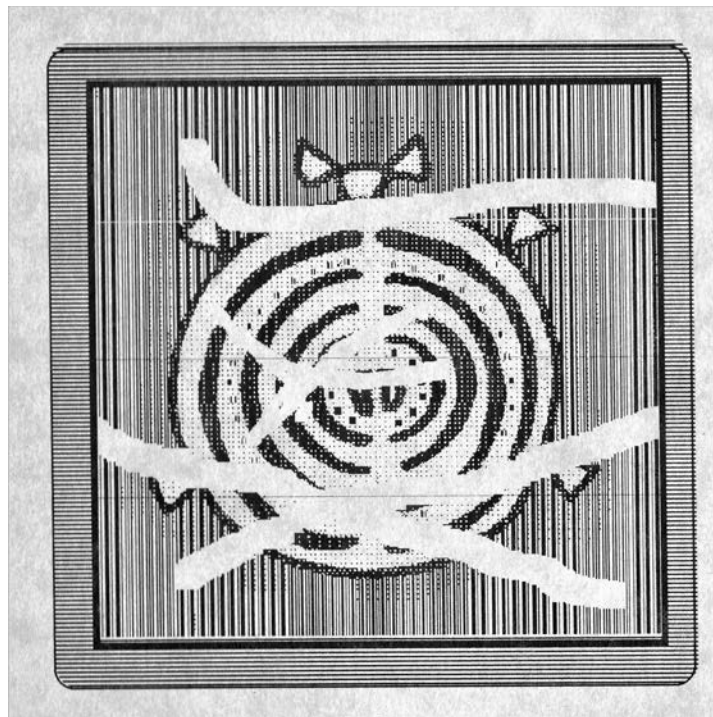


No Brave Champion

No Brave Champion

Volume 1

**Racism, the Chumash Indians,
And the University of California**



By John M. Anderson's

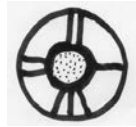
Social Commentary

John M. Anderson has published numerous books on native American history and mythology. One focus of his historical research is the Indian bands associated with the Tejon Reservation of central California. The Chumash Indians, who occupied the western section of this reservation, appear frequently in his writings.

"California needs to frankly acknowledge that its culture and economy has been built on a foundation of racism. It should be publicly acceptable to condemn this as a shameful heritage." (7).

"A clear assessment of the past is essential to the development of viable alternatives for the future. Yet contemporary Californians, rejecting their ancient native cultures in favor of a pseudo-Spanish 'life-style', show little willingness to delve into the subconscious depth from which our questionable public ethics evolved." (35).

University of California: University Press publication policies (Kroeber, Powers, Cook, Heizer & Whipple), Anthropology Departments, Racism. Native American Culture: Racism. Native American: Chumash, Yokuts, Pomo, Tejon. Indian Reservations of California: Tejon, Santa Barbara, Santa Ynez.



"I don't think many Indians were real crazy about Kroeber...and many anthropologists are now starting to see that they have to stop treating him like a god and give a realistic appraisal of his place in anthropology. He did inhibit a lot of things that could have taken place of a positive nature in California so I would just go ahead and give an honest opinion and let the devil take the hindmost."

Vine Deloria, author of *God is Red*, in response to a letter from the author about publication of *No Brave Champion* November 1997.



"I have always sought out Dr. Anderson's books on mythology, as first-rate writings. The Yokut Shield was a fascinating first book for the author in the field of California ethnohistory. With the publication of this book, Anderson emerges as an important voice calling for reconciliation between the academic community and native Californians. Anderson frankly acknowledges past failures of so-called academic neutrality, which provided justification for university scholars to wield undue power over 'salvage' archaeology and anthropology projects. In the end, Anderson is correct when he asserts that only the native Californians can define their own culture.

Greg Schaaf, Cherokee, past Chumash tribal historian,
Director of the Center For Indigenous Studies,
Santa Fe, New Mexico.

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"An absorbing read: Anderson has obviously put a lot of time into researching his sources. The focus of his commentary is on older anthropological books and articles which continue to assigned in college classrooms as classics in the field.

Although the author is less sympathetic toward Alfred Kroeber than I, his conclusions and mine are generally in agreement including a goodly amount of skepticism concerning anthropological scholarship. Critical assessment is valuable to all of us, and in publishing this text Anderson has made a positive contribution to the study of race relations and anthropology in California."

Dolan Eargle, University of California, San Francisco, 1997
Author of *Californai Indian Country*



Scholarly Bias ?

In 1998, the author submitted a report to the California State Department of Transportation. He commented on recent research on Chumash Indian sites located in southern California. One of the most important statements Anderson made in this report was that he no longer had confidence in the practice of hiring a single company or individual scholar to write ethnohistories of sites selected for 'salvage' studies.

The traditional role of university-trained researchers has changed dramatically in recent decades, as a larger number of doctoral graduates from anthropology and archaeology departments have been unable to find research and teaching jobs in universities and colleges.

As a growing number of these scholars turned to industry and government for employment, native leaders have begun to question whether some of these 'practical' anthropologists were serving as spokespersons for corporate and government interests. An increasingly contentious conflict between rival anthropological and archaeological camps has become a growing cause for concern.

In was in this context of scholarly rancor [which remains eternally fruitful with the potential of open debate] that Anderson concluded that: "The academic community is too fragmented, and no longer enjoys the necessary esteem of tribal, corporate, and government interest groups to serve as a sole depository of public trust."

* *"Jonjonata: And Chumash Indian Traditionalism,"*
for further information see the web page at:

<http://www.angelfire.com/id/newpubs/jonjonata.html>

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Introduction

These passages express one person's viewpoint on a very complex subject: accommodation to popular prejudice by American researchers studying native American culture. Some readers may find the opening passages abrasive, but I hope they will read on and measure the book's merit after completing all the chapters.
*

I do not believe that scholars can write morally 'neutral' texts in the humanities. The problem explored in this book, therefore, is not that ethical values have crept into the articles and books of University of California professors. What is important is that we clearly understand the explicit and implicit judgments intertwined with facts and figures presented in our classrooms, and that we take responsibility for the impact of these judgments on the lives of people - for both the living and future generations.

John Anderson
May 14, 1997

** Although the Chumash are frequently cited in the text, almost any California tribal group could be substituted to illustrate both the positive and the negative impact that state sponsored research has had on the native peoples of California in the last hundred years.*

(See footnote 59 for related discussion)

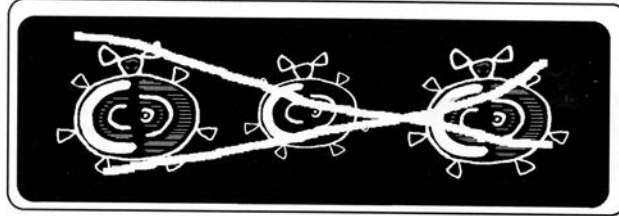
No Brave Champion

California State History
The 'Indian Problem'

Extermination was the avowed destiny of native Californians, according to the proclamations of the first American governor. He had been elected to represent the interests of the gold miners, who wanted all natives pushed into the interior deserts or killed outright. When the federal government signed treaties with a large number of California natives, American mining and railroad interests lobbied successfully to have these treaties seized and hidden away. The federal government cooperated with this duplicity, as did the federal and state courts in California.

The Indians were subsequently stripped of their lands, gold, and all else of material worth. And when they were fully impoverished, they had to suffer the indignities imposed by hostile state agencies which administered programs designed to strip them of their human dignity. This text provides a partial review of the role played by the state university in this process of denigration.

Chapter 1



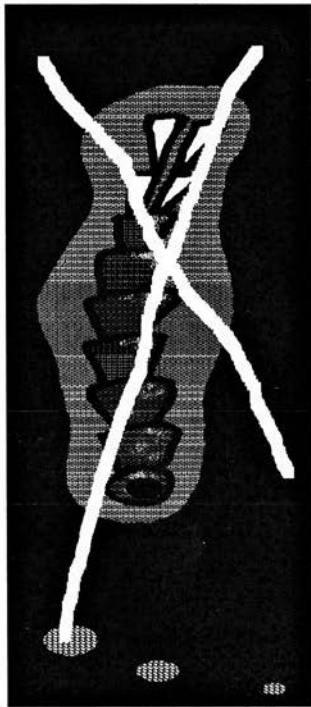
California Culture Has Its Roots In Racism

California needs to frankly acknowledge that its culture and economy has been built on a foundation of racism. It should be publicly acceptable to condemn this as a shameful heritage, for California society will soon be undergoing profound changes in race relations. A realistic assessment of the past is essential for laying the foundations for better race relations in the future.

Within the lifetime of the children born today, minority racial and ethnic groups will expand in population until they outnumber Euro-Americans. This will be the first time in centuries that California residents will not be governed by a white majority! They will have to adjust to a political future in which California will be among the first states to transfer political power to non-whites. William Henry, in a recent *Time* magazine article, describes such population shifts as the "browning of America."¹ He predicted that they will profoundly alter everything in our society, from politics and economics, to culture. In California, white students are already a minority, partly as a result of Latinos increasing to over thirty percent of school enrollment.

A large number of California's Spanish speaking residents are descendants of native immigrants from areas such as Mexico. When faced with fierce anti-native 'mission' policies, many mixed-blood native children chose to identify with their colonial parents (Spanish/Mexican). As a result, strong identifications with native cultures remained a rarity. Even Latinos with almost total native genetic heritage seldom convert back to speaking a native language or attend native churches. This has left the Chumash and other California native peoples politically vulnerable, since the Latino voting block remains effectively isolated from political issues of concern to Indians.

"As a person of European descent, I am concerned about the widespread popularity of such conservative ideas in California. Conservation is only a virtue if what is being conserved is desirable."



It is essential that native history be better documented and understood, for the roots of contemporary racism against Asian, Mexican, and African Californians have their origins in the hostile attitudes against native Californians who were the original caretakers of the land.

The struggle over the Catholic church's proposal to declare Junipero Serra a 'saint' is an example, since a large number of Latino Catholics in California have either stayed neutral in the controversy or accepted the guidelines issued from the church headquarters in Rome. Native Californians were among the most vocal leaders of the protest movement against Serra, which gained national television coverage in 1987 when the Pope visited the state. Many Indian leaders expressed the deepest remorse, at the prospect of Rome honoring the man who ran the mission system which brought their ancestors to the brink of extinction.² In spite of widespread coverage of the Indian viewpoint and the exigency of the issues under debate, a large number of Latinos and a majority of whites avoided actively supporting the native cause. As a result, the impact of the native Californian vigil at Carmel was minimized and a significant opportunity for non-Indians to educate themselves about native religious issues was lost.

Φ Φ Φ

One of the main causes of native political isolation is the saturation of mass media with Euro-centric world views. This is generally the economic reality imposed on television networks, newspapers, magazines, and books. Such media extols the virtue of white culture, interpreting world events from the perspective of Western Europe as the keystone of historical progress. Henry's Time magazine article demonstrates the problems facing native leaders seeking better press in California.³ Henry perpetuates the myth of the uniquely benevolent history of white Americans, while blaming minority ethnic groups. The native minorities of Russia and Eastern Europe have the moral right to break away from the controls of white Russians, Henry reassures his readers. But the native minorities of America have no such rights. The United States of America, he concludes, will never break apart like the Soviet empire, because white Americans are innocent of repressing native minorities. Pseudo-histories, such as that featured in Henry's commentary, continue to saturate the American mass media. I find such media coverage offensive, because it encourages

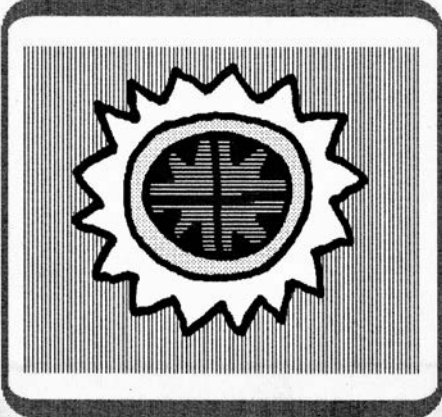
self-congratulatory Americans to ignore their true history which is based on conquest and subjugation of native populations. Henry is not interested in the hard and irrefutable documentation of the confiscations of native lands; his focus is the modern myth of a blameless America. He states that: "The U.S. was created, and continues to be redefined, primarily by voluntary immigration."⁴ This claim is absurd; native peoples of America did not volunteer to move from their lands and give up their natural resources to foreigners, but had them taken from them through violence.

The *Times* article goes on to examine the question of changing curriculum in the decades ahead. In California, even though the majority of students are now non-white, European history and culture continues to dominate the classroom. Conservatives (conserving European bias) now acknowledge the inevitability of a multiracial California, but want to control the content of textbooks in hopes of preventing them from becoming multicultural. The universally accepted set of values that should dominate in the future, they argue, should be those of Europeans. New immigrants should be exposed to a curriculum which conforms to European values, and the churches should be strengthened so they can preserve Euro-Christian religious affiliation.

