

**“Let Me Tell You About Indian Libraries”: Self-Determination,
Leadership, and Vision— The Basis of Tribal Library Development in the
United States**

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Abstract

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Tribal libraries in the United States have become sites of cultural and language renewal, gathering places, and places to collect, preserve, and share Indigenous knowledge. After more than forty years of development, tribal libraries have become important sites of decolonization, where sovereignty and self-determination are paramount. These libraries are relatively recent tools that Native (and non-Native) people have begun to employ to collect, preserve, and transmit Indigenous knowledge for current and future generations. Despite the important role these institutions play in many Native communities, their presence is relatively unknown in the scholarly literature. This research traces the history and development of tribal libraries using qualitative research methodologies informed by Indigenous approaches to knowledge. Interviews with early designers as well as with current tribal library designers were conducted to tell the story of tribal library development. Analysis of archival documents provided additional

information on the development of tribal libraries. This research addresses the question, *What was the basis for the development of tribal libraries?* The result of this examination reveals that the basis for tribal library development included the following: 1. Inadequate library services for American Indians; 2. Federal responsibilities to Indian education; 3. The activism, leadership, and advocacy of the early designers of tribal libraries; 4. The era of Self-Determination; 5. Opportunities for American Indian library leaders, educators, community members, and allies to collectively send a message to the U.S. president and congress regarding American Indian library services; 6. A strong vision for tribal libraries; and 7. Linking American Indian culture to libraries. An understanding of these historical and current intersections is crucial to provide context to design and support information systems from Indigenous positions.

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Dedication

To all the Indigenous librarians across time who came before me, and who will follow me.

And to the Natives who dream about becoming a Dr. someday.

Preface

Yá'át'ééh. Shí éí Sandy Littletree yinishyé. Eastern Shoshone nishłí. Kinyaa'áanii éí bá shishchíín. Eastern Shoshone éí dashicheii. Ta'neesahnii éí dashinalí. Ákót'éego diné asdzáán nishłí. I start by acknowledging my family and ancestors, as they have guided me throughout my life's journey, including this dissertation process.

Knowing where you come from, your roots, your ancestors, is important for many Native people, including myself. It is this story of your roots that keeps you grounded and informs your identity as you move about in the world. It is this importance of history, relationality, and networks that motivated this dissertation. I am inspired by Shawn Wilson's (2008) book, *Research is Ceremony* in many ways, including the importance of building a relationship with my readers. I want to take this opportunity to tell you, the reader, a little bit about myself, about how I came to study this topic, and my hopes for this research.

I am an Indigenous woman of Diné and Eastern Shoshone descent, raised just a few miles away from the Navajo Nation's border in New Mexico. Although this dissertation is about tribal libraries, I never heard of these institutions until I started looking into graduate school programs in library science in 2004. I didn't have a tribal library in my world as a child, or even as a young adult. The closest tribal library to my childhood home was in Window Rock, Arizona, more than one hundred miles away. My family traveled fifteen miles to the nearest local public library a handful of times, but not enough to make an impression on me. I had access to my school libraries, which I used occasionally. As an extremely shy child, the school library was a refuge, a place where I could be alone. In retrospect, as a young person, I never saw libraries as a place to explore knowledge.

Over the years, as I have learned more about tribal libraries, I began to imagine what my childhood could have been like if a tribal library existed in my world. I imagine a childhood where I could go to the library to see books that reflected my cultural background. I imagine a library staffed by people practicing Indigenous librarianship, where they recognized the unique information needs, the cultural practices, and the history of the Native people of my community. I imagine a place where I felt comfortable and where the librarians knew my family and welcomed us to use the resources. I imagine a place that seamlessly integrated Indigenous systems of knowledge with the everyday running of the library—through the collection, classification, storage, retrieval, dissemination, and protection of information. This research is partially driven by that imagination.

Although I have never worked in a tribal library, nor have I ever had the privilege of being a patron, I have visited and toured a number of these institutions over the years, and I have met many tribal librarians and archivists in the process. I have also worked on various projects focused on the needs of tribal librarians over the years. I served as the Vice President and President of the American Indian Library Association (AILA) and I worked with the Indigenous Issues special interest group of IFLA (the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions). I currently serve, and have served, on several boards dedicated to Native American library and information services. I have attended numerous conferences and gatherings of tribal librarians and Indigenous librarians from around the world. I have reviewed federal grants for tribal libraries. I developed advocacy materials for tribal libraries. I helped revise the seminal training document for tribal librarians known as TRAILS. I conducted an oral history project focused on tribal libraries in Arizona. I recruited Native American students to enter the field of librarianship, and worked hard to retain them in their graduate programs so that we could have

more Native American representation in the field. As a PhD student, I have studied the intersection of Indigenous systems of knowledge and librarianship. I've explored Indigenous librarianship from different angles over the years.

In 2011, when I was getting ready to serve as the President of the American Indian Library Association (AILA), I recognized a significant gap in my knowledge about tribal libraries: I knew very little about the history of these institutions. My lack of knowledge started when I received an email announcing the passing of Virginia Winslow Hopper Mathews. The list of her accomplishments was astounding to me as a young professional. She was an Osage woman who had focused on early childhood development, family literacy, and library promotion throughout her career. Among the long list of lifetime achievements was the fact that she was a founding member of AILA and spearheaded efforts to fund Indian libraries in the 1970s and 80s. I had been involved with the world of Native American librarians since I entered the profession in 2005, and I was surprised that I had never heard of Ms. Virginia Mathews before. She was never mentioned in my library school curriculum or readings in graduate school. She was never mentioned in the circles of Native librarians that surrounded me. Or, perhaps she was mentioned, but I was not in a place to understand her importance to the field.

