foods, methods of transportation, herbology, fighting techniques, forest-lore, clothing, and many other items. To cite specific examples, one would do well to recall that such things as corn, hominy, tomatoes, potatoes, many kinds of squash and beans, canoes, tobaggons, quonset huts, leather jackets, moccasins, squaw boots, tobacco, cigarettes, pipes, many kinds of herbs, domesticated turkeys, many words in our language, and a number of other items had an Indian origin. They are just a part of our civilization. A. Irving Hallowell of the University of Pennsylvania has stated:

Our contacts with the Indians have affected our speech, our economic life, our clothing, our sports and recreations, certain indigeneous religious cults, many of our curative practices, folk and concert music, the novel, poetry, drama, and even some of our basic psychological attitudes, and one of our social sciences, anthropology.

It is very difficult to ascertain the influence of the Indian on Anglo-American character but it should be noted that the European psychoanalyst Carl Jung felt that modern Americans were at least partially Indianized. Perhaps he could see us in a more objective manner than we ourselves can. (A. Irving Hallowell, The Backwash of the Frontier: The Impact of the Indian on American Culture (Washington, 1959, pp. 448, 470.)

It is much easier for one living in the Southwest to visualize the impact of the Indian---just as it is probably more difficult for an Easterner to do so ( and most of our history is written in the East). An Anglo-American family living in Albuquerque, for example, might well live in a house constructed in Pueblo Indian style architecture. Their living room might be decorated with bowls, baskets, and rugs of Indian manufacture. The children would probably wear a modernized Indian leather jacket and mass-produced moccasins, the wife might have a pair of squaw boots or mukluks, and the walls of the home probably would be brightened by the presence of some examples of modern Indian art. The children and adults would rub shoulders daily with many persons of Indian descent living in the community about them and a regular part of their diet might be tacos, enchiladas, tortillas, and tamales, all Indian foods. The whole family might very well attend Indian ceremonies and dances held regularly at the various pueblos or each summer at Gallup, New Mexico, or Flagstaff, Arizona. In short, they would be living



in a heavily Indianized environment.

The above discussion should indicate that the native has been significant in American history and, furthermore, that a true history of America cannot be simply the story of one aspect of America's past. A general history of this region should begin with the Indian as he develops the culture which later is to face the European invader. Knowledge of this period will, for the most part, be dependent on archeology and ethnology, supplemented by early documents, for its source material.

In treating of the post-1513 period the scholar must not ignore what is occurring upon the continent itself. Instead of merely cataloging the explorations of various Europeans he should treat of the Indian's reaction to the invasion and to the Hispanic advance into the Southwest and South. By 1507 the natives of the latter regions had already had many contacts with the Spaniards, and they were beginning to resist more effectively. In the 1650's and 1680's important revolutionary attempts were staged in the Southwest and northern Mexico. These outbreaks were of great significance as they weakened the Spanish hold in the area and delayed the occupation of the Californias.

From 1607 until the 1770's the Anglo-European was engaged in a war of conquest with the Indian upon the Atlantic seaboard. This contest, and the internal developments of the settlements there, are, of course, very significant. A fixation with events in that small area, however, should be avoided, since the rest of America, mostly Indian-held, demands attention. In the Southwest the Apache surged into activity in the 1670's and later began to invade Spanish-held areas. The

northward expansion of the Spanish Empire was largely halted. Likewise, the advance of the French and English frontiers had a violent effect upon the native and many displaced tribes moved westward (the first stage of the "westward movement"), forcing other tribes before them. This increased pressure was one of the factors which caused the Comanche and Apache to make permanent advances into Spanish territory after the 1720's. Thus the eastern frontier had an effect on the Southwestern; but the reverse was also true, as horses, mules, and arms captured from the Spanish by Apaches and other tribes made their way north, to eventually make all of the western tribes more formidable enemies for the Anglo-Europeans.

After the 1770's and until the 1890's the Anglo-Europeans of the Atlantic seaboard, bursting with energy and population, spread across the continent, fighting a relentless war with the Indian. It is a fundamental fact that in order to understand any war or conflict between two groups one must be familiar with the backgrounds of the several participants; and yet, in treating of the frontier wars, most historians ignore the native. The westward-moving settlers move into a vacuum vaguely peopled by "savages." The Indians are mere shadows and the stage is dominated by rugged frontiersmen who grapple with ephemeral and undescribed foes. In many cases the whites have no opposition revealed by the historian.