As a person of European descent, I am concerned about the widespread popularity of such conservative ideas in California. Conservation is only a virtue if what is being conserved is desirable.⁵ The period of overt racial bias in America is one which we should gladly put behind us. In this light, it is encouraging to see mass-distributed magazines such as *Time* addressing racial issues in a straightforward manner. California is changing dramatically, and the next century will be remarkably altered from the white dominated society of our youth.

It is only natural that as the proportion of peoples from Asia, Africa, and Latin America increase, state culture will reflect stronger influences from these parts of the world. Thoughtful policies need to be adopted in the decades ahead concerning an increasingly multicultural society. America has the potential of constructively transfiguring itself. The native American should be one focus of any healing process embraced by thoughtful whites. Euro-Americans have a great deal to gain by popping the bubble of cultural isolation which separates us from the rest of the world, and by facing the truth of our brutal treatment of native peoples on this continent.

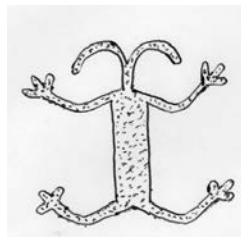
Christianity is not above reproach for arrogance and willingness to use violence against populations of differing theological traditions. We cannot forget the legacy of European witch hunts which drove many of our early European immigrants to this continent. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were supported by Christian populations, who complied with social programs enforced through totalitarian means. Early European immigrants to America threw themselves against the natives with ferocity, and their own records of these first American wars document the hatred which drove whites into committing heinous acts in the name of their god.



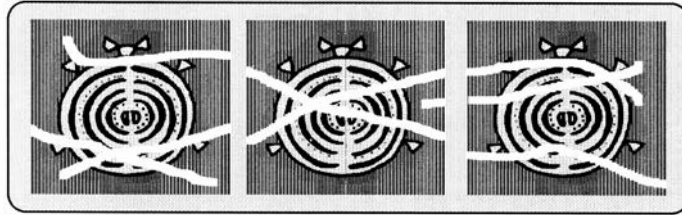
**Legal Recognition
Of California Indians**

"Why are California Indians *still* trying to get the federal government to simply recognize their existence? Haven't archaeology and sociology scholars documented enough of their heritage to make their role as major participants in California history perfectly clear?" (Anderson, Chumash Nation, 1995; written in response to the federal government's continued refusal to legally recognize many California tribes),

By the time California was attacked by the Americans, racism was so ingrained in the social values of the invading Christians that they made no effort to hide it. Later generations were embarrassed by their parents' virulent racism, and passed state curriculum guidelines to suppress dissemination of information about their extreme racism. Subsequently, state curriculum materials were designed to whitewash this whole shameful era of state history. Racist textbooks continued to be approved by state, county, and city (white) officials determined to legitimize the American occupation of the region and suppress understanding of native grievances. The result has been that generations of racist texts have been assigned reading in public classrooms, including those at the college level where 'Western Civilization' became a euphemism for indoctrination in European superiority. Native California culture was routinely denigrated as uncivilized, and was given perfunctory treatment in a quick survey of the Spanish and Mexican periods.



Chapter 2



What Is Civilization?

Open-minded study of another culture is difficult. In the past, many Euro-American scholars have not been equal to the great sensitivity demanded of the endeavor. The Chumash, for example, have been repeatedly described as "uncivilized" by Euro-Christian scholars. One of the meanings of the term 'civilization' is to act civilly, that is to serve an ethics greater than one's own narrow self interests. In this sense, both Chumash and Europeans demonstrated civilized behavior when they elevated their ethics beyond individual selfishness. But the term has a broader meaning which includes simple decency - a respect for fairness and courtesy. Given these criteria, it has been white Americans who have too often acted as uncivilized people.

California state history is a story of excessive behavior, which resulted in the violation of our native populations as well as degradation to the land itself.⁶ As a result of inadequate moral restraints within Euro-Christian theology, white Americans have elevated individual greed to a level of self-destruction. Over-population and pollution have reached crisis levels, and a higher environmental ethics is now a dire need. I am convinced that better understanding of native theology will help us find our way into this new morality. Almost everything that you read about Chumash religion is written by non-natives, and presents a Euro-Christian critique of Chumash philosophy. This is unfortunate, since a balanced analysis can only be obtained if Chumash traditionalists are also allowed to present their views. Too often we assume a great separation between the two traditions, but a wider dialogue might reveal a significant common ground. Allocating more resources to document the many parallels between Chumash and Christian theologies would lead to an increased appreciation of the universality of religious experiences and encourage tolerance for varied viewpoints. Native cultures would be strengthened through this dialogue, and they should emerge to play a greater role in the evolution of our rapidly changing California culture. It would be wrong for the state to continue to turn its back on California's native heritage, while opening its doors to Latino and Asian immigrants who in increasing numbers are

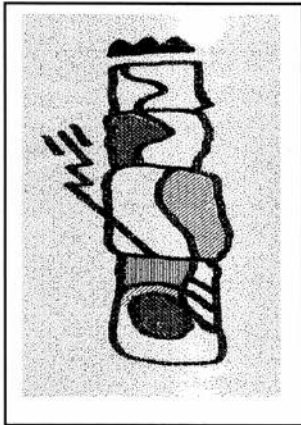
proving the virtues of 'foreign' ideas, both in our universities and in the workplace.⁷

My past writings condemning Spanish and Mexican church policies should not be misconstrued as anti-Catholic. The fact is that if the Baptists (or Methodists, Presbyterians, or any other religious group) had run the production centers ('missions') where the Chumash suffered cultural and physical genocide, then my criticisms would have focused on

Social Justice

"The economic future of California lies in expanded ties with the nations of the Pacific Rim. Hope for a bright economic future dazzles our eyes, but prosperity will not bring social stability unless it is supported by social justice. Until we come to grips with the pervasive racial bias within our state culture, we will find it difficult to establish stable multiracial political coalitions which can deal effectively with pressing issues such as environmental degradation and overpopulation."

(Epilogue, page 35)



My writings often touch upon the topic of Indian religion and the dynamics generated when one compares the views of scholars trained in American universities with those of traditional native theologians.⁸ Universal principles of 'fair play' in scholarship should be honored in order to avoid misunderstandings resulting whenever academicians attempt to analyze, [with supposed scientific objectivity] a suppressed culture within their own society.

their theological beliefs. Protestant Americans did indeed have a shameful history in California. The significant socio-political difference was that by the time the Protestants gained power, Catholic rule ("spiritual guardianship") had already devastated the Chumash so completely that the Protestant impact was blunted by a lack of equal numbers of victims. The Chumash had already been reduced to a fraction of their original population, and they only survived the early decades of Protestant rule by taking shelter in the Mexican Catholic community.

Mexican colonial families suddenly became more tolerant of their native neighbors, as their own family members became the victims of imperialism imposed by religiously hostile conquerors. Since the American governments would not allow native peoples religious freedom, the Chumash became allied to the Catholic church; they had nowhere else to go. Protestants shunned them and it was generally expected that the Chumash, along with other natives, would disappear. The so-called Vanished Race, however, proved to be tougher than predicted. Chumash families clung tenaciously to every shred of culture they could preserve. Since many of them found protection through affiliation with the Catholic church, they came to appreciate its assistance and identify with its doctrines.

In recent times, the Chumash, like native populations throughout the continent, have undergone a cultural renaissance. Greater civil rights and religious tolerance have allowed them newly found freedom. As a result of such changes, large numbers of native families are undergoing a self-examination which is leading to renewed interest in the theological teachings of their ancestors. Pan-tribal organizations are helping native intellectuals document the commonalities between native religious teachings. They have gained a deeper understanding of how alienation between native populations, fostered by white scholarship, weakened them politically. Generations of Chumash, with only fragments of their traditional songs, prayers, inspirational speeches, and folk tales surviving intact into the modern world, have entered an era of cultural

revitalization, stimulated by the newly released John Harrington's Smithsonian Institution documentation of their ancestral heritage.

In the last few decades, college trained Chumash have begun to compare these oral traditions with those of Pomo, Ipai, Mohave, and other native peoples of California. Some of the Chumash became apprentices to spiritual leaders among these related peoples, returning to Chumashia with increased knowledge and a profound respect for pan-tribal ties to neighboring cultures. Yet much of this activity went unnoticed in mainstream white institutions, where leading academics continued to reward scholarly caution over cooperative modeling. The ancient theological substratum which was increasingly drawing the attention of the youth in native California cultures was occasionally acknowledged, but rarely became the focus of white commentary.

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An excellent example of distortion of native theology lies in Euro-Christian denigration of native California teachings about the Creator deity. In 1877 Stephen Powers popularized the belief that most native cultures in California had no conception of a Supreme being.⁹ He discounted widespread evidence of native names for a creator god, arguing that they were only borrowings from European religion. The native intellect was too inferior, he was convinced, to develop such a sophisticated religious concept. Powers came to this erroneous conclusion because he grossly underestimated the extent of native caution in discussing religion with colonials. He was working in a period when violence against California natives who were outspoken in defense of their beliefs was common. Chumash and other native peoples were well aware of religious intolerance of Americans, and they went to great lengths to hide their traditional views. This phenomenon serves as a classic example of how white scholarship distorted its findings by ignoring bias in data collecting. Dogmas were thereby institutionalized as a result of social pressures. The expectation had been planted for negative assessment of native beliefs about a creator god. Even when fragments of data survived, such as the Enememe characterization of the



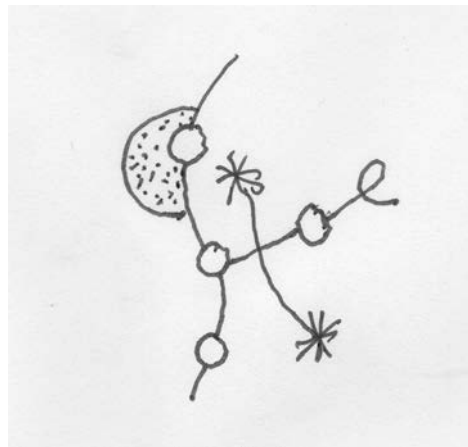
The Chumash Underground
A Case Study of Religious Repression

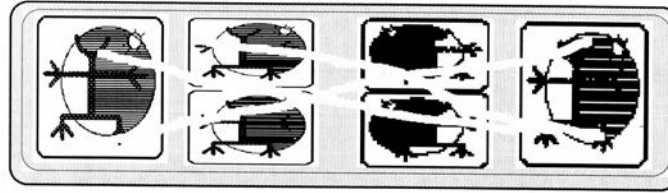
The Chumash religious centers of Alkash in Goleta bay and Saticoy near Ventura are classic examples of native communities adopting cautionary policies during the religious repressions of the early American period of California history. Kitsepawit, one of the leading Chumash historians, attended secret traditional classes at Kashwa and made it very clear that the theologians (both from the islands and mainland) fundamentally rejected Catholicism. Like Saticoy, however, they did not dare do so openly.

As a result, American scholars like Powers came to such communities and were met with silence on real issues of intellectual disagreement with the Christians. In his arrogance, Powers apparently mistook reticence for ignorance.

Chumash, it was routinely glossed over as unworthy of serious study. Safer scholarship (based on "careful" research) was the route to advancement. And, as a result, dialogue about traditional religion between university scholars and contemporary natives continued to be downgraded. Academics thus lost the opportunity to preserve information about creator god concepts.

Natives did eventually become less cautious over reprisals against those who preserved traditional religious teachings in California. However, for many white scholars working after 1910, the opinions of living natives were considered irrelevant to their research. A large number chose to assess pre-invasion cultures and did not value statements from their living descendants. Thus many elders died with their secrets lost. California academic norms thereby encouraged socio-political degradation of native peoples, perpetuating their alienation from the mainstream culture of the state. Native impoverishment and landlessness was usual, while even the most sympathetic publications had little impact in the face of fundamental despair. Kitsepawit, Piliqutayiwit, and numerous other Chumash overcame their distrust to work with John Harrington and a select group of other American intellectuals. Fortunately for their peoples, Harrington was a true friend and helped preserve invaluable records of their theology in Smithsonian archives. It was not until the 1970's, however, that his fascinating research began to capture public attention.





Alfred Kroeber And Racism

When I had my first informal conversations with Chumash in the late 1970's, I was deeply moved by their anguish over the policies of the University of California toward their peoples.