I wanted to learn more about Ms. Mathews and tribal library development movement of the 1970s and 80s from someone who had known her. So I asked fellow AILA member, Janice Rice, to help me. She graciously agreed to meet with me at the conclusion of the 2011 American Library Association annual conference in New Orleans. Our conversation became a spark for this dissertation.

We talked about the passion and vision of Virginia Mathews, and how she helped to shape the future of American Indian library services through her advocacy and ability to persuade

others to become interested in her mission. We talked about the stories from the early leaders of the tribal library movement. Janice recalled a recent conversation she had had with Dr. Cheryl Metoyer, a conversation where they both agreed that, “Somebody needs to write the history of AILA, or Indian librarianship.” And I replied, “Well, I want to get in touch with Dr. Metoyer very soon because I’m thinking about doing my PhD...”

My journey as a PhD student started in 2012. At first, like many other PhD students, I was overwhelmed with the complexities of the work ahead of me. I needed an approach that not only satisfied the academy’s standards of PhD level work, but also satisfied my desire to use Indigenous research methodologies and to give back to Native communities and the tribal library world.

I wrote this dissertation to acknowledge the work of Native leaders and Native librarians in establishing libraries in Indian Country over the past four decades.¹ I wrote this dissertation for current and future library and information science (LIS) students, especially Native American LIS students, so that they may have a resource to learn some of the history of the profession. I wrote this dissertation for others interested in the intersection of Indigenous systems of knowledge and the information science field. There is still much work to do in this space. Perhaps this work opens some doors for future explorations. Finally, I wrote this dissertation for the Native children and families who deserve to have strong libraries that reflect their cultures—libraries that I could only imagine having when I was a kid.

¹ Many people have paved the way for the work of tribal librarians and Native Americans

1. Introduction

A few years ago, as part of an oral history project, I asked two Ak-Chin community members to tell me about their library in their Native language. The women smiled, looked at each other, and enthusiastically talked about how the tribal library served the community, all in the O’odham language. The only English words I understood were “homework” and “audio books,” but I knew that they were expressing affection for an information institution that had a comfortable home at Ak-Chin. This exchange at the Ak-Chin Tribal Library in Arizona captured the essence of tribal library work. Tribal libraries are sites of cultural and language renewal, gathering places, and places to collect, preserve, and share knowledge. Despite the important role these institutions play in their communities, their presence is relatively untouched in the scholarly literature, and sometimes misunderstood in Indian Country and beyond.

Local control of information services in Native American communities has been one of the positive outcomes of federal Indian legislation. After hundreds of years of attempted eradication of Indian self-government and Indigenous systems of knowledge, Native communities are reclaiming Indigenous knowledge and taking control of the flow of information through institutions such as libraries, archives, museums. These institutions provide a space for people to collect, organize, disseminate, and provide access to information and knowledge that connects them to the larger world as well to as their own knowledge systems.

Unlike other libraries in this country, these libraries embody a complex weaving of colonization, Indian education, self-determination, tribal sovereignty, survival, empowerment,

renewal, and resilience. This project explores those complexities at play in the early development of tribal libraries in the United States. Historical research in library and information science can help establish the context in which current librarians work and can shed light on complex societal issues surrounding libraries (Shiflett, 1984). By understanding the basis for the development of these libraries and the challenges and successes of the early tribal library advocates, we can develop a better understanding of the current challenges of these libraries and how to best address them.

The title of this dissertation uses both the current and historical terminology used to identify these institutions. The phrase, “Let Me Tell You About Indian Libraries” comes directly from a red button I discovered while conducting this research. The red button was created during the 1978-1979 campaign to bring awareness to the issues of library services for American Indians living on reservations. It is a reminder that the term we use today—tribal libraries—was not always used to describe library services designed to meet the information needs of Native Americans living on or near tribal lands. It was not uncommon to see the term “Indian Libraries” used in documents from the 1970s, when tribal libraries were just beginning to take shape. In fact, the literature of the 1970s refers to these libraries not only as “Indian libraries,” but also as “libraries on or near reservations,” “Indian library-media centers,” “Indian library/information programs,” “Indian community library,” “information resource center programs,” “learning laboratories,” and “adult learning labs.” Sometimes these libraries are labeled as “community libraries” or “Native American libraries.” For the most part, in this dissertation, I will use the currently used term “tribal libraries” when



Figure 1 "Let Me Tell You About Indian Libraries" Button

referring to the libraries that are managed by tribal nations in the United States (see section 4.1 for a discussion of the definition of tribal libraries)

The title of this dissertation embodies the evolution of terminology that has changed over time, and my language choices reflect these changes and the terminology used by the documents, interviewees, and the literature. In this historical study of tribal libraries, I encountered all of the usual identifiers – Indian, American Indian, Native American, Native, Indigenous, tribal, and specific tribal nation names – across documents, in the interviews, and in the literature. Throughout this dissertation, readers can expect to see various terms used to identify the Indigenous people of the United States..

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Tribal libraries in the United States have become sites of cultural and language renewal, gathering places, and places to collect, preserve, and share Indigenous knowledge. They have become important sites of decolonization and places where sovereignty and self-determination are paramount. They have become places where Native Americans can gain access to the Internet, receive Adult Basic Education, read bestsellers, and participate in early literacy programs. Some are primarily concerned with cultural heritage while others operate like a public library. Some are associated with community/tribal colleges while others operate in tribal museums. Some focus on tribal archives; some focus on children's services. Some do all of the above. Tribal libraries are relatively recent tools that Native (and non-Native) people have begun to employ to collect, preserve, and transmit Indigenous knowledge for current and future generations. Despite the important role these institutions play in many Native communities, their presence is relatively unknown in the scholarly literature, and perhaps in Indian Country itself.