In order to grasp the significance of the Indian all one has to do is to imagine what the history of the western world would have been like WITHOUT the native. Would Spain have bogged down in its northern push for empire, with only natural barriers in opposition?

Or would Spaniards have even entered the Americas with no natives to conquer or wealth to acquire? Would John Smith have been content to explore only the headwaters of the Chickahominy, or would he have reached the Mississippi Valley? Would the early English colonies have survived at all without native foods to keep them alive? Would it have taken the Anglo-Americans two and one-half centuries to move across the continent--or only ten years?

The great significance of the native in the history of the United States should lead not merely to the integration of the Indian into standard, general courses dealing with United States history but also courses will need to be developed which deal with Indian developments per se. The fantastic mass of detail connected with the history of a large tribe will often require special treatment, not to mention the need to deal with the history of the larger confederacies (such as those of the Iroquois, the Sioux, the Creek, et cetera) and of regions (such as the Plains, California, the Southwest, et cetera). In addition, courses may need to be developed which deal with such subjects as the American Indian and Constitutional Law, the Social History of Indian Peoples (since the conquest), American Indian Slavery and Servitude, the History of American Indian Hybrid Populations, et cetera.

The above discussion, does not, of course, refer to the great significance of the native peoples from Mexico to Chile, however it is assumed that the continuing importance of the Maya, Quechua, Aymara, courses in these areas especially obvious.

The Indian People

The significance of the Native American legacy does not consist solely in the biological or cultural contributions made to society at large. It also consists in a rapidly growing population of modern Indian people who will continue to make a rich contribution to American life and who, in many areas, will comprise the dominant population. In that region of the Americas sometimes referred to as Indo-America (the region from Mexico to Paraguay), Indian and part-Indian people comprise the majority of the population. It may very well be that the Guarani, Quechua, Maya, and other native-speaking peoples of Indo-America will, in the not too distant future, acquire the political and social dominance in their respective homelands which their numbers warrant.

In the United States and Canada, the 850,000 members of tribal organizations or native communities constitute a small minority of the total population, but their significance is all out of proportion to their total numbers. In part, this is because native people tend to be highly concentrated in certain regions, such as the Southwest, Oklahoma, the Dakotas and the Alaskan-Canadian arctic, as well as in certain counties or districts within other areas.

The contemporary significance of the Native American is also derived from his importance as a continuous contributor to our socio-cultural life. And here one must go beyond such items as ceramics, basketry, painting, sculpture, folk-lore and music to the even more significant realm of religion, world-view, and interpersonal relations. In religion, for instance, modern theologians (as well as "Hippies") seem to be arriving at world-views strikingly like that

of many ancient Native American religions. It is to be suspected that these modern thinkers and experimenters have a great deal to learn from Indian religion and philosophy which, after all, arrived at similar viewpoints centuries ago.

Of great importance is the fact that American Indian religions, like all great traditions, focus upon the development of moral men possessing a deep awareness of their relationship with the total universe..The Sioux religious leader Black Elk (Hehaka Sapa) has stated:

peace...comes within the souls of men when they realize their relationship, their oneness, with the universe and all its powers, and when they realize that at the center of the Universe dwells Wakan-Tanka, and that this center is really everywhere, it is within each of us.

John Epes Brown, who studied under Black Elk, points out that

such knowledge cannot be realized unless there be perfect humility, unless man humbles himself before the entire creation, before each smallest ant, realizing his own nothingness. Only in being nothing may a man become everything, and only then does he realize his essential brotherhood with all forms of life, His centre, or his Life, is the same centre or Life of all that is.

(John Epes Brown, "The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian," Tomorrow, Autumn 1964, pp. 297-307).

The socio-political implications of the Native American approach to life could, indeed, be profound in several dimensions. This writer has suggested that:

In this age of "mass" culture and revolutionary social change, in this era of large-scale alienation and personal anonymity, it is especially important that the small folk society be provided with the means of survival and development.

Modern nations have, with little thought, allowed the development of industrialized mass society to proceed in such a way as to destroy many of the social and cultural relationships which give meaning to human life. The results speak for themselves: crime, juvenile delinquency, high suicide rates, widespread mental illness, escapist activities of all kinds, and an often cheap commercialized way of life which affords no real satisfaction for the average person. Loneliness in the midst of crowds and nothing meaningful to do in the midst of hyper-activity typifies the modern mass culture...