My wife and I were working at the Santa Barbara campus at this time, and a series of controversial articles had just appeared in the local newspapers sensitizing us to native viewpoints on current issues in the news. By California law, for example, university faculty were primarily responsible for research and publication at the post-secondary level of education. The Chumash and other natives relied upon them as a primary provider of publicly funded information about their culture. They had a right to expect fair and thoughtful assessment from these specialists. Since Santa Barbara was the University's lead campus in Chumashia, its relations with the Chumash should have been an especially sensitive one. Unfortunately, relations between the campus and the Chumash community were deteriorating.

The Anthropology Department had become embroiled in controversy, periodically being dragged into damaging public debates with native critics. Members of the faculty were evidently threatened by native organizations objecting to their archaeological digs, especially on the nearby Chumash islands located offshore in the Santa Barbara Channel. Chumash leaders were calling for greater sensitivity toward their religious beliefs. Laws protecting native religious sites placed university faculty under new restrictions. Some faculty were very outspoken in their opposition to native attempts to limit their research opportunities. A particularly volatile situation developed after a local newspaper charged improper student handling of Chumash skeletons, dug up through publicly funded archaeological projects. Bones from innumerable burials had been scattered together in a large laboratory basin for examination by undergraduates, who routinely handled them without faculty supervision. Not unexpectedly, Native American students reported numerous incidents of disrespect by non-natives.

Chumash families, already alienated from the local archaeologists and anthropologists, decided to focus on this issue as a means of educating the general public about abusive university policies. To test the university's integrity, they asked that the bones of their ancestors be removed from the metal bins and be buried. With tongue in cheek, my recently acquired native colleagues proposed one afternoon over a cup of coffee that the department could purchase artificial bones, or perhaps use the bones dug up from local Mexican and American graves for future undergraduate studies.

Lack of cooperation from the department led to continued bad publicity. It seemed like everyone else I knew in the university was appalled by the department's obstinacy, since similar confrontations were occurring nationwide as native religious leaders from Florida to Alaska sought legal rulings restricting academic access to native graveyards and other spiritual sites. Federal and state courts were becoming increasingly sensitive to native theological issues, but the university's use of academic freedom as a leverage to resist restrictions only contributed to tensions.

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The University's response to the Santa Barbara Chumash protests unfortunately held true to past generations of unsympathetic policies and procedures. Beginning with the earliest days of the American university system, when Berkeley was reserved for upwardly mobile Euro-Christians, (hereafter referred to as whites) native peoples have been systematically excluded from sharing the resources of higher education. Under the state bureaucracy natives were considered so inferior that they were relegated to the lowest levels of vocational education. This meant enrollment in segregated schools, designed by whites for indoctrinating native children into Euro-Christian cultures and blue-collar occupations. Although the University of California Press was in an ideal position to help rectify this situation, it made inadequate efforts to alleviate the prejudices which perpetuated the second-class status of natives. Instead, the press began publishing books and journals filled with hostile sentiments against the native cultures of California. The *Journal of American Archaeology and Ethnology* for example, became a prime offender. Articles appearing in this highly prestigious but cantankerous journal were typically written by mid-career white male professors who reinforced cultural norms by depicting native peoples as primitive and

Dolan Eargle

"Euro-centrism is still rampant in California, and a lot of credit for this phenomenon can be attributed to books you review. But I think you have been too harsh with Kroeber and his close colleagues in *No Brave Champion*. They did a pretty good job of breaking out of the straight 'science' mold of that era. Kroeber, for all his bias, was probably the first anthropologist with any cultural sensitivity. Of course he and other Berkeley anthropologists were loaded with Euro-baggage, but so were American trained philosophers, psychologists, sociologists (a new field), historians, and even the chemists and physicists."

(personal correspondence to J. Anderson, October 10, 1997)

uncivilized. Neither the University regents nor top level administrators took the initiative to silence their rude provocations.

Alfred Kroeber, the best-known anthropologist from the University, served for decades as its academic spokesperson on native issues. I first became interested in Kroeber's career after listening to a Chumash man's litany of complaints against him. The focus of the discussion was a 1932 guidebook used by the American Museum of Natural History. Kroeber wrote that the aboriginal peoples of California have always been among the "most backward" natives on the continent.¹⁰ While writing about their beautiful basketry traditions, Kroeber used the publication as a means to convince the museum visitors of their cultural inferiority. Other Americans were so accustomed to think of them as backward and childlike, Kroeber wrote, that it is a great temptation for non-natives to feel pleased with documentation of their failures. Basketry, he conceded, was fortunately not among the many endeavors in which they failed.¹¹

It is difficult to overstate the impact of a man like Kroeber on native culture, since his reputation was irreproachable among Euro-Christian intellectuals. His writings are very revealing to anyone trying to understand why Chumash theology has received so little attention in the past. Kroeber was fascinated with native cultures and dedicated his life to preserving and analyzing information about them. But this preservation was achieved at the cost of systemic denigration, since Kroeber saw these native cultures as inferior to his own. To a contemporary reader, it is evident that Kroeber's writings are filled with implicit ethical judgments based on Euro-Christian values rather than academic objectivity.

In order to understand native objections to Kroeber's approach to anthropology, it would be helpful to take a brief look at his social background. His life was about as far removed from that of a native Californian as one could imagine. Kroeber first came to the anthropology

Kroeber's Racial Bias

MYTHOLOGICAL DRAMAS Kroeber taught his predominately white students at the Berkeley campus that all California natives lacked the ability to express "imagination and originality" to a proper "point of expressiveness" (Handbook 861).

DREAMING Kroeber describes the Mohave reverence for dream analysis as "a strange attitude" (Kroeber, Handbook, 754). Dreams were the "foundation of Mohave life" (Kroeber, Handbook, 755). Compare Visions.

CALENDAR "The California Indian did not record the passage of long intervals of time" (Kroeber, Handbook, 873).

EDUCATION Learning among the Mohave seems to be a "valueless nothing" so that they rely on dreaming to justify a reliance on traditional values; "a strange attitude" (Handbook, 754).

FUNERALS The Mohave mourning practices were "appalling" because they expressed their grief during the last hours of a dying person's life (Kroeber, Handbook, 749).

HISTORICAL DRAMAS Kroeber was impatient with the length of many Mohave oral histories, describing them pejoratively as "long pseudo-historical narrations" (Handbook, 770).

department at Berkeley in 1901, as a new graduate from Columbia University. Thereafter, he dominated a generation of white academic research on native studies, publishing over five hundred articles and books until his death in 1960. It is my impression that his orientation during this period of productivity was dominated by his aspirations of upward social mobility, rather than establishing friendships in the native communities which he visited so often. He remained aloof from the 'lower' classes, identifying with professional goals and the exciting social life on the Berkeley campus. His continual lobbying for funds for facilities and staff at the university brought him in contact with rich families and powerful corporations in the state. Kroeber worked closely, for example, with Mrs. Randolph Hearst whose financial backing he openly acknowledged in a 1923 article where she is described as having founded the Department of Anthropology at Berkeley.¹² Mrs. Hearst's husband was the wealthiest man in the state, having inherited a fortune and political connections from his father who had served as a State Senator. Hearst became one of the most successful newspaper publishers in the country, using yellow journalism to develop profitable markets for his papers. The significant implication for Kroeber was that Hearst's corporate assets included control of the most influential newspaper in the Bay Area. It is evident why Kroeber and other academicians of his day sought the approval of Hearst and other power brokers of California society. He realized at an early point in his career that if the anthropology department was to grow, it had to appeal to the values of its benefactors.

The native people of California paid a heavy price for the politicizing of the humanities. In spite of profuse claims of grandiose ethical goals, the University favored a persistent and pragmatic accommodation to the prejudice of the era. By the 1920's Kroeber was well established in his career, with a growing reputation as the nation's leading white expert on California native studies. Unfortunately this success was built on a proliferation of racially biased publications. Kroeber served as an apologist for Europeans whom he described as upholding a "superior civilization."¹³ He wrote for a white readership whose culture provided his standard of valuation.¹⁴ Endless repetitions of passages decrying the uncivilized behavior of the native populations appeared in his writings. He thus found moral grounds for excusing white confiscation of native wealth in a variety of arguments. Even the democratic roots of native political philosophy were denigrated for causing decentralization in native governments. Native religions were described as 'cults' in which witchcraft and other superstitious practices predominated. Witchcraft was supposedly so prevalent in aboriginal cultures that it was "indissolubly bound" with the medical field.¹⁵ But in contrast to these negative evaluations of native culture, Kroeber spoke of the "kindly flavor and humanitarian root" of the Spanish production centers ('missions') even in articles in which he acknowledged mass death rates at these facilities.¹⁶ Instead of using his anthropological training to study the ethical responsibility of Spaniards for the extensive deaths at these genocide centers, he simply described the causes of the ninety per cent death rate as "obscure."¹⁷

In 1923 Kroeber committed perhaps his least forgivable act against native Californians. At this time John Harrington was working closely with the Chumash and other native peoples, producing some of the best ethnographic materials ever developed in California. Kroeber ignored Harrington's brilliant research based on his close personal ties to

native communities. Kroeber instead chose to eulogize Stephen Powers' racist text on California cultures as the standard by which academic materials should be judged. It had been fifty-four years since Powers visited California, but Kroeber argued that his book was still "unsurpassed."¹⁸ Instead of recommending a wholesale reconceptualization of Powers' bigoted views, his praise reinforced their popularity and called for development of more exact data for systematizing future study. It must be remembered that Kroeber was the most influential white scholar in the field. He was giving his seal of approval to ideas popularized by Powers, such as the claim that native peoples in California were only elevated several degrees above the lowest savages; that all of them were extremely sensual and behaved sexually like animals; and that it was understandable when whites called them "Diggers" since they were entirely empty of mental force and originality.¹⁹

△ △ △ △

*Kroeber's wife Theodor published her popular book called *Ishi In Two Worlds*, through the University of California Press in 1962. This book, with all the authors good intentions, remains a 'classic' example of the alienation between white intellectuals associated with the university and native communities.*

Mrs. Kroeber [who undoubtedly considered herself friendly to natives] dedicated *Ishi* to her recently deceased husband. It was a study of a native man who had succeeded in avoiding contact with European invaders, by hiding with his Yahi family in their mountain homeland in northern California.²⁰ By the time of *Ishi's* surrender to colonial authorities in 1911, the rest of the free Yahi had died from disease, old age, or murder by settlers. They were the last of the California holdouts, since all other known natives had been captured by this date and forced to integrate into one of the reservation communities. Because he had committed no crime, *Ishi* (a nickname, meaning "a man") was released to Professor Kroeber at the University in Berkeley. He survived a number of years under Kroeber's supervision, during which time he became a celebrity.

MISSIONIZATION

Spanish and Mexican programs designed to forcibly relocate California natives into production camps had a "kindly flavor and humanitarian root"

(Kroeber, Handbook, 888).

Mrs. Kroeber sympathetically documented *Ishi's* treatment by the whites, including the odd behavior of academics at the university museum where he was housed. She describes her husband as one of *Ishi's* closest white friends at the time of his death from tuberculosis (which he caught through exposure to crowds in the San Francisco area). Instead of honoring him as a family friend, however, Kroeber treated *Ishi* more like a circus sideshow, routinely exhibiting him to the public with university approval and sponsorship. In *Ishi*, Mrs. Kroeber reveals the sensational

atmosphere of such events by repeatedly describing Ishi as a "wild man." He is celebrated as the last wild native in America, by which she apparently meant a native not officially assigned to a reservation by white authorities.²¹ The point is that Mrs. Kroeber's popular book is most valuable not for its documentation of native ethnography, but for its revelation about the 'politics' of the humanities at the University. Freedom of ideas was lauded as the highest goal of the institution, but white faculty and administrators demonstrated common human weakness as they voluntarily censored themselves to fit within the prejudices of their day. Instead of praising Ishi as the last active member of the native resistance movement in Northern California, Mrs. Kroeber chose to emphasize the story of his reconciliation with Christian society.²² The resulting book did not threaten the established elites of California, and it received rave reviews from national newspapers and literary critics.²³

The University has always been ultimately controlled by the regents, who include representatives from numerous special interest groups in the state but have been dominated by leaders of the business community. The first power elite in California, for example, was drawn from the ranks of the mining companies, railroads, and the businesses which supplied the state with an orderly economy needed for rapid growth. These power brokers championed the University as a source of research for economic development and the education of upper-class children. The board of regents served as their regulator of University policies so that it continued to serve their priorities.

Careful selection of candidates for teaching and administrative positions ensured that University personnel reinforced the values of upper and middle-class white society. Although diversity of opinion was tolerated in the humanities, serious dissent against racial bias was normally self-regulated by the conventional views of the majority of researchers. Natives, Asians, and African Americans were seldom hired to positions of authority, thus eliminating much of the inconveniences imposed by overt regulation of dissenting views.