The landscape of tribal libraries is varied and rich, yet an in-depth study of tribal library development and an analysis of the basis for their development has not been conducted. In fact, the history and development of library services to the Indigenous people of the United States is largely undocumented, even referred to as a “blind spot” by library history scholar Wayne A. Wiegand (2000, p. 12). Wiegand notes an irony in the lack of documentation of library history that has affected Native Americans: “For a profession dedicated to multiculturalism, our historical literature demonstrates too much tunnel vision....Librarianship knows relatively little of its role in retarding or facilitating multiculturalism’s nineteenth- and twentieth-century progress” (2000, p. 12). Lotsee Patterson (2003), one of the leaders in the tribal library development movement and who has written extensively about tribal libraries, echoes Wiegand’s words when she simply states, “The evolution of tribal libraries is not well documented” (p. 160).

Tribal libraries and library services to Native people are rarely, if at all, mentioned in the literature of the history of American libraries or in discussions of the history of recorded information. Peterson (2007), in her introduction to her tribal library directory, sums up the lack of attention on tribal libraries: “Overlooked by many state libraries, excluded from most public library funding, housed in education centers, isolated by rural geography, largely absent from the World Wide Web, it is not surprising that many tribal libraries remain unrecognized” (p. 1). The title of Brown and Webster’s (2006) article, “Tribal Libraries: Vital but Often Invisible Treasures,” captures the lack of attention on these institutions. In fact, there is not even an accurate count of tribal libraries in the United States or definition of tribal libraries (Metoyer-Duran, 1992a; Patterson, 2000; Roy, Bhasin, & Arriaga, 2011). This basic fact has contributed to a gap in knowledge about tribal libraries and their impact on Indian Country. Although this study

will not attempt to locate and record all of the existing tribal libraries, it is important to acknowledge that even a consistent definition of the term “tribal library” is difficult to determine, and it demonstrates the need to develop baseline data about tribal libraries.

The profession has been grappling with questions about Native American library services for decades. While many of the issues remain the same, the ways of dealing with the issues continue to evolve. As the first Editor of the *American Indian Libraries Newsletter (AILN)*, Metoyer, in 1978, lists the following frequently asked questions in the fourth issue of the newsletter and invites readers to send their replies. The questions not only reflect the issues faced by American Indian libraries in the 1970s, they also delineate the parameters of American Indian library service during the beginning of the tribal library development movement. Categorized by questions about funding, ownership, and cooperation; personnel and training; programs and services; and buildings and architecture, she asks:

What is an American Indian Library? Is a ‘tribal library’ synonymous with an ‘Indian community library’? Where are the American Indian libraries located? Are Indian libraries located only on reservations? When and where was the first tribal library founded? How many Indian libraries are there? What are the funding sources for American Indian libraries? How is the ownership of a tribal library determined? Does each tribe have its own library? Do tribal libraries have a formal liaison with American Indian Studies departments of colleges and universities? Do any of the American Indian libraries share interlibrary loan privileges with local public libraries? Are American Indian libraries formally linked with BIA school libraries? Are the American Indian libraries joined in a cooperative system? What is the average number of professional and paraprofessional staff in a tribal library? Have library science courses designed to train

and educate personnel for employment in American Indian libraries, been developed? If so, which library schools offer them? Are library internship programs available within American Indian libraries? (Metoyer, 1978a)

Metoyer published these questions to encourage those who have expertise in the field to write in publications like the newsletter to share their knowledge with others and answer some of these questions. It was an early call for more publications about tribal libraries. In the 40 years since she wrote this, there have been a handful of publications about tribal libraries, but the scholarship and literature still remains scarce. The lack of research on tribal libraries underlies my dissertation.

Ten years later after Metoyer's *AILN* article, a 1988 article in the *AILN* sums up some of the issues still facing American Indian library services:

Unfortunately in many states, there are public libraries located on or near Reservations that do not effectively serve Indians for a variety of reasons, including inadequate funding, untrained library personnel, and a heavy reliance upon donations and volunteers. Moreover, many public libraries on or near Reservations have established policies that discourage effective usage because Indians are often regarded as outsiders or non-residents of informally or arbitrarily defined service jurisdictions (McCracken, 1988).

Thirty years after Metoyer's article in the *AILN*, Allison B. Krebs (2008) writes about librarianship that transcends Western notions of information professions. Her reflections, also published in the *AILN*, capture the philosophical evolution of the field and the integration of Indigenous ways of knowing into the field:

Our way of knowing is dramatically different than the way embraced by the classic Western worldview, which have been embedded in the structure and systems of Western

libraries. Where libraries today find themselves in a whirlwind of seemingly unexpected change after more than a century of stability, where they may find this change threatening and challenging. Native Americans find reason to celebrate and embrace the new landscapes being created seemingly overnight. The tools which are being created to bring audio, visual, and textual materials to a broader spectrum of the public can be shaped and tailored to create dynamic learning communities within our tribes. (Krebs, 2008)

The questions posed by Metoyer and the statement from McCracken are all still relevant today. Metoyer's questions in 1978 expose the basic issues faced by tribal libraries then and now. McCracken's statement in 1988 exposes the harsh realities of the disconnect of library services for many Native Americans. Krebs's essay captures the renewal of Native American library services. The current state of tribal libraries in 2018 rests on these complicated issues.

Tribal libraries today face many challenges, including lack of funding, technical support, and access to library management technology, according to a recent study by Jorgensen (2012). These libraries often have few qualified staff, have inadequate facilities, and face significant collection development issues (Jorgensen, 2012). These issues are similar to, or are the same as, issues that have been discussed in the past forty years in government reports and other published literature (Native American libraries, archives, and information services, 1991; Office of Library & Information Services, 1979; Patterson, 2000; National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, 1992). For instance, the *Pathways to Excellence Report* revealed that minimal or inadequate library services are available for Native Americans, and it identified 10 major challenges, most of which have to do with funding, training, developing partnerships, developing federal policies, providing basic services such as literacy programming and job skills training, and technology. Funding, training and educating of librarians, and collection

development issues appear in each report, signaling that the issues of the 1970s have not changed much in the last few decades. A call for more data and research was made to address these gaps in 1992 (Metoyer-Duran, 1992a). This call for more research remains just as relevant today.