Mankind has at least one hope, however, and that is that the numerous tribal and folk societies which still survive in almost every part of the world can be provided with the means for self-protection and self-realization... Tribes and folk societies can and do provide their people with a way of life which is usually much more psychologically healthy and meaningful than do mass cultures, and... we must allow the smaller societies to preserve themselves in order to provide mankind with a continuing alternative to the super-culture and super-society. (Jack D. Forbes, "Tribes and Masses: the Self-Development of Folk Societies," unpublished ms.).

John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, felt that the world at large had a great deal to learn from the socio-religious orientation of still-functioning native societies:

They had what the world has lost. They have it now. What the world has lost, the world must have again lest it die. Not many years are left to have or have not, to recapture the lost ingredient... What, in our human world, is this power to live? It is the ancient, lost reverence and passion for human personality, joined with the ancient, lost reverence and passion for the earth and its web of life.

This indivisible reverence and passion is what the American Indians almost universally had; and representative groups of them have it still.

If our modern world should be able to recapture this power, the earth's natural resources and web of life would not be irrevocably wasted within the twentieth century, which is the prospect now. True democracy, founded in neighborhoods and reaching over the world, would become the realized heaven on earth. And living peace--not just an

interlude between wars--would be born and would last through ages... (John Collier, Indians of the Americas, 1948, pp. 7 ff.)

Finally, the Indian people must be regarded as an extremely significant portion of the North American population because in their present condition and in their life-history since the 1580's they serve as perhaps the key witness to the "true" character of the dominant Anglo-American group. As this writer wrote in 1966:

The Indians are a looking-glass into the souls of North Americans. If we want to dissect the Anglo and analyze his character we must find out what he does when no one else cares, when no one is in a position to thwart his will--when he can do as he pleases. And with the Indian the Anglo has done what he pleased, with no one to care, and with the Indian ultimately too weak to resist, except passively... (Jack D. Forbes, "The Indian: Looking Glass Into The Souls of White Americans," Liberator, August 1966, pp. 6-9; September 1966, pp. 14-17).

The North American native people, then, constitute a unique "test" for the real intentions and most deeply-held values of Anglo-Americans. The history of the North American white population, their present beliefs, and their future behavior cannot be understood without examining very closely the treatment accorded those relatively powerless native groups under their control and subject, ultimately, to their will.

Implications for Instructional Planning

Something has already been said in relation to courses which should be developed in the area of American Indian history. One should not suppose, however, that the field of Native American Studies is limited solely to historical developments or that colleges can ignore other areas. For example, the following areas demand the development of courses:

A. Native American Literature: the field of Indian literature is vast indeed, extending as it does from ancient Nahuatl and Maya texts (both prose and poetry), to oral literature (legends, myths, folklore, secular prose, migration accounts, et cetera), to literature written after the European invasion (secular prose, political tracts, periodical articles), to oral history and speeches, to literature of the present day (novels, plays, poetry, political tracts, et cetera). In addition to the vast body of Indian-composed literature are the many hundreds of novels, plays, and short stories written by non-Indians about Indians. Several courses are needed in this field, including Ancient Meso-American Literature, Native American Poetry, the Indian Novel, and American Indian Literature.

B. American Indian Legal-Political Studies. Quite clearly, the political organization of Indian peoples sheds much light upon human political development, while the constitutional position of Indians elucidates general legal practice and theory. One cannot fully understand political-legal developments in the United States, for example, without becoming familiar with the Gayanashagowa (constitution) of the Iroquois or the legal-political experience of the Cherokee Republic (1825-1907). Courses are needed in American Indian Law (U.S. and Canada), American Indian Political Organization, the Indian and the Constitution, the Legal-Political History of Indians in the Americas, and Contemporary



## Tribal Government and Law.

C. Native American Arts. Most laymen recognize the vigor of the Indian contribution in basketry, ceramics, weaving, painting, wood carving and sculpture, et cetera, but it is ironic that few university art departments do. Quite clearly, courses are needed in the various American Indian arts, including music, dealing not merely with the past but with the dynamic ongoing reality of developments in this field.