The Kroebers in such an atmosphere were not the worst people that could have become spokespersons for anthropology. But from the perspective of native traditionalists, they clearly were not the best either. Their rise to eminence was characterized by a willingness to publish negative opinions about native cultures. The power brokers of the state were eager to reward such behavior, since they considered the Indian Issue very important to the prosperity of the growing white economy. Native land claims threatened to slow down the economic boom which started with the capture of Penutian gold fields in the 1840's. Treaties made with the Penutians, Chumash, and other native populations were unlawfully sealed from public view by the federal government, to facilitate the dismantling of legal protection for native lands. The

Theodora Kroeber's Terms

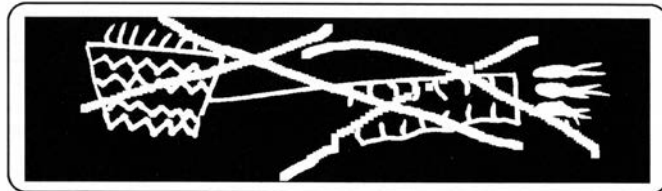
WILD INDIANS The subtitle of her book on Ishi described him as the last "wild" Indian in North America. She adopted this phrase from her husband and Waterman (Ishi, 7).

A LOST TRIBE Although Ishi was living in his homeland and knew every detail of its topography Theodora described him as a member of a "lost tribe" (Ishi, 7). Ishi was never lost, of course, for he knew where he wanted to live but was forced from his ancestral home by white settlers.

university and local schools ensured continued alienation through the use of propaganda in textbooks. Until only recently, this situation was so ubiquitous that it was taken for granted. The public had come to accept poverty, landlessness, and continued high death rates among California's natives because they had been systematically taught to expect nothing more from people who deviated from European traditions.



Chapter 4



The University Publishes Another Indian Handbook

By the mid-twentieth century, the University of California had still not significantly improved its racially biased publication guidelines in the field of native studies. The Truman administration, which used atomic warfare against Japanese cities, was in the middle of the Korean war in which over three million Koreans would die. It was not a good time for minorities in America, and the country was about to enter the doldrums of the Eisenhower years. Japanese -American families in California were just beginning to rebuild their shattered lives, after their release from unconstitutional imprisonment in concentration camps.

The small Santa Ynez reservation remained intact as a Chumash homeland, but ownership of the Santa Barbara and Tejon reservations of the Chumash were considered closed issues, in spite of John Harrington's continuing efforts to persuade state and federal agencies to help the Chumash regain title to these territorial bases.

In 1951 the *University Press* issued a new source book on California native cultures. It was edited by Heizer and Whipple, and was widely anticipated as an update of Kroeber's handbook on California Indians. This text was so successful that it was widely used in college classrooms for two decades, providing a crucial opportunity to wipe clean the slate of past animosities if it had featured new scholarship with more balanced coverage. It could have, for example, informed readers about the plight of the Tejon Chumash who had been recently evicted from their homes.

Instead it served as a passive depository of articles from the past, including numerous featured selections from Kroeber, Powers, and Cook. In the preface, the editors acknowledged that the collection was intended for a non-professional readership, yet they provided inadequate commentary to educate its readership about racial bias in the findings of these university researchers.²⁴

By 1971 when a new edition of the source book was issued, Heizer had replaced Kroeber as probably the best known researcher on native culture in the state. His attitudes toward natives would be of utmost influence on public opinion. Twenty years had gone by since the first edition, and the cultural changes which began in the 1960's were being felt on all of the university campuses. Yet Heizer does not seem to have significantly altered his priorities. Eleven of the original selections were kept in the new anthology, including objectionable articles by Kroeber, Cook, and Powers. Again, little commentary was provided to inform the public of contemporary native disapproval of materials in the collections.

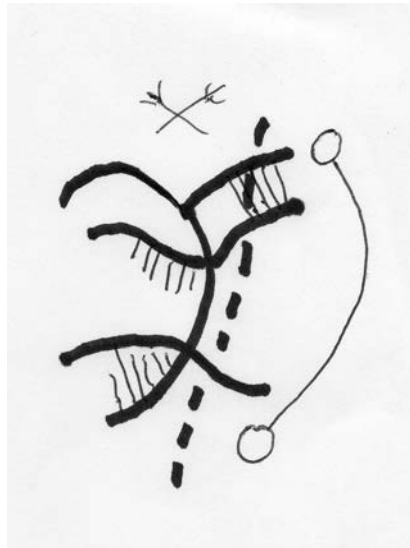
Some of the other new scholars cited in the text avoided the harsh chauvinism of the past, but Eurocentrism and technocentrism crept into their language, revealing the tenacity of old ideas. A telling example was Heizer's own article condemning native Californians for failing to adopt agriculture.²⁵ Heizer used outdated language derived from European agricultural traditions, and it fundamentally distorts the reality of ample food procurement prior to European disruptions of native economic distribution systems. A culture does not fail when it continues to rely upon food sources which have sustained it for tens of thousands of years. In another article Heizer contrasts "modern civilized man" with "primitive" native culture.²⁶ Such language may explain why native authors were essentially excluded from Heizer's anthology, depriving the public of a chance to read biting commentary by a Jack Forbes or another articulate native. It is disappointing that in 1971, with overt racism declining in the society generally, the University Press did not take a more generous attitude toward publishing native authors.

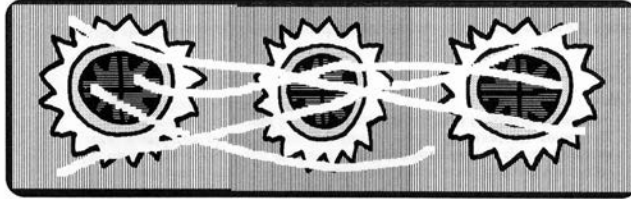
The 'new' handbook was an improvement over the past, but it still lagged decades behind the times. To its credit, this text did end with an eye-opening overview by Heizer and Whipple on contemporary native life. This article should, however, have been featured at the beginning of the anthology. Its usefulness lay in documenting how native populations were increasing in California, and acknowledged that among

The Next Sourcebook

The next edition of the state source book on California Indians, published by the University of California Press, should feature numerous articles documenting contemporary native life on the reservations and in the cities where so many native people's have been exiled. Hopefully, the University Press will solicit many more articles from native authors and include much more information on non-reservation and non-federally recognized California Indian groups whose stories are among the least understood by contemporary Americans .

all of the state's ethnic groups the native peoples remained at the low end of employment, health, and income levels. They included other important statistics about the quality of contemporary native life in the region. For example, they cited government records which documented that only eighteen reservations in the state had housing for one hundred or more residents. This was a stunning confirmation of the ongoing poverty of native communities, at a time when white Americans led the world in their standard of living.



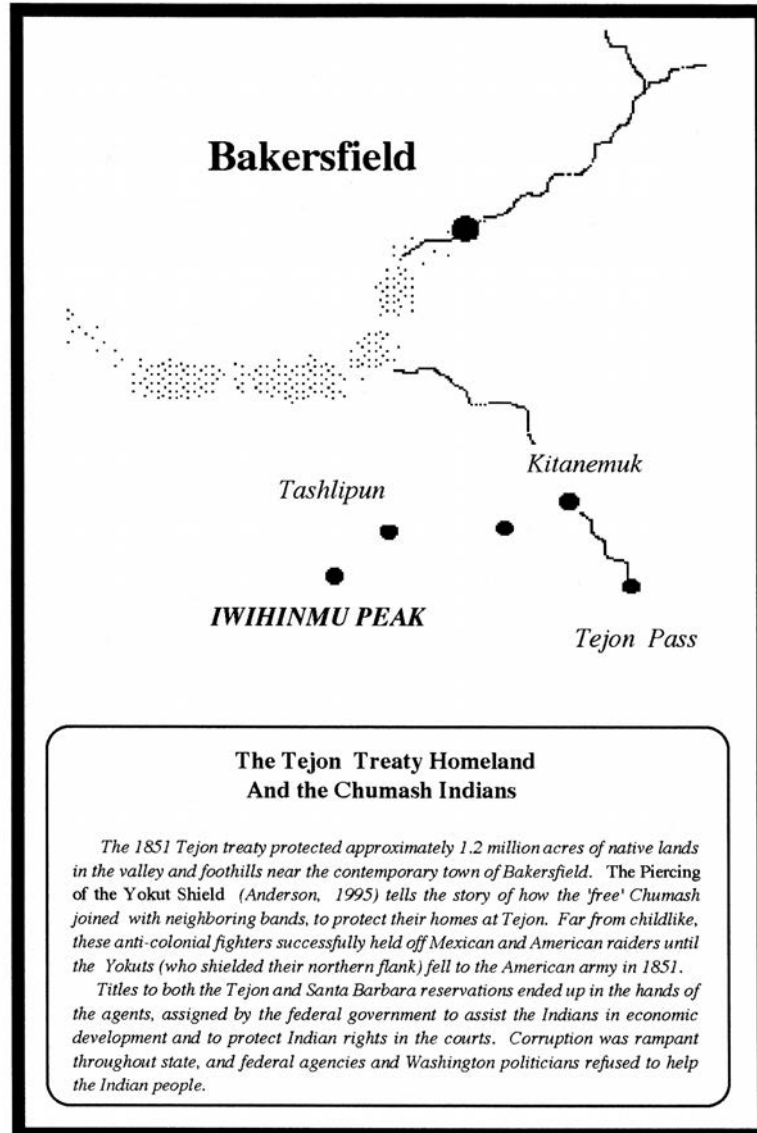


Stuck On Sherbourne Cook And Social Darwinism

As I wrote the first draft of this text, the problems the Chumash were experiencing with the University of California at Santa Barbara continued as front page news.²⁷ Students were protesting the weakness of the Native American Studies program at this campus, which was built on the sites of a number of Chumash seaports. Only one hundred and seventy of the nineteen thousand students on campus were registered as native Americans. In post-secondary education Chumash students were still very rare, primarily because of the adverse drop-out rates in local high schools. Financial assistance for those who did graduate, was still difficult to negotiate with lenders so they could attend college.

One Chumash graduate from the nearby Santa Ynez reservation was quoted by the local newspaper, expressing dissatisfaction with the current native enrollment policies. No course was offered on local Chumash history or culture, she pointed out, so the only way a student could learn about the subject was to take general surveys which included secondary Chumash materials. The most important course that did concentrate on native studies was discontinued for a number of years after a professor retired. Native graduate students expressed particular discontent with the history department which did not allow them to major in ethnic studies. The department chair responded to their protests by acknowledging to the press that native history was a low priority. The department was instead seeking to fill its current vacancy with a specialist in Euro-American "colonial" history.²⁸

The only known Chumash from the nearby reservation to graduate from the Santa Barbara campus worked as a student recruiter for the University. She reported that only three Chumash youths graduated from the high school near the reservation, and described the dropout rate for natives in California as "appalling."²⁹



Prejudice against Chumash in Santa Barbara and surrounding counties cannot be isolated from University scholarship encouraging negative attitudes toward native cultures. The embarrassment of culturally biased language persistently appearing in articles submitted by older university professors should be somewhat self-correcting due to faculty retirements in the 1990's, but more needs to be done to promote the publication of sympathetic manuscripts. The University Press has been very slow to respond to socio-political changes, however, and many critics continue to express concern that its publication priorities will remain inflexible. Critics point out that the University has printed many worthwhile studies of native culture, but it has also released a number of books whose choice and timing is perplexing. In 1976, for example, the university reissued Sherburne Cook's 1930's controversial

essays on conflicts between California natives and invading Europeans.³² When I first read this edition, my overriding response was disappointment with Professors Heizer and Borah's language in the all-important preface to this racist book. It was very surprising to me that they had not emphasized to the reader the significance of Cook's long history of supporting Social Darwinist views as a guideline for race relations. Cook was a biologist at the Berkeley campus when he wrote these essays in the late 1930's. This was a period when Nazi racial theories were peaking in popularity in Europe and had many sympathizers in America. The supporters of this doctrine justified unrestricted economic competition and minimum governmental intervention, so that the 'fittest' humans would survive social conflicts. Civilization would thus advance, at the cost of the demise of the weak. This is of course a general summary of the views of early American governments in California. Cook's essays document how native populations were the targeted victims of a series of such 'cultural cleansing' programs sponsored by colonial governments dating back to the Spanish.