Jean E. Coleman, the first director of the American Library Association's Office for Literacy and Outreach Services, reflected, in 1977, that the challenges in developing library service to American Indians "have their basis in the political, educational, and social struggles that Native Americans have encountered in dealing with the policies and practices imposed upon them by the American society" (Coleman, 1977, p. 1). This statement still rings true today, nearly 40 years later. However, in the 40 years since this statement was written, Native people and others have taken an active role in developing library services that meet the information needs of Native American communities. Despite the challenges, Native people, library leaders, and Native library leaders have been working to successfully integrate libraries into the fabric of tribal communities. By reviewing select documents and interviewing tribal library developers, this research investigates the political, educational, and social challenges that form the basis of tribal libraries, but also the leadership, advocacy, and vision that shape tribal library services. This research acknowledges the role both Native Americans and non-Native Americans have taken to establish tribal libraries throughout the United States. It also affirms the role of tribal sovereignty in library services on reservations.

Additionally, this study postulates that Indian resilience as a core concept for rebuilding Native nations, including libraries, was one way of adapting a western information institution to meet the information needs of Indigenous people. I am inspired by Donald L. Fixico's assessment of Indian resilience as a way to rebuild Native nations. He argues that, "Native people reinvented themselves in order to rebuild their nations. In the process, they cross-

culturally borrowed and adapted four essential tools: education, navigation within cultural systems, modern Indian leadership, and indigenized political economy” (Fixico, 2013, p. 6). Throughout my study, I found myself questioning how libraries could be seen as a representation of a colonial institution, while simultaneously embraced and desired by many Native communities. While not every Native community embraced libraries, some communities found ways to indigenize their libraries by “cross-culturally” borrowing from the American library model and incorporating their own voice in meeting the information needs of the communities. This study acknowledges the complexity of integrating and adopting western library models in tribal communities. It also recognizes the communities’ success in adapting these models for the benefit of the people.

1.2 Statement of Purpose and Research Question

This qualitative study examines the foundations of tribal library development in the United States. In particular, it explores the landscape of early library services to Native Americans beginning in the 1960s when the movement to support libraries on reservations was initiated. It incorporates interviews with some of the early developers of tribal libraries along with an examination of historical documents to explore the foundations for the development of tribal libraries. The interviewees were selected based on their involvement in tribal library projects at the state and federal levels, as well as national associations and in academia. The documents that were reviewed include archival material held at the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS); the American Library Association; the New Mexico State Library; the University of New Mexico Special Collections Library; the Sequoyah National Research Center at the University of Arkansas Little Rock; and the Xwi7xwa Library at the

University of British Columbia. Archival material was also obtained from some of the personal collections of the interviewees. Newsletters, correspondence, photos, internal reports, and publically available legislation and reports were studied.

The purpose of this qualitative research study is to examine the foundations for the development of tribal libraries in order to understand the current state of tribal librarianship. We must acknowledge the past, including challenges and successes of developing library services to the Indigenous people of the United States. Like telling origin stories of our People, this exploration of the development of tribal libraries can inform future generations of the work accomplished by library leaders, tribal members, federal and state government workers, academics, and Native communities. This investigation into the development of tribal libraries will provide an answer to the following major research question:

- *What was the basis for the development of tribal libraries?*

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines *basis* as, “That on which anything is reared, constructed, or established, and by which its constitution or operation is determined; groundwork, footing” (“basis, n.,” 2017). Or, more specifically, it is “a set of principles laid down or agreed upon as the ground of negotiation, argument, or action.” To answer the research question, we can look at the groundwork of tribal libraries to see what was already in progress for tribal libraries to develop. We can look at the principles, the arguments for tribal libraries, and the actions that started the work. This dissertation explores all of the above and argues that the basis for the development of tribal libraries was self-determination, leadership, and vision.

The answers to the research question will help to inform our current understandings of Native American library services in Indian Country and may help us to conceptualize the future of these services.

Much about the tribal library landscape has yet to be described, conceptualized, analyzed, and theorized. In a manner similar to Duarte (2013, 2017) in which she examines Native approaches to internet deployment in Indian Country, I wish to shift the inquiry away from, ‘why don’t Indians have access to or use libraries?’ to ‘in what ways did tribal and library leaders provide libraries for Native American communities, and what can we learn from their approaches?’ In this way, we move away from conversations focused on problems (the “Indian problem”) and deficiencies, and focus instead on what has informed library development in Indian Country. This reframing project (Smith, 2012) will be discussed further in the methodologies section.

This examination is unlike much of the written history focusing on Native Americans, in which there are areas of strong critique, gaps, or alternative points of view. Library historians are not writing about the history of tribal library development. Scholars in Information Science, American Indian Studies, Indigenous/American Indian Education, American history, or any other discipline have not written extensively about the history of tribal library development. It is not a popular topic. This study addresses a major gap in the discipline of library and information science. And unfortunately, without an authoritative history of these institutions, mistakes can be made in other publications, for instance, the claim that “federal funds were not earmarked for tribal libraries until...1991” (Chen & Ducheneaux, 2017, p. 21) is clearly not based on the facts. This study of the history of tribal libraries addresses a number of issues, including the history of funding, government responsibilities for tribal libraries, as well as the activism, leadership, and vision that shaped tribal libraries as they are today.