D. Native American Religion and Philosophy. Oriental religion and philosophy has at long last gained entrance to the curricula of some North American colleges but the thought of the indigenous peoples of the Americas has received virtually no attention except in anthropology courses focusing upon so-called "Primitive Religion" or, briefly, in some "Comparative Religion" courses. Is it possible to ignore the religions and philosophical contributions of thousands of years and of millions of people in a university which conceives of itself as being dedicated to the pursuit of universal knowledge? Certainly, Indian religion and philosophy is worthy of at least one course each focusing upon Meso-America, South America, and North America.

E. Native American Education. Thousands of teachers are now being trained who will work with Indian pupils and yet, with a handful of exceptions, they are receiving no training in Indian education. Courses are needed in the Fundamentals of Native-Indian Education, Indian Education in Cultural-Historical Perspective, Curriculum Development in Indian Education, Indian School Administration, and Counseling of Indian Pupils. In addition, teacher-candidates will often need to become familiar with an Indian language.

F. American Indian Languages. Certain Indian languages are now occasionally being taught in North American colleges and universities, such as Nava-

jo, Cherokee, Quechua, and Maya. It is quite obvious, however, that the needs of students being trained as social workers, community developers, attorneys, doctors, teachers, et cetera, for Indian areas are being more often than not ill-met because of the lack of access to Indian language courses. (It should be noted that the teaching of Indian languages in a linguistics department is quite irrelevant to the above needs). Each college and university will, of course, have to concentrate principally upon those languages especially important in its service area.

G. American Indian Tribal and Community Development. A great need exists in terms of the training of persons, both Indian and non-Indian, for working in Native American communities throughout the Americas. A part of this training will consist in courses which acquaint the student with the history, culture, and language of particular populations but other specialized courses will be needed in American Indian Community Development, Meso-American Indian Community Development, Andean Indian Community Development, American Indian Health Programs, Indian Applied Ethnohistory, Contemporary Indian Affairs, Indian Social Work et cetera.

H. Other Areas for Instruction. Instructional programs also need to be developed in Indian Agricultural-Rural Development, Indian Communication Science, Comparative Tribal Studies, and in American Indian ethnology, ethnohistory, culture and personality, psychology et cetera. As regards the fields now represented in anthropology departments, it is worth noting that ordinarily only a superficial introduction to Indian cultures are available and this usually is at the general level (i.e., dealing with many diverse cultures in an introductory course). These courses seldom provide any real insight into any particular culture and often provide no concept of the changing nature of a people's way of

life. In brief, many specialized courses will need to be developed and they will have to be oriented towards understanding living peoples rather than understanding museum collections of artifacts, some supposed "aboriginal" stage of development, or theoretical "general laws" of cultural evolution.

The Student Population to be Served by

Indian Studies

It is quite clear that the programs of most colleges and universities in the United States have been, and still are, oriented towards serving the white middle-class or upper-class populations. These programs have never prepared Indian students for adequate participation in the ongoing development of Indian communities, and, in addition, their anti-Indian bias has served to alienate those native students who have managed to overcome the hurdles posed by white secondary education and pro-white admission procedures.

Clearly, then, any college which hopes to serve Indian students must develop a comprehensive Indian Studies program.

The rationale for establishing such a program does not consist solely in meeting the needs of Indian students however. Many non-Indians will continue to earn their livings by working with native populations as teachers and other professionals. These people have often performed dismally in the past and their training must be radically altered.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly of all, a massive effort must be made by colleges and universities to overcome the chauvinism, ethnocentrism, and narrow nationalism of the Anglo-American people. This can only occur, in so far as higher education is concerned, when college faculties overcome their own chauvinism and create truly multi-cultural and multi-ethnic institutions.

It is ironic indeed that college professors, notorious for their alleged

concern about the racism, prejudice, and ignorance of the Anglo-American "masses," have themselves displayed the same kind of narrowness for a century and even now are opening up their institutions to non-European subject-matter only as a result of the great pressure exerted by the awakening of post-World War II Africa, Asia and Latin America and the "revolts" of American minorities.

It seems quite obvious that academicians, concerned about creating a more enlightened, rational, and cosmopolitan world, should make every effort to be certain that their college is truly enlightened, rational and cosmopolitan itself. The development of Native American Studies, along with Black Studies, Asian Studies, and Mexican-American/Latin American Studies, is clearly an essential and overdue step in that direction.