Heizer and Borah praised Cook as having examined the behavior of native groups "with objective detachment as if they were an animal population in a laboratory."³³ This is uncomfortably familiar language, too often used by one cultural group to mistreat a rival group which is characterized as sub-human (animal-like). Since the defeat of European fascism in World War II, such ideas hopefully have lost much of their fascination. The editors acknowledged the controversial nature of Cook's racial views, admitting that they generated public protests when they were first published. They justified their support for reprinting on the grounds that the collection was a 'classic' in the field. They also acknowledged their "enthusiasm for an array of brilliant new approaches and perceptions" presented in Cook's writings. His research was described as timeless in quality and of "fundamental scholarship."³⁴ To understand why a native person might object to such acclamation, it is informative to examine what Cook has to say about experimentation on what he describes as primitive human types. "A great many studies have been made on the one hand of human populations in the more civilized communities and on the other of animal populations under natural or laboratory conditions. The former have been of value in solving sociological problems, the latter in the investigation of animal ecology. There exists, however, a borderline field which has not been explored

with equal thoroughness, but which merits consideration. I refer to the more primitive human groups. Here we have aggregations of

The Tejon State Park



Five years after his first draft of No Brave Champion Anderson published The Piercing of the Yokut Shield, a history of the Tejon Indian Reservation. The following excerpt focuses on the importance of public facilities in educating the public about the state's complicity in repressing native populations.

"How could the State of California and the federal government initiate the legal process of returning lands to the Tejon descendants? I can suggest a small but significant beginning. Fort Tejon State Park would make an excellent administrative base and museum center for the Tejon Indian groups, many of whom are located in the Bakersfield area. This facility lies within the 1851 Tejon treaty lands, and was intimately linked to the fate of the Tejon peoples. Its public displays presently focus on military history and inexplicably ignore the fascinating story of the Tejon Indians.*

** The Fort Tejon museum displays should be rewritten. American militarism in nineteenth century California (and its racist bias) should be examined more critically, and the museum texts should explain why lands were taken from the local natives. At first the pressures came from miners and cattlemen wanting land and water, facilitated by corrupt Indian agents and military officers. Beale, the Indian agent at Tejon, claimed title to large parts of the Indians' lands. Later, railroad developers, oil companies, and the Tejon Ranch joined him in making serious challenges to Indian land titles.*

At stake were fabulous amounts of wealth, particularly oil in the first part of this century. The Tejon should have played a major role in the development of California's industrialization. Instead of emerging as oil producers, however, Tejon descendants remain landless, unrecognized, and without compensation for the depletion of their nonrenewable mineral resources." (Anderson, Yokut Shield, 33).

human beings subject to many of the social forces operating on civilized populations, but also, in certain of their sociological relations, more analogous to the higher animals. It is therefore of interest to determine, as far as available data permit, whether such groups behave like civilized races or like mammals and birds, or like both. The American Indians, taken as a whole, form a group of this character."³⁵ Cook's 'borderline field' of study sounds chillingly like the writings of German scientists who supported the Nazi medical experiments on Jews and Eastern Europeans, which led to war crime prosecutions.

Surely, the republication of such views warrants careful and extensive discussion of the popularity of Social Darwinist views in America as well as fascist Germany. It should lead to a discussion of academic freedom in the University of California, and the need to

evaluate existing guidelines regulating University publication priorities. A basic issue is why the University has persisted in reissuing old racially biased texts, when native intellectuals are begging for an opportunity to present their own ideas to a modern audience? Cook clearly was not a sympathetic spokesman for native Californians, in spite of Heizer and Borah's appeasing words. Cook charged, for example, that "one might expect to find any degree of exaggeration, vituperation, and distortion of fact" in statements made by native people reduced to serfdom in colonial labor centers.³⁶ Since the majority of Chumash historians were forced into servitude at these centers at some point in their lives, Cook was essentially dismissing the credibility of Chumash historians.

But Cook cannot be taken too literally, since he was guilty of the very faults he attributed to natives. He freely distorted history in his scholarly writings, especially in his repeated denial of white responsibility for repressing native religious freedoms. Contrary to the evidence presented in thousands of government and private documents, he argued that white Americans never denied native cultural freedom.³⁷ Cook could only make this controversial claim because he considered

Terms

URBANIZATION FALLACY Kroeber's writings were fundamentally flawed by his use of urbanization as a standard for judging a culture's level of achievement.

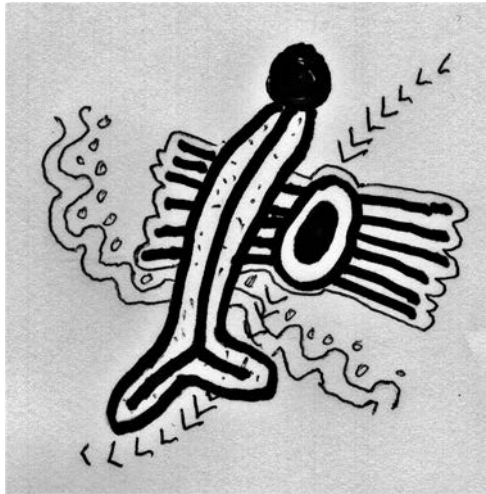
PRIMITIVE HUMAN GROUPS Cook classified California Indians collectively as a "primitive human" group, inferior to "civilized" population groups such as white Europeans. Their behavior is comparable, Cook argued, to the behavior of mammals and birds (Conflict, 25).

UNPROGRESSIVE SAVAGERY Powers considered the California Indians as "one of the lowest races" on the earth. He justified the seizure of their land and wealth by invading whites with the excuse that the Indians were in a cultural state of "unprogressive savagery." (Conflict, 7)

CHILDLIKE RELIGION California native civilization were so "rudimentary" ("with all its chidlikeness") that it is gratifying to discover elements of subtlety in unexpected places (Kroeber, Handbook, 677).

"highroad." From this viewpoint, native Californian who remained loyal

to their ancestral religion were inferior persons, walking on the low road of moral degradation.³⁸ Cook was so negative about native California families that he labeled even the twenty thousand natives who were registered as converts at the Spanish 'missions' as only "more or less civilized."³⁹ When a University of California biology Professor with such attitudes advocates "utilizing the methods of animal ecology to investigate a human population" Native Americans have just cause for concern.⁴⁰



Euro-Centricism In Anthropology

Textbook Commentary

By the late 1960's, University of California anthropologists were clearly in a position to soften their Euro-centrism. Racism and religious prejudice were ubiquitous topics of conversation, and it was much more socially acceptable in white society to speak favorably about native traditions.

The University of California Press published *The Natural World of the California Indians* in 1980, a text featuring Heizer's collaboration with Albert Elsasser, an anthropologist working at the Lowe Museum in Berkeley. The University Press lauded Heizer on the back cover as "one of the most distinguished of California anthropologists."

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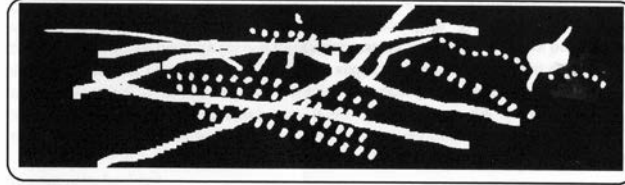
Heizer and Elsasser surprised many readers when they asked their readers to accept the argument that white anthropology had "developed into a science" by the year 1900.³⁰ Only the most naive person could read their articles and remain unaware of the ethno-centrism and overt cultural chauvinism that kept many American scholars from achieving more than an acrimonious and shallow analysis of native California society.

* It is puzzling that Heizer and Elsasser chose to argue in 1980 that "trained researchers" could study the culture of the California Indians with an understanding that had not been possible for the earlier Indians. I meet many native people at the University of California Santa Barbara, and in numerous other settings during this period, and my general impression was that they considered such statements presumptuous and damaging to public support for preservation of native heritage.

Native people were asking penetrating questions about leading academics. Rules for scholarly self-governance in the 1950's were no longer acceptable in the 1980's. Why did so many white academics persist (even in the latter years of their lives, when they were protected by tenure) in elevating the views of their white colleagues over the judgments of native people? Why, they asked, were Heizer and other leading university professors *only* extolling the benefits of their 'outside' scholarship? Was this not self-serving posturing? Was this state sponsored scholarship not flawed by subconscious adherence to Euro-Christian ideology?

It is self-evident, my Indian associates reminded me in our conversations, that any population can benefit from *self-analysis*, as well as supplemental study from scholars raised in a different culture. These same individuals expressed special resentment toward Heizer and Elsasser's continuing use of the Vanished Race ("these vanished cultures") label which had been popularized by Edward Curtis's photographic books and never seemed to leave the consciousness of white Americans ever since. Heizer and Elsasser concluded that "almost nothing remains" of the traditional native cultures.³¹ But why, I found myself agreeing with my Indian associates, weren't white Americans also described as a vanished race since they have changed as dramatically in the last hundred years as the surviving native Americans?

Chapter 6



Racist Text Reissued

The relationship between native Californians and the University of California Press reached a new low point in 1976. In addition to the Cook reissue, the state also printed a new edition of Powers' 1871 *Tribes of California*.

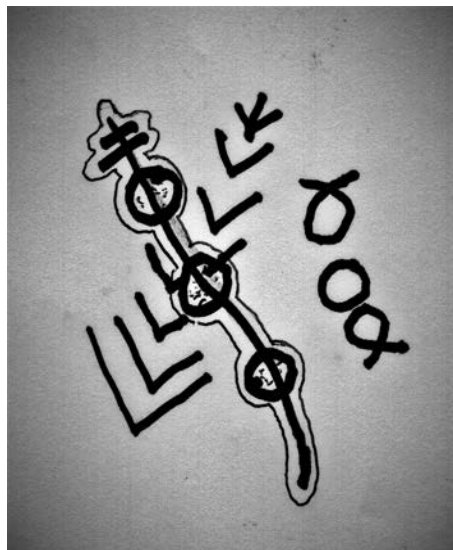
In a decade when students were crying out for new information to help them update their understanding of rapidly changing native California culture, many people were disheartened to learn that Powers book was being reissued. Evidently, the 'old guard' still held sway at the University Press since Heizer was again assigned as editor for a project that called for especially sensitive treatment toward California natives. The absence of substantial dissenting commentary in the introduction to this pestilential text, was a great disappointment to me and other critics of the University Press. Many readers were disheartened to find that Heizer's criticisms of Powers' racism were not featured in the introductory notes, but instead discretely placed at the back of the book.⁴¹ What stood out in the reader's mind, as a result of this timid textual organization, was Heizer's introductory praise for Powers as a "pioneer anthropologist."⁴² It probably would have been more accurate to describe him as an 'anthropologizing' pioneer - with the emphasis on pioneer!

On the inside cover is a quote from Kroeber, whom Heizer lauded as the acknowledged master in the field.⁴³

"Tribes of California (is) one of the most remarkable reports ever printed by any government. Powers... was able to a greater degree than anyone before or after him to seize and fix the salient qualities of the mentality of the people he described... For the broad outlines of the culture of the California Indian, for its values with all their highlights and shadows, (one) can still do no better than consult the book... It will always remain the best introduction to the

subject."⁴⁴

These remarks date back fifty years, when it was publicly acceptable for Kroeber to praise Powers' racist book. But Heizer's commentary is dated 1975, which is more than one hundred years after Power' writing. Heizer admits the low opinion that white Californians held for the natives in 1869 and acknowledged that Powers was no "brave champion" of the native cause. He does criticize Powers book for failing to make a real effort to advocate remedial legislation to correct the injustices of American rule in California.⁴⁵ Heizer also frankly attributed the mass deaths of the natives during the early American period to murder, starvation, and diseases. What he especially needed to comment upon in the introduction however, was Powers' degrading language and how valuable it was as a mirror of white prejudice. It would have been useful to focus the reader's attention on this aspect of the material, deepening their appreciation of both overt and indirect denigrating of native populations.





Textbook Racism In Chumashia

White schoolchildren were systematically taught to despise their Chumash neighbors, along with all other native peoples of California. This selection of quotes was taken from my research files on elementary texts and library books used in the Santa Maria School District located in western Chumashia. Each book is stamped as approved by the Department of Instruction.

A Child's History of California by Enola Flower, published in 1949. The native people of California "did not need to work very hard." "Life was easy and lazy for these Indians." The Indians did not keep their houses very clean"(15). Indian doctors did "many strange things" to cure a sick person, including making "queer sounds" (20). "In all the years that went by, the Indians did not change very much or improve their ways of making things to use." (22). "The Indians were like children. They could not take good care of themselves" (65).

When California Was Young by Belle Ewing, published in 1955. In the opening chapter white school children are told that "The Indians of California were a simple people, but they had happy times. They were fond of dancing." (2) "Almost all of the Indians of Southern California lived in queer little houses called wickiups." They looked like a large bird's nest turned upside down!" (3, from a subsection entitled "Their Homes Were Queer Looking" which is followed by a subsection entitled "They Ate strange Food" which ends with a white child shuddering in repulsion at the horrible food of natives and saying: "I am glad I was not one of those Indians", 7). Native children are depicted as having few playthings (11, "they did not have many toys"). Unlike the whites who conquered them natives are dismissed as "like children in many ways" (46). The whites brought "civilized life" to the uncivilized natives of California(62).