The history of tribal library development cannot be told without an understanding of the larger political situation of American Indian nations in the United States during the 1970s. The

end of the Termination period, the urban Relocation program, and the beginning of the Self-Determination era were significant factors in the funding and development of tribal libraries. Undeniably, Indian activism, the American Indian Movement (AIM), the occupation at Alcatraz and Wounded Knee, and the larger civil rights movements were fresh on the minds of the leaders and citizens of this country and the Indian leaders and library leaders who advocated for library services in Indian Country. This research contextualizes the tribal library development movement of the 1970s and 1980s within the larger history of American Indian politics and relationship with the federal government.

I anticipate and hope that this research will encourage others to build upon and critique my work. I do not claim to hold the only story of this time period or of tribal libraries. I understand that there were many people involved across the country with library development for Native Americans, and there were many attempts at developing libraries for American Indians, both on and off reservations. I cannot address all of these topics, but I can acknowledge that there are many entry points in which to engage with this topic. This project is an attempt to bring to light the work that the previous generation did to bring tribal libraries into the attention of federal funding agencies, as well as to the attention of Indian Country.

1.3 Significance and Motivation

This research project is the first study that explores the history of tribal libraries using primary documents and interviews of early leaders in the tribal library movement. The history and development of library services to the Indigenous people of the United States is largely undocumented. This has resulted in a gap in knowledge about tribal libraries and their impact on Indian Country. A critical examination of the development of these institutions, including a

review of the original intentions, visions, and goals of their designers, can inform future and current information service providers in Indian Country.

In addition to the paucity of research in the area, there is very little in the LIS curriculum that addresses anything regarding Native American library and information services. My hope is that this examination will eventually influence the LIS curriculum to include Indigenous perspectives on LIS history and LIS services. As we are always hoping to recruit more Native Americans to the profession and into graduate LIS programs, we should also seek to incorporate Indigenous perspectives into the curriculum so that Native students can see themselves and their stories reflected in the curriculum.

Another motivation for this study is the urgency to capture the recollections of the witnesses of these early tribal library projects. Because much time has passed since the 1970s NIEA Library Project and the 1978 White House Pre-Conference, some key witnesses have passed away or are difficult to locate. In fact, I sadly noted that at least two of the 1978 WH Pre-Conference delegates had passed away while this dissertation was in progress.

A recent funding issue further demonstrates the need to understand the history of library development in Indian Country. For two years in a row (FY 2018 and FY 2019), the 45th President of the United States proposed a federal budget that would eliminate funding for the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS). The IMLS is the federal agency that provides critical support for tribal libraries in the United States through the funds set aside for Native American tribes and Native Hawaiians in the Library Services and Technology Act (LSTA) (see Appendix C for IMLS funding legislation). LSTA funding for tribal libraries was the result of years of advocacy by Native American library leaders and non-Native allies. As members of the American Indian Library Association (AILA) worked to advocate for the continuation of these

funds, it was imperative for us to remember the many years of advocacy and leadership it took to establish the funds for tribal libraries in the first place. Thankfully, the final budgets for these years included funding the keep IMLS and the Native American Library Services grant programs. This dissertation project is an attempt to capture the stories and work of those early advocates so that the new American Indian library leaders can not only appreciate their work, but also build upon it.

The history of tribal library development is not a long history, but the history needs to be told. It's a story of Native American libraries that has been overlooked. This research revisits history to address the lack of awareness and discourse surrounding Indian library services and its connection to self-determination, sovereignty, and federal policies.

2. Literature Review

In order to fully understand this topic, it is important to review the literature that has been published on library services for Native Americans. In this literature review, my goals are as follows: To discover and discuss the literature on the evolution of library services; to discover the leaders in tribal library service development; to discover the evolution of attitudes towards Indian library services; and to determine the landmark projects that are often discussed in the published materials. Similar to Duarte (2013, 2017), I found a lack of published conceptualizations in the LIS field or Native studies that focus on the history and development of tribal libraries. The literature mostly contains short descriptive articles, and only a handful of actual research studies focused on tribal libraries, as well as Native American library services.

2.1 Contemporary Tribal Libraries

We can begin by considering sources on tribal libraries that focus on contemporary tribal libraries. The book, *Library Services to Indigenous Populations: Viewpoints and Resources* (Webster, 2005) is a collection, edited by Kelly Webster, containing short essays and annotated bibliographies on topics such as Indigenous people and public libraries; tribal college libraries; and intellectual property rights. Another edited volume, *Tribal Libraries, Archives, and Museums: Preserving Our Language, Memory and Lifeways*, contains chapters primarily from tribal librarians, archivists, and LIS educators (Roy et al., 2011). Most of the chapters are descriptive, providing first person accounts of working in these institutions, as well as advice, and discussion of a few key topics in Native American library services. Elizabeth Peterson's tribal libraries directory provides a useful resource for locating tribal libraries and learning basic information about tribal library services (E. Peterson, 2007). Peterson's book lists 237 tribal libraries in the United States.

Roy and Frydman (2013) provide us with 40 self-reported case studies of Indigenous library projects and practices from tribal libraries in the United States as well as libraries around the world. Eleven of the case studies come from libraries in the United States, including tribal college libraries, community libraries, tribal school libraries, and academic libraries (non-tribal). From this publication, we learn that common library services to Indigenous populations include literacy support; access to technology and books; community events; online databases; and preservation of cultural materials. The editors note that this collection of case studies is a "snapshot of the status of indigenous librarianship in the early 21st century" (p. 3).

Tribal colleges provide another arena of investigation for some researchers (Chen & Ducheneaux, 2017; Dilevko & Gottlieb, 2002, 2004; Duran, 1991; Metoyer-Duran, 1992b; Patterson & Taylor, 1996; Rieke, 2005). Shamchuck (2010) summarizes the history of tribal

college libraries and provides a discussion of current issues in the field. Like other tribal libraries, these libraries face challenges with staffing, funding, space limitations, outdated technology, and collection development. The recent research by Chen and Ducheneaux (2017) analyzed the operation and management of the Oglala Lakota College Library through data visualization. The authors' goal was to discuss the challenges of tribal libraries by providing data that could be used to compare the value of tribal libraries to other libraries. The title of the article, "How are we doing in tribal libraries?" assumes that the challenges and issues faced by tribal college libraries are the same as other tribal libraries. They concluded that it was difficult to compare data from one tribal (college) library to the state data set, and that the analysis of one tribal (college) library limit the findings of the study.