California Mission Days by Helen Bauer, published in 1956 and stamped "This Is a California State Textbook." "The purpose of the missions was to Christianize the Indians, raise their standard of living, and to protect Spain's claim for holding this new land" (Foreword). "Little seems to have changed since Father Tapis founded the mission for the Chumash Indians" (119; this claim is made one hundred and fifty years after the founding, when not a single Chumash lived in the facility and it was utterly changed from its original purpose).

It is useful to examine a number of passages from Powers' text, to get an idea of why his biased viewpoints are offensive to contemporary native peoples. In the preface to his 1874 edition, for example, Powers described the Chumash and other California natives as being in a state of "unprogressive savagery." This brutal assessment was based on observations made in Chumashia and other areas of California which Powers visited as a young journalist in 1869. He characterized the original Californians as a humble race which was so degraded in his opinion that they were "one of the lowest on earth."⁴⁶ In the section on the art of the Chumash and their neighbors, he concluded that it was inferior to the aesthetics of native groups to the north.⁴⁷ This claim especially reveals Powers' lack of sensitivity to the value of Chumash culture, from the fact that Chumash basketry and rock art have subsequently been recognized as among of the finest in the world.

Powers' commentary on the Pomo, the coastal Hokan who lived north of San Francisco, is also revealing. He describes Pomo funerals as weird and hideous scenes, and their celebrations as frightful orgies.⁴⁸ He incorrectly attributed cannibalism to these Hokan and described their children as degraded offspring of a contemptuous culture.⁴⁹ It seems as if every political policy adopted by native governments to protect their freedom is criticized by Powers. The Pomo, who intermarried with the Russians in an attempt to build an alliance against Spanish imperialism, are described for example as "debauched" for adopting this stratagem. Instead of praising the Pomo for progressive diplomacy, Powers tersely dismissed their alliance with the Russians as a "pseudo-civilization."⁵⁰ His lack of curiosity about this social experiment of these Hokan speaking peoples of the north, only contributed to his fundamental misunderstanding of the Chumash and other natives of Southern California. The Chumash islanders fought against and were slaughtered by the Russians and their native allies but Powers did not credit them for this policy, but simply dismissed them as another uncivilized California group.

Equally insensitive passages are those found in the sections on the Yokuts with whom the Chumash were extensively intermarried. The Yokuts were the northern neighbors of the Chumash, and they were military allies against the coastal Spanish and Mexican production centers ('missions'). Chumash refugees found sanctuary among the Yokuts, even in the early American period when Chumash lands were being stripped away. Yokuts' spiritual celebrations were described as weird, awful, and lurid spectacles which made Powers' blood creep and tingle in his veins as he watched.⁵¹ The worshipers (who probably included Chumash exiles living in the area) were described as tattered and howling savages whose religious practices were comical events led by leaping witches.⁵² In summary, the overriding message of Powers'

Slavery In California

"The issue of slavery is a very complex one for California historians (including the author). Dr. Jack Forbes, a Native American scholar, provides an excellent discussion of California slavery in his book entitled *Native Americans of California and Nevada*. Although Forbes classifies the defeated coastal populations as "enslaved" some of my native colleagues who are Catholic remain uncomfortable with the use of the term 'slave' to describe their ancestors. They argue that their relatives worked hard to build a European economic infrastructure for themselves and their descendents.

They point out (correctly) that Catholic church officials reassured them constantly that the economic facilities under construction (the "missions") belonged to them. Native people endured the abuses in the missions, they explained, because they believed that they would eventually regain their freedom (full legal citizenship) under the promised economic prosperity of the Mexican system."

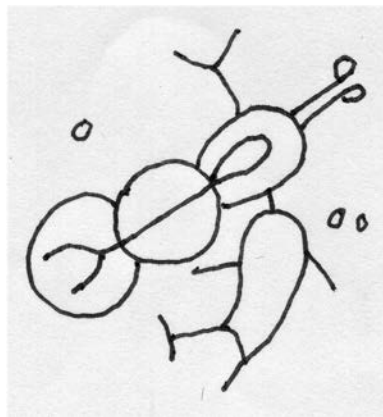
What makes this slavery issue so difficult to sort out is the fact that the Catholic church systematically misled the Californians about its intentions (perpetuating the church's legacy of deceptive diplomacy with native governments throughout North and South America)."

(Anderson, *Yokut Shield*, 32)

sociological writings was that native Californians were miserable people who faced a "hapless destiny of extermination."⁵³

Concluding Remarks

The Chumash survived the 'destiny of extermination' prophesied by white scholars in the early part of this century. Each year, more and more peoples with Chumash ancestors are joining groups dedicated to the preservation of the Chumash cultures, and are proudly declaring themselves among the survivors of the California Holocaust.



* This text generated some strong responses from readers interested in the ethical standards of contemporary anthropology. Many asked for additional information on authors who did champion the causes of the downtrodden native Californians. Were they University of California anthropologists, historians, and archaeologists or were they from other fields? Volume two will address these issues [an unpublished text, *No Brave Champion*, Volume 2: *Poets, Bohemians, and Academic Non-conformists*].



Epilogue

I began writing about the Chumash in the late 1970's. My first manuscript was called *The Lizard's Tale*. It is a study of the religion of the Chumash Indians of southern California.

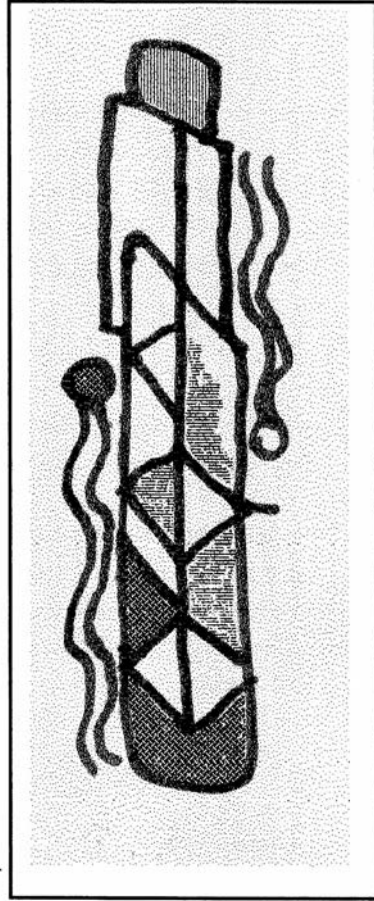
The challenges to writing this text were significant. Most readers interested in this type of book were raised in Christian families and their parents often considered differences between religions somewhat seditious or at least a topic not to be discussed publicly. In the worst of cases, they taught their children to distrust Indian religions as uncivilized or (even more psychologically distancing) something altogether irrelevant.

When I began writing about Chumash theology, I did not consider the study of native culture irrelevant or even secondary to other goals of a properly educated California citizen. The Chumash, I argued, had much to offer us including religious insight:

"A major finding of *The Lizard's Tale* is that previous generations have grievously underestimated the richness of Chumash theology. Contrary to the claims of many American scholars, it embraced sophisticated philosophical speculation concerning the Creator God and the cosmology of the highest heavens.

I am convinced that Enememe, an enigmatic personality in Chumash folk lore, is a key to understanding traditional Chumash teachings about the deities of the highest heavens. If this assessment is correct, it is curious that Enememe's significance has not been explored in depth by white scholars in the past. Instead, previous publications have typically ignored Enememe altogether and presented instead a distorted picture of a primitive religion based on sun worship and tainted by witchcraft. The Chumash have thus been condemned along with other pre-Christian Californians as lacking aptitude and/or appreciation for the study of the highest levels of theological speculation.

A Circle Within The Abyss



"Only a tiny fragment of Chumash theological teachings has been passed down to us from antiquity. Centuries of religious persecution destroyed most of their spiritual art and silenced their public ceremonies. Ethnographers such as John Harrington preserved fragments which had been handed down as prayers, songs, folktales, and commentaries of tantalizing richness. The task lies in rebuilding a metaphysical model, which unifies these segments."(A Circle Within the Abyss, 5)

"The decadent state of movement began only after the transformation of the mythic world. The new ecological state was pervasively inferior to the original ecology... Decay, elapsing of time, and death were the conditions of the newly established middle world... Such teachings eventually became a standard credo in Catholic gospel. The Spanish priests who worked in California, however, failed to understand that the Chumash held similar beliefs long before European expansion. American clerics repeated this mistake, persecuting the Chumash without understanding their cosmological belief that we live, we die, we are reborn into a perpetually changing world which is only an ephemeral circle within the great Abyss." (Anderson, A Circle Within The Abyss, 27).

A major contributor to this bigotry has been the repeated claim by white authors that native Californians were profoundly provincial, never leaving their home valleys to explore the world. Kroeber is one of the worst perpetrators of this (seemingly obligatory) denigration. He has also contributed significantly to the urbanization fallacy, which is based on the false belief that urbanized societies are superior to those organized around small communities. A familiar contemporary expression of this syndrome is to express bias toward city life over rural life. Many University of California scholars have shown disdain for rural lifestyles, based on the fallacious assumption that cities have been and will always remain the focus of social and spiritual change in America.⁵⁴ As a result of constant repetition of negative rural stereotyping, the public has been encouraged to forget that the aboriginal peoples of this state were just like other humans - with normal curiosity, sophisticated philosophy and art, and an ordinary round of daily activities.⁵⁵

To fully understand the detrimental impact of culturally biased textbooks on University of California classrooms, the reader needs to explore the linkage between the disciplines of philosophy and sociology. Social pressures on academic and church leaders caused Americans to continuously misrepresent the theological views of native California philosophers. In the past this was a minor issue for most colleges and universities.⁵⁶ The low priority placed on Native American studies was easily justified by academic administrators on the grounds of inadequate enrollment in these courses. What they failed to acknowledge was that a proactive policy was necessary to increase enrollments in this field, since virtually all the students had been trained from their first classroom experiences to ignore native cultural issues. Such overtly expressed prejudice generated a tragic situation for the State of California, and as a result the treatment of native peoples by non-natives remains one of the most important fields of studies in the humanities.⁵⁷ By following the example of an interpreter [an Alalsitaqniqsh in the Chumash tradition] I hoped to expand the dialogue by translating the Chumash world view into a metaphysical language familiar to the reader.⁵⁸

A clear assessment of the past is essential to the development of viable alternatives for the future. Yet contemporary Californians, rejecting their ancient native cultures in favor of a pseudo-Spanish 'life-style', show little willingness to delve into the subconscious depth from which our questionable public ethics evolved. The economic future of California lies in expanded ties with the nations of the Pacific Rim. Hope for a bright economic future dazzles our eyes, but prosperity will not bring social stability unless it is supported by social justice. Until we come to grips with the pervasive racial bias within our state culture, we will find it difficult to establish stable multiracial political coalitions capable of dealing effectively with pressing issues such as environmental degradation and over-population.

John Anderson
1999



For internet information about the Chumash people of Southern California see: [http://expage.com/page/chumash Indians](http://expage.com/page/chumash%20Indians). This web page contains addresses and phone numbers of Chumash organizations. For information about other books by the author see: <http://expage.com/page/mybooks>

** The text for No Brave Champion was based on the first half of my 1990 introduction to The Lizard's Tale. The book called Unriddling the Enememe Folk Tale (to be published) will present the second half of this commentary.*

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Endnotes



1 "In the twenty first century - and that's not far off - racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. will outnumber whites for the first time. The 'browning' of America "will alter everything in society, from politics and education to industry, values, and culture" (Williams, *Beyond*, 28).

2 See Missionization (side box on page 17) for Kroeber's favorable assessment of the Catholic mission program.

3 It has been very difficult for the average person to learn about Chumash religion in the past. Generations of books and articles simply dismissed them as extinct. As recent as 1975, for example, Bursa claimed that Chumash theology is "unknown" (Salinan, 63).

4 (Williams, *Beyond*, 28).

5 Christian writers in California have been guilty of shameful dogmatism and persistent religious intolerance which began with the American invasion and continues up to the present. Thousands of books and articles have been dedicated to the theme of how the American conquest of California was a glorious example of the expansion of Christian morality into a barbaric region of the world.

Pourade's 1971 book *Anza Conquers the Desert* is not the worst of this genre. But it is typical and worth examining for its stereotyping of California native peoples from the perspective of Europeans. It was published by the *Union-Tribune* of San Diego as part of a series called the Copley books. Copley describes the "role of greatness" of Anza, a minor Spanish military officer who helped open up California to European attack. Copley assures the reader that the violent conquest of native peoples in California was "essential to the more perfect United States of America" (Pourade, *Anza*, dedication page).