The Association of Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums (ATALM) has sponsored three studies that reveal issues faced by contemporary tribal libraries. The *Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums: Education for Professional Growth and Field Sustainability* report gives details on the 2007-2009 ATALM national conferences, outlining the achievements of the conferences and its findings regarding professional development for practitioners, including tribal librarians (Jorgensen, 2011). The *Digital Inclusion in Native Communities: The Role of Tribal Libraries* is based on a 2013 national needs assessment survey which provides data on tribal libraries digital capacities and needs (Jorgensen, Morris, & Feller, 2014). The 2012 ATALM study, *Sustaining Indigenous Culture: The Structure, Activities, and Needs of Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums*, offers a macro-level look at the status and needs of Native American cultural institutions (Jorgensen, 2012). For tribal libraries, the major findings include the following needs: more support for technology initiatives; more materials for children and youth; more space; and more training. The need for more funding underlies all of the findings.

2.2 History of American Indian library services

Previous published work on the history of library services to Native Americans across the United States has been limited to a few resources. In this section, I'll review the available resources that focus on describing the history of tribal libraries, noting similarities in topics and approaches, as well as gaps in coverage.

The story of tribal library development usually starts by acknowledging the first libraries established on Indian reservations. The library serving the Colorado River Indian Tribes in Mojave, Arizona is often noted as one of the first tribal libraries in the country (Biggs, 2005; Naumer, 1974; Patterson, 2000; Roy, 2002a; Townley, 1978; Welsh, 1969), and perhaps the longest continuously operating tribal library in the country (Lotsee Patterson, 2003).

Perhaps the most useful resources and documents that tell the story of tribal library history are the documents written throughout time, as well as accounts from the librarians and leaders who helped shape federal legislation that have most impacted tribal library development. Accounts of tribal library development in the United States can be found in the published work of Cheryl Metoyer (Duran, 1991; Littletree & Metoyer, 2015; Metoyer, 1976b; Metoyer-Duran, 1978, 1992a, 1992b); Virginia Mathews (Mathews, 1978, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1990, 1993, 2004; Mathews & Patterson, 1988); Lotsee Patterson (Smith) (Heyser & Smith, 1980; Mathews & Patterson, 1988; Patterson, 1992, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2008, 2012), as well as Charles Townley (Townley, 1975, 1978; Townley, Anderson, & Stambaugh, 1978), and more recently, Loriene Roy (Roy, 1999, 2002b, 2006, 2013; Roy & Alonzo, 2003, 2011; Roy et al., 2011; Roy & Frydman, 2013; Roy & Smith, 2002, 2005). Their testimony, leadership, and participation in federal legislation development, early tribal library support programs, and direct work with

communities must not be underestimated.

Lear's (2015) recent article on the library at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (1879-1918) sheds light on the history of books and reading at the most well-known Indian boarding school. Lear finds that Carlisle's reading materials in 1918 reflected the assimilation goals of the school, but also provided opportunities for students to defy the school's expectations. The off-reservation, government-run boarding school's sole purpose was to eliminate Native culture by removing children from their cultures and replacing them with Euro-American values, language, and religion. It became a model for other Indian boarding schools around the country. Lear's examination of the 1918 book inventory and reading culture at the school reveals that the school's library materials presented a Euro-American worldview. Furtwangler's (2005) book, *Bringing Indians to the Book*, analyzes the phenomenon of Protestant missionaries bringing books and book-based literacy to the Native people of the Pacific Northwest, describing how the missionaries were so entrenched in literacy that they found it difficult to understand the practices of "non-literature" people. Other authors, such as Lisa Brooks (2008) and her book *The Common Pot*, as well as Craig Womack's (1999) *Red on Red*, explore reading and writing from the perspective of Native people as a way to maintain connections to cultural heritage. There is a significant set of literature exploring the connections between oral traditions and written traditions in Native cultures that undoubtedly inform library development in Indian Country, but will not be explored in depth for this research project.

Regional and state-focused historical accounts exist, including a history of tribal libraries in San Diego County (Biggs & Whitehorse, 1995; Newbold, 2011), and the history of Native American, Mexican-American, and mainstream library services in Arizona (Gallegos & Kammerlocher, 1991). Contemporary Native library development in the circumpolar north (Hills

(Hills, 1997) has been reviewed, as well as library services for Canadian Aboriginal peoples before 1960 (Edwards, 2005). Oral histories of Arizona's tribal libraries have been shared on the internet (Littletree & Lee, 2012). The history of the Tommaney Library at Haskell Indian Nations University provides insight on a library that was once part of a boarding school and is now an integral part of a tribal university (Zuber-Chall, 2010). Wood's (1973) survey of library services to Navajo people is a snapshot in time of the challenges specific to providing library services to the largest reservation in the country.

The *Stories of Arizona's Tribal Libraries Oral History Project* (Littletree & Lee, 2012) demonstrates some of the ways Native communities have navigated the system to provide books as well as Indigenous knowledge and language resources to their communities. This oral history project contains more than 12 hours of video, collected from four tribal libraries across Arizona, including the first tribal library in the country at the Colorado River Indian Tribes, as well as libraries serving these Arizona tribal communities: Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation, Ak-Chin, San Carlos Apache Nation, Colorado Indian Tribes. Interviews of elders, librarians, library directors, councilors, community cultural directors, museum directors, and library users are included.

In the early years of library development for Native Americans, some of the emphasis was on justifying the need for libraries in Indian country, and, in particular, demonstrating that the libraries could meet the information needs of these communities (Mathews, 1975; Metoyer, 1976a; Metoyer, 1976b; Townley, 1975). Because there were few libraries serving American Indians, there was little to no research in this area. Metoyer (1976b) emphasizes this lack of baseline knowledge in her "American Indian Library Services – State of the Art Report." The report finds, through a very thorough literature review, that much of the data that existed about

Indian library services was descriptive, justifying a need for a nationwide survey of Indian library services. In another report, "Community Information Needs and Library Potentials," Metoyer-Duran (1978) describes the rationale for conducting community information needs assessments, particularly those conducted as part of the NIEA Library Project, which was designed to understand the information needs of the selected communities. The report is thorough and is justified by current LIS research.

Charles Townley's (1978) comprehensive history builds on Metoyer's work, and sets the stage for future historical reviews. He divides his discussion of American Indian library history into two sections: library services before 1973 and library services after 1973. The major highlights of American Indian Library services between 1957 and 1973 were the following, according to Townley (1978): 1. The establishment of the first community libraries serving tribal people; 2. The increase of school libraries making changes to serve Native children; 3. The establishment of postsecondary and research libraries designed to serve Indian students and/or Indian topics. 4. Continuing education and professional activities for librarians serving Indian people; and 5. The publication of the joint policy statement between the National Indian Education Association and the American Library Association, called "Goals for Indian Library and Information Service" (Appendix D).

The era between 1973 and 1978 is of particular interest for my project, as Townley identifies the importance of self-determination in the development of American Indian library services. During this time, library and American Indian leaders were focused on exercising self-determination and demonstrating that library services could be shaped to the needs and desires of Indian country (Townley, 1978). The National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Library Project was the major effort in Indian Country to plan and develop library programs to "meet the

informational needs in Indian country.” Townley, who was the director of the NIEA Library Project, describes the goals and outcomes of the three library demonstration sites: Rough Rock Community School Library, Standing Rock Tribal Library, and the Akwesasne Library-Culture Center. Townley also describes other notable library projects serving Indian people, including the Sioux City Public Library Indian Library Project, the Shoshone-Bannock Library and Media Center, as well as Indian library projects in Arizona, New Mexico, and Wisconsin. Townley also points to the establishment of the Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian in Chicago in 1973 as a major milestone in this narrative. He references two institutes designed to train Indian people as library personnel, both at Arizona universities, that made positive impacts on the field. Finally, he mentions the professional associations that were providing leadership in American Indian library services at the time: the National Indian Education Association and the American Library Association.

Janet Naumer’s 1974 chapter provides a comprehensive overview of library services to American Indians at the time (Naumer, 1974). The theme of her review is, “Let the People In,” a phrase that captures the nature of self-determination and allowing Native people to decide for themselves what kind of services they want in their communities. Naumer covers the status of American Indian education overall, school library services (particularly BIA schools), college and university library services, state and public library services, and Indian libraries. In addition, Naumer discusses funding, recruitment, evaluation of materials, and the actions of the American Library Association in support of Indian library services. Naumer uses a combination of primary source documents and secondary sources to weave together a narrative that describes the current state of library services to American Indians as of 1974.

Patterson has published several journal articles, book chapters, and newsletter articles that

contain historical overviews of tribal library development (Patterson, 1992, 2000, 2003, 2008, 2012). Most notably, Patterson's 2003 chapter entitled "Historical Overview: Tribal Libraries in the Lower-Forty Eight" and her 2000 article, "History and Status of Native Americans in Librarianship;" points out the major milestones of tribal library development, including the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, Title II B of the Higher Education Act, the National Indian Omnibus Library Bill and the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) Title IV funding. Patterson also discusses the National Indian Education Association library project. The chapter mentions several state library projects, with a particular focus on New Mexico tribal library projects, where Patterson worked to train tribal libraries through the TRAILS program and lead projects to establish libraries in several NM Pueblo communities. In both publications, she discusses the problems with recruiting and retaining American Indian professional librarians, which continues to be a significant problem even today. The 2012 *AILN* article written by Patterson specifically addresses the history of federal support for tribal libraries (Patterson, 2012). The article gives special attention to the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) and the individuals most instrumental in moving federal legislation forward to support tribal libraries.

Roy (2002a) traces the history of library development for American Indians starting with the first tribal library in the country, established in 1958 in Arizona at the Colorado River Indian Tribes Public Library/Archive. Roy points to several federal programs that impacted early tribal libraries: the VISTA Program in the 1960s, the U.S. Department of Education's grants under the Higher Education Act, Title II B. Like other authors, Roy references the following milestones in tribal library development: the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 and Title IV of the Library Services and Construction Act of 1984 (LSCA), for providing the

means to create library services to support the specific educational and information needs of Native American communities. She concludes the article by reviewing the ten years of progress made in the ten action areas identified in the 1992 report, *Pathways to Excellence: A Report on Improving Library and Information Services for Native American Peoples*. She concludes by reaffirming the fact that much still needs to be done

Biggs's (2005) essay "Historical Perspective" in the edited volume *Library Services to Indigenous Populations* also mentions the landmark projects in tribal library development, including the NIEA Library Project, Pueblo library training institutions, Title IV of the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) funding for tribal libraries, the TRAILS (Training and Assistance for Indian Library Services) project, and the development of professional committees and associations, both nationwide and within states, that support tribal libraries. Biggs mentions national advocacy groups such as the American Indian Library Association (AILA), the OLOS (Office for Literacy and Outreach Services) Subcommittee on Library Services to American Indians, as well as state-focused groups in New Mexico, Arizona, California, Colorado, Oklahoma, Utah, and Wisconsin. Her short essay concludes with an annotated bibliography of the core readings of tribal library development.