6 It must be remembered that the same socio-economic forces (which called for the extermination of America's native peoples) were also supporters of rapid development of newly seized native assets. This coalition was led by major industrial monopolies such as east coast railroads and banks, but it was duly supported by low income white settlers who were bought off by cheap or free title to Indian land.

White anthropologists have criticized the native peoples as unprogressive in their stewardship of the land, but they have generally ignored the wholesale degradation the continent's eco-system which has characterized so-called white "progressive" stewardship.

7 International corporations headquartered in the United States continue to encourage the immigration of Asians into the California job market. These immigrants have proven unusually upwardly mobile, and

their children are extraordinarily successful in gaining degrees in higher education in comparison both to Euro-American and Native California students.

8 I have not tried to analyze the views of contemporary Chumash theologians in this short text. My commentary is based, instead, on information provided by Chumash historians late in the nineteenth century and into the first half of the twentieth century.

Newspaper articles, television, and radio interviews remain the prime sources of public information about contemporary Chumash religious teachings. Typically, their views come before the public during legal hearing over protection of archaeological and spiritual sites. Books by contemporary Chumash writing about their religion would provide a much-needed supplement to to this growing public record, but to my knowledge no publishing house has taken the initiative to work with the Chumash on such a project.

9 "With the exception, perhaps, of a few tribes in the northern part of the state, I am thoroughly convinced that a great majority of the California Indians had no conception whatever of a Supreme Being." "Therefore, I affirm without hesitation that there is no Indian equivalent for "God" (Powers, Tribes, 41).

Also see Heizer's editorial note which cites E. M. Loeb, "The Creator Concept Among the Indians of North Central California", *American Anthropologist* Number 28, 1926, 467-493.

10 "These people [the California Indians] have always been reckoned among the most backward of American Indians in the general level of their attainments..." (Kroeber, Mission Indian, 269).

Kroeber's editorial commentary to Constance DuBois' "The Religion of the Luiseno Indians of Southern California" provides additional insight into his racial bias (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol 8, No. 3, pp. 69-186, Berkeley, 1908). Kroeber describes the Uto-Aztecans peoples of the Los Angeles area as an "uncivilized people" who achieved only a "slight development of symbolic religious expression" (71).

11 "We are so accustomed to think of the Indian as backward and childlike that it is a great temptation to feel pleased, as it were, over their failures." (American Museum of Natural History, guide leaflet number 55, 1932).

12 Kroeber credited "the founding of the Department of Anthropology at the University to Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst...." His reference was not only to Mrs. Hearst's financial support but to her active lobbying as a member of the Board of Regents of the University (Heizer/Whipple, 1951 Source Book, 104).

Kroeber credited Constance Debois' study of the Atahum religion, which was also funded by the "generosity" of Phoebe Hearst (70). Debois writings demonstrate that Hearst monies were not always used to print research unrelentingly hostile to native Californians. Debois concluded in her text, for example, that the Atahum were basically "misunderstood" by the whites (73). "It has been stated that they were the lowest type of humanity on the face of the earth." But nothing could be more mistaken, DeBoise argued. Atahum theology demonstrates a loftiness of conception and a "power of abstract thought" which might give them a status as "among the dominant minds of the primitive race" (74).

13 (Heizer/Whipple, 1951, Source Book, 76).

14 In his 1922 general survey of California native cultures, Kroeber assumed that his readers were whites, arguing that the four-holed flute was the only true musical instrument "in our sense." Obviously, Kroeber was not including Native-American, Afro-American, or Asian Americas (with different standards of musicology) in his reading audience. See *Enememe's Friends* (Anderson 1990) for further discussion of the four-holed flute.

15 Kroeber had only a weak understanding of Chumash medicine (primarily because he slighted, apparently for interpersonal reasons, John Harrington's extensive ethnographic field notes on the Chumash). Kroeber denied, for example, the separation of the soul from the body as a factor in Chumash medical theory, arguing (incorrectly) that this conceptualizing was only found among the Hokan neighbors of the Chumash living on the Colorado river (Heizer/Whipple, 1951 Source Book, 41).

Christianity was the touchstone of Kroeber's religious world view. He was so convinced of the superiority of his religious heritage that he dismissed Native religions as primitive "cults" (45). He classified the Chumash religion, for example, as a member of the datura cult. Although the use of datura as a religious sacrament dates back to the earliest known religious traditions of humanity, Kroeber (once again ignoring Harrington's rich ethnographic field notes on datura use among the Chumash) suggested a post-European dating for the introduction of datura among the Chumash. According to his dubious dating scheme, the use of datura emanated from the Tongva and other Uto-Aztecs in relatively recent times after they captured the Los Angeles valley from the local Hokan and Chumash (46). Presumably, Kroeber's dating methods were based on the first appearances of elaborate ritual bowls used in datura rituals. But datura use clearly predates the use of such durable artifacts.

16 "The brute upshot of missionization, in spite of its kindly flavor and humanitarian root, was only one thing: death." (Heizer/Whipple, 1951 Source Book, 76).

17 (Heizer/Whipple, 1951 Source Book, 75).

18 "The History of Native Culture in California," an article published by the University of California (1923, *American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 104). Power's *Tribes of California* "remains unsurpassed as a delineation of California Indian psychology. Some of his characterizations of groups are unusually felicitous."

19 Powers routinely used denigrating language to describe California natives, including his claim that they (described as "poor Diggers") were "entirely empty of mental force and originality." They were only "elevated several degrees above the lowest savages" (Tribes, 192). The Pomo, sharing many mythological traditions with the Chumash, were later dismissed by Powers as so inferior that he advised his readers that everything the Pomo say has "no meaning" (212).

Kroeber's laudatory remarks about Power's book gives tacit approval to Power's abusive antidotes, including the many in which natives and animals are compared. Power's frequently sought to entertain his white readers with vicious stories of degraded native life-styles. His pig antidote demonstrates Powers' racially pejorative language at its worst. He describes how a family of Pomo fled naked from pigs which stampeded into their home while they were sleeping. The joke was that Powers could not distinguish the naked pigs from the Pomo. The Pomo "never washed

their clothing," he informed his readers, to further explain his commentary. Similar comparisons between natives and animals are found throughout this book which Kroeber praises so highly. Powers goes so far as to claim that all California natives are "extremely sensual" and thus behaved sexually "as with the natural beasts and birds of the forest" (206).

20 The man Theadora Kroeber wrote about in *Ishi* was a Yahi, and thus a member of the southern division of the Yana. Several Yahi descendants now live on the Redding Rancheria (Dolan Eargle, private correspondence with J. Anderson, October 6, 1997).

21 "Ishi was the last wild Indian in North America..." (Kroeber, *Ishi*, 9). In the opening passages of the book, Ishi is repeatedly depicted as a "wild man" (3).

22 Had the lead campus of the University of California been located in Southern California, Mrs. Kroeber's book on Ishi might have instead been written about a member of the Chumash resistance such as Valerio. Valerio was a tragic figure, brutally assassinated by Chumash workers affiliated with the Mexican 'mission' in Santa Barbara (located at *Taynayan*.) Valerio street in Santa Barbara is named after this defiant anti-colonial.

23 The 1970 paperback edition of *Ishi*, printed by the University of California Press, included many rave reviews on the back cover. The *American Anthropologist* is quoted as describing it as "A most remarkable biography... In many respects without equal in today's anthropological literature." The *New York Times* described it as "A book that all Americans should read." Ethnohistory praised it for avoiding "the excess of pathos or condemnation (of whites) to which such a story lends itself." The *Los Angeles Times* repeats this theme, praising it for having "no hint of false sentimentality, no romanticizing."

24 Heizer describes California native as "primitive" (1951 *Source Book*, 296; this statement appears in an article he wrote with Treganza on native mining, which appeared July 1944 in the *California Journal of Mines and Geology*). Heizer and Whipple say so little about their criteria for selecting articles for this anthology, it is difficult to guess their motivations. Looking at the selection, however, I can only conclude that it was inappropriate to print these anthropological 'classics' without editorial commentary on the racist attitudes of the authors. Or at least supplemental articles, informing the reader about critiques by contemporary Indian intellectuals could have been included to present less biased coverage.

The 1917 Waterman article, which closes the Heizer/Whipple selection, stands out as an exception to this pattern. It sensitively describes the author's meeting with Ishi, but unfortunately even this selection contains offensive chauvinism about American "civilization" replacing the "primitive life" of the California natives.

In recent commentary on *No Brave Champion*, Dr. Greg Schaaf pointed out that Heizer was not without sympathy for native Californians. Schaaf argued that Heizer certainly set himself apart from biased scholarship by the time he published *Indians and Other Californians*. According to Schaaf, Heizer also risked his 'neutral' status as a university professor, when he testified in behalf of native Californians during their tragic legal battles involving their native land titles, forced upon them by hostile federal and state governments (personal

correspondence).

25 Heizer refers to native Californians' "failure" to adopt agriculture (1971 Source Book, 140). This, of course, is a seriously misleading appraisal, since most ancient Californians survived quite nicely without extensive use of agricultural techniques.

Dolan Eargle pointed out to me in his review of *No Brave Champion* that recent scholarship has revealed a wider use of agriculture by California natives than was understood in 1971. He cited the use of fire to control particular types of plants which would attract deer and other animals; the care and planting of basket sedges, roots, and bushes; hand planting of herbs; and the control or erosion on steep hills as examples of newly recognized uses of agriculture by native Californians. "A good many tribes have recently established ongoing ethno-botanical programs based on their own histories, to refute this notion." (Dolan Eargle, private correspondence, October 6, 1997. The Indian Canyon Mutsun, the Pit River Tribe, the Table Mountain Rancheria, and the Mooretown Rancheria were cited as examples of native communities currently sponsoring ethnobotanical programs).

26 Contemporary Americans are described by Heizer as "modern civilized man" while California natives are described as "primitive people" with the implication of uncivilized behavior (1971 Source Book, 459).

Overt bias against native American culture was the norm in academic circles at the time of Heizer's publication. Prejudice against California (pre-Christian) culture has been systemic in white-dominated academia. The 1979 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, for example, contained the following summary dismissal of California native art and literature (Vol. 1, page 660). "In general, the California tribes have a very confused mythology, which was disintegrating even before the white man settled in their territory. Though some animal stories and a few themes about vague characters existed, little of it has been recorded and carefully studied."

No mention is made of John Harrington's brilliant Smithsonian collection on California culture, or of Frank Latta's Yokut collection—either one of which would nullify the above assessment. The three authors of the Britannica article should have been informed about Harrington and Latta's rich mythological source materials. These authors are cited as having served as: the Director of the Museum of American Indians (Heyes Foundation) in New York City, a Fellow in the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research in New York City, and a Director of the Washington State Museum. These job descriptions suggest that Heizer's low estimation of native American culture was not an aberration but reflected a widespread professional consensus among successful white intellectuals even into the late 1970's.

27 The *Santa Barbara News Press* featured two front page articles on January 28, 1990, on the problems the Chumash were having with the University. Joan Rigdon's article documents the low priority status of Native American studies at the University of California at Santa Barbara, which is the primary state campus in Chumashia.

28 The *Santa Barbara News Press* reported the History Department Chair's response to Native American complaints. "Drake said that if it boils down to a choice between an American colonial professor and one who teaches American Indian history, he will go for the colonialist. "We simply can't abandon the American colonial period. Colonial is a

priority" (Joan Rigdon, "Native Studies Sparse," January 28, 1990, page A-4).

29 The Chumash woman working at the University of California at Santa Barbara as a minority recruiter described the dropout rate of Chumash as "astronomical." "Students aren't going to college, because they aren't finishing high school" (Joan Rigdon, "College In Reach of Indians," *Santa Barbara News Press*, January 28, 1990, A-4).

30 "Anthropology, the study of man, and its special branch, ethnology, the study of ethnic groups, had developed into sciences by the year 1900..." (Heizer/Elsasser, *Natural*, 3).

31 (Heizer/Elsasser, *Natural*, 2).

32 The *University of California Press* reissued Cook's 1930's essays under the title *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization*. These essays were first published between 1940 and 1943, and they reflect the views of Social Darwinism which were popular among California supporters of Nazi Germany at that time.

33 (Cook, *Conflict*, ix). Later in this forward Cook and Borah commended the University of California Press for reissuing Cook's book which they described as a classic having "the "timelessness of fundamental scholarship" (xi).

34 (Cook, *Conflict*).

35 (Cook, *Conflict*, 399).

36 (Cook, *Conflict*, 131). This quote referred to California natives who had been 'reduced' in colonial production centers called 'missions' by Catholics.

37 (Cook, *Conflict*, 145). "Over most of the continental United States, there was no spiritual conflict of serious magnitude between the white race and the Indians... No wholesale, serious effort has ever been made to eradicate and destroy the aboriginal culture as inimical to civilized society."