Biggs's other major contribution to this literature is her 2000 article focusing on Dr. Lotsee Patterson's more than four decades of contributions to the tribal library development movement. Biggs includes information on Patterson's early career as a Bureau of Indian Affairs teacher beginning in 1959. In this article, we learn about Dr. Patterson's landmark Indian librarian training projects (including the hallmark TRAILS project); her establishment of Pueblo libraries in New Mexico using HEA Title II-B funding; and her ongoing work to support tribal libraries. Dr. Patterson's TRAILS project is given a great amount of attention, as it is the major legacy of

her contribution to the field. TRAILS

The book, *American Indian Library Services in Perspective* (Rockefeller-MacArthur, Rockefeller, & MacArthur, 1998) provides an overview of library services to American Indians, including a brief analysis of boarding school libraries. In the introduction, the authors state that in order to understand library services to American Indians, we have to understand three factors: “the history of white-American Indian contact, the acknowledgement of American Indian ways of knowledge, and the role museums have played in collecting American Indian artifacts” (Rockefeller-MacArthur et al., 1998, p. 5). This book addresses each of these important topics. In addition, the authors review the state of American Indian libraries at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Writing just a few years after the 1992 *Pathways to Excellence* report was released, Elizabeth Rockefeller-MacArthur, the main author of the book, points to the report and its strategic plan as documents that offers hope for the future of American Indian librarianship. She provides a brief summary of the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) library project, and provides some more detail on two of the demonstration libraries: Sitting Bull Public Library and Akwesasne Library and Culture Center. Rockefeller-MacArthur addresses library programs funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), but only programs after 1990. She also discusses the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) and briefly mentions the replacement of LSCA by the Museum and Library Services Act of 1996. It is important to note that funding from the 1996 Act did not begin dispersing until 1998, which was after Rockefeller-MacArthur’s book was finished (and after her untimely passing in 1997).

The 1992 *Pathways to Excellence* report, produced by the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS), contains background information on the development of Native American libraries, and discussions of the roles, types, locations, and funding of Native

American libraries (National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, 1992). This background section of the report lays the groundwork for the heart of the report, that is, the long-range plan for improving library services for American Indians, Alaskan Natives, and Hawaiian Natives. Unlike many other sources, the *Pathways to Excellence* historical review begins in the 1940s by stating that, “Native Americans began relying more heavily on research information” during this time, but it does not cite any sources for this claim. It also does not mention the Kennedy Report or the Meriam Report. Like other sources, the report takes readers through the time line of critical moments in tribal library development, including self-determination, federal funding for Indian schools, the NIEA and ALA’s joint policy statement *Goals for Indian Libraries and Information Services*, library demonstration projects of the 1970s, the 1978 WHPC, and LSCA Title IV funding. The report also discusses a number of federal acts that could have potentially supported Native American libraries, including the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the Foreign Language Materials Acquisition Program of 1984. However, there is very little cited in the report to show how these programs actually supported Native American library services. Surprisingly, the report does not mention the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act. The background section of the report also looks at the State initiatives to support libraries in Native American communities, including New York, Arizona, New Mexico, Alaska, California, etc. The report mentions library standards for schools on reservations as an area that started to be addressed beginning in 1967. The historical review mentions that federal funding for American libraries started in the mid-1960s. The review then moves in to the self-determination period and the slow emergence of tribal library development that began in the late 1950s, but again, there’s no evidence to support this. The information presented is based on the years of experience NCLIS had with Native American

libraries, combined with hearings, professional input, and site visits of tribal libraries.

Because libraries in Indian Country are often tied to educational initiatives and are impacted by federal policies, it is important to recognize the impacts of the United States assimilation and tribal termination practices.² Roy and Hogan (2010) explore the history of libraries in the United States through federal policies and their impact on Native people, demonstrating that librarians have participated in tribal history. They argue that librarianship in the United States is strongly supportive of protecting individual rights and is reflective of philosophies of the government. This emphasis on individualism in U.S. culture, and in U.S. libraries, has had negative impacts on tribal efforts to protect and maintain their cultures. The authors note, “To some Native people, a library may be perceived as an extension of damaging federal policies. Rooms stocked with English language text may feel oppressive in cultures where community culture and language were suppressed” (pp. 132-133). The recognition of the clash of values, and its impacts on communities who often do not have the power to influence national attitudes, is critical to understanding the complexities of libraries in Indian Country.

O’Neal (2015) provides an historical review of the tribal archives movement in the United States. While the story of tribal archives movement is not the same as the story of tribal libraries, their foundations and trajectories are very similar. O’Neal contends that the establishment of archives in tribal communities is a manifestation of sovereignty and self-determination as tribes have obtained the power to preserve, protect, and disseminate cultural knowledge and tribal

² Although it is out of the scope of this project, it is also important to recognize the historical (and current) role libraries have played in the goal to Americanize immigrants and pass along American values. (Jones, Jr., 2003).

history through archival documents. O’Neal takes readers through the development of the tribal archive movement beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s. O’Neal argues that activism to create tribal archives is a result of pushing back against the historical trauma and displaced archives that have stripped many tribes of their written history. She discusses efforts to develop tribal archives and repositories, including training efforts, the development of tribal college libraries and archives, and assessment of tribal archive resources. She points to examples of projects that have contributed to the development of tribal archives, including the “Native American Archives Project” in the 1980s that assisted tribal archive development projects, as well as provided training and the seminal booklet *Native American Archives: An Introduction* by John Fleckner (Fleckner & Society of American Archivists, 1984). O’Neal addresses more contemporary grassroots archives projects, including the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials*, and how it is providing guidance for archivists to appropriately handle Native American archival material. According to O’Neal, the United Nations Declaration of Rights of Indigenous People provide the framework for the future of tribal archives, as they address ways to heal Indian Country. She sees the quest to reclaim