38 (Cook, *Conflict*, 7).

39 (Cook, *Conflict*, 145).

40 (Cook, *Conflict*, 400).

41 (Powers, *Tribes*, Editor's Notes). Heizer does object to a number of discredited theories about race which appear in Powers' text.

He denies in note two, for example, that races have different odors. In a number of other notes Heizer criticizes Powers for exaggeration, as in note fifty nine where he comment: "If the Pomo did have such loose morals it is more likely to have been one result of the degradation they suffered through preemption of their land and imposition of American rule."

My suggestions for commentary that could have been included in Heizer's introduction include: (Note 113) The reservations which Kroeber described as like bull pens "were actually like concentration camps"; (Note 109) Only twenty years after the Gold Rush, native peoples had been so reduced in land and personal liberties that "Really, all there was to do was to try to survive, lie low, drowse and mope, until death releases them." (I don't think contemporary California natives would agree with this assessment, but it does at least emphasize the extreme limitations allowed by American law at that time). (Note 179) "Powers ignores the fact, in criticizing the Indians as 'great thieves' that Americans stole the Indian's land- took it by force and without

compensation." Note 180:). "It should be remembered that the American was armed and more than ready to shoot down any Indian who might challenge him, even as late as the 1870's when Power's wrote this."

42 (Powers, Tribes, 1).

43 (Powers, Tribes, 5). In his introduction Heizer characterized Kroeber as the "acknowledged master" in the field of native California culture.

44 (Powers, Tribes). This quote from A. L. Kroeber is taken from the interior page of the back cover of the 1976 edition.

45 (Powers, Tribes, 4).

46 "It is a humble and a lowly race which we approach, one of the lowest on earth..." They were at the capacity of "unprogressive savagery" (Powers, Tribes, 7).

47 Powers did not select the Chumash for specific commentary, but he did argue that they and other Southern California cultures produced inferior art to that of the northern cultures (Tribes, 189).

48 Powers spoke of "weird and hideous scenes", of "rightful orgies", and described the natives (incorrectly) as cannibals who ate the flesh of the dead (Tribes, 181).

49 Pomo children are "degraded and unhappy offspring" from a culture of "contempt" (Powers, Tribes, 184).

50 (Powers, Tribes, 186).

51 (Powers, Tribes, 390). Powers later describes a Yokut holiday ceremony was a "weird, awful, and lurid spectacle" which made the blood creep and tingle in his veins. These performances were "dark orgies" using a "dirge-like, dismal chorus" (385).

52 (Powers, Tribes, 388). He described them as "tattered and howling savages", and denigrated their ceremonies as "these comical manifestations" (389), and misrepresented some of their dancers as "leaping witches" (390).

53 (Powers, Tribes, 389).

54 E. M. Loeb is a classic example of a University of California scholar who championed the urban fallacy. "The mythology of Southern California is not native to the state," he argued incorrectly, "but is evidently a borrowing from the Pueblo region" (Creator, 468). The urbanized southwest is characterized by Loeb as "an area of high development of secret societies and priesthood organizations" (468). In comparison, Californians [like the Chumash] he misinformed his readers, were only a "primitive peoples" (471), a people with only "crude astronomical knowledge" (469).

Loeb's influence on other University of California scholars was openly acknowledge. In 1932 A. Kroeber, for example, praised three of Loeb's earlier papers appearing in *American Archaeology and Ethnology*, a University of California publication. Kroeber describes Loeb's claims of borrowings from urbanized southwest societies as mistaken (Kroeber, *Kuksu Cult*, 495). But Kroeber ended his article on northern Californian religion with high praise for Loeb: "...I wish to reemphasize the value of Loeb's contribution to the subject..."

55 Generations of California citizens have been systematically discouraged against showing even minimum curiosity about native religion. For decades, the state's leading publishing houses printed books and articles which deterred further discussion by dismissing native

religions as extinct. As recently as 1975, for example, Bursa repeated the claim that Chumash theology is "unknown" (Salinian, 63). Evidence against Bura's claim resides in the vast documentation about the Chumash religion, gathered by John Harrington for the Smithsonian Museum in Washington, D.C.

56 One would think that regional professors and administrative staff would have defied local prejudice to speak out as public advocates for preserving native archaeological sites and institutionalizing pride in the Chumash cultures. Surely they knew that the university campus, for example, is located on a large wetlands where many Chumash fishing villages once thrived. Construction projects on the campus and in the nearby town of Goleta have resulted in the despoiling of numerous important Chumash sites, including cemeteries.

Instead of championing the Chumash cause, however, the university has either been passive toward (or worked closely with) local and state regulatory bodies whose policies have been Chumash-blind and focused instead on the Spanish heritage of the county, even though it is only a thin veneer over thousands of years of native culture.

But the university is not solely to blame for accommodating the Spanish heritage advocates. Faculty and administrations at smaller colleges in the area have been equally guilty of appeasing local prejudices. The Santa Barbara Community College, for example, has a disturbing history of indifference to Chumash culture. In its environmental impact reports, to cite a particularly flagrant example, the college repeatedly called for destruction of archaeological sites located on campus. In pursuing its campus expansion goals, the administration ignored important lessons which should have been learned from earlier desecration of the provincial Chumash capital located at the nearby Santa Barbara harbor. Construction of an American motel and harbor complex virtually destroyed the rich capital site of Shyuxtun, which is within five minutes walk of the campus.

The college environmental impact reports are fundamentally indifferent to the issues involved in native cultural preservation. The newest report dismissed the local Chumash, to cite a blatantly biased example, as having lived a "primitive life" compared to the Spanish who were "more colorful." The Spanish estates, where thousands of Chumash worked in serfdom, were dubiously praised as the legitimate 'centers' of county history prior to the American era. The ancient Chumash towns and villages were dismissed in this modeling. The American people, furthermore, were praised as more progressive than the Spanish because the Americans were more "ambitious." By implication, the use of Chumash land for construction of the community college is justified because ambitious Americans used the courts to acquire title to Chumash lands at a time when the native peoples were excluded from participation in the court system.

No evidence of consultation with the Chumash can be found in the policies and procedures of the college plan, and the materials taken from the sites located on the campus are not even proposed for return to the Chumash.

57 In the 1970's, I worked in the capacity of an Administrative Analyst for University Hall, the administrative branch of the California university. My primary responsibility was to help design and operate one of the largest database in the United States, for dissemination of information about educational improvement projects in post-secondary

education. When this computer network was closed down by the University, I shifted my interests from computer dissemination systems and began to study Native American philosophy. This led to a growing interest in documenting the ethnohistory of white/native relations in the western states. *The Piercing of the Yokut Shield* (Anderson, 1995) was my first publication in this genre.

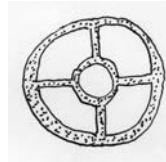
58 *Alalsitaqnipsh* means 'an interpreter' in Chumash (Tsmuwich, 67; *Sitaqnip* means 'to interpret', 26; *Aqni*, meaning 'to be like' is also a related term, 3). I am comfortable using the term *Alalsitaqnipsh* to describe one of my roles as a commentator on Chumash topics, as long as it is understood that my primary purpose is to serve as an 'outsider' looking critically at Chumash cultural and explaining it to white [Euro-Christian] Americans.

The Chumash people, especially those with deeply felt Catholic and/or Traditionalist ties, have not been my primary audience. Since I have never converted theologically to either the Catholic or the Traditional Chumash religions, my commentary should not be construed as hostile to either 'side' in this artificial engagement.

The duality of taking two 'sides' is contrary to my religious and scholarly beliefs. Human society is pluralistic, splintering into endlessly overlapping subdivisions. No single category could, therefore, adequately characterize the Chumash civilization.

59 My research files on this topic date back to the late 1970's, when I first began studying the culture of the California Indians. As a newcomer to the field I found myself constantly startled by the overt expression of deep-seeded racial and cultural prejudice in the writings of the early University of California historians and anthropologists. Ironically these same scholars won my admiration for their efforts to preserve the rapidly declining linguistic, cultural, and historical heritage of native California, in an era when other academics remained indifferent.





Glossary

ALALSITAQNIPIH A Chumash term meaning 'an interpreter' (Tsmuwich, 67).

- Given the fragmentary ethnographic notes which serve as the basis of contemporary 'white' scholarship, it is difficult for any non-native to make credible claims to 'objective' truths. At best, they are interpreters. See footnote 58 for related discussion.

CALIFORNIA HOLOCAUST The author argues that the Spanish contact period, the Spanish & Mexican occupations, and the early American occupation of California were characterized by population declines of such severe proportions that these historical periods collectively constitute the era of the California Holocaust. See [Civilization](#) for related discussion.

- In Anderson's historical writings, he breaks the California Holocaust into three eras: The Spanish Holocaust, the Mexican Holocaust, and the American Holocaust.

CHUMASH The author uses the following names for the Chumash 'reduced' into the Spanish/Mexican production centers: *Stishni* (Obispeno), *Kagimuwas* (Purismeno), *Samala* (Ineseno), *Tsmuwich* (Barbareno), and *Lulapin* (Ventureno).

Other Chumash subdivisions include *Humaliwu* (Malibu), *Tejon* (Mountain), and *Tuqan*, *Wimat*, *Limu* (islanders from San Miguel, Santa Rosa, and Santa Cruz islands). Compare [Hokan](#) for related discussion.

CHUMASH-BLIND The phrase used in this book to describe the avoidance of Chumash issues by local, state, and federal government agencies and by industry. See footnote 55 for related discussion.

CIVILIZATION The author uses *Civilization* to describe a culture when its members act in a civil manner. See [California Holocaust](#) and chapter two for further discussion.

Terms: This text rejects the Eurocentric assumption of most early University of California scholars who declared unequivocally that Spanish, Mexican, and American invaders of California were civilized, while the native Californians were uncivilized.

HOKAN A native American language family, with many members residing in California.

- Some linguists (Sapier, Kroeber, Harrington, Grimes) classify the Chumash as a subdivision of the Hokan. Other scholars (including L. Mithun) classify the Chumash as a language isolate and do not group them

with the Hokan.

HOLOCAUST See California Holocaust.

MISSIONS See Production Centers.

NEUTRALITY See Scholarly Neutrality.

NATIVE The term used in this book for the Chumash and other aboriginal peoples who lived in California, prior to the invasion of Europeans.

PRODUCTION CENTERS Economic facilities, established by Spain when it seized parts of coastal California, for the purpose of feeding and clothing the Spanish army troops and civilians.

- Native Californians built these facilities, largely through forced labor and genocidal death rates. Catholic priests ran these facilities, which they called 'missions'.

SCHOLARLY NEUTRALITY The introduction, written in 1997, rejected morally neutral scholarly texts as an obtainable ideal. See *Nihilism, Academic Relations, and the Chumash Indians* (Anderson) for a 2002 text focused on this topic.

SOCIAL DARWINISM See the discussion of Sherbourne Cook in chapter five for further discussion.

TEXTBOOK RACISM See the side box in chapter six for related discussion.

Other Books of the author

The Piercing of The Yokut Shield History and diplomacy in California's Central Valley 1850-1851, Tejon Reservation, 1995.

Kuta Teachings Reincarnation theology of the Chumash Indians, death and rebirth, recapitulation, ascent into the heavens, 56 pages, 1999.

When Frog Stole the Waters Frog symbolism & cornucopia tales; Chumash, Karok, Kootenai, Pomo, Yakima, Kalapuya, Micmac & Passamaquoddy, 40 pages, 1996.

A Circle Within The Abyss Chumash Indian religion, metaphysics; 38 pages, third edition 1996.

Enememe's Friends Chumash theology, third edition, 24 pages, 1996.

The Fast Thinker Kootenai racing tale from the American Northwest; compared to Yakima, Tupi (S. America), Bantu (Africa), and French racing tales, 44 pages, 1994.

The Fox Jumps Chumash summer solstice tales from California; compared to Kalispel & Yakima tales from the Northwest, 40 pages, 1994.

The Swordfish Race Chumash & Pomo racing tales, rescuing drowned souls from the rulers of the ocean, 40 pages, 1997.

Nestelah's Journey Kalispel folk tale featuring Salish ethics of the American Northwest, 36 pages, 1997.

American Indian Astrology Prophecies From the Chumash, ancient California astrology as told by F. Kitsepawit, 44 pages, 1997.

The Chumash House of Fate divine gambling and its impact on human life; Chumash theology & games of chance, 44 pages, 1997.

Social Commentary

Identifying the Old and The New Jonjonata Ethnohistory of a western Chumash town located near Buellton, 40 pages, 1998.

Will the Areospace Industry Promote Destabilization of the Chumash Indians? the Chumash spaceport controversy, 44 pages, 1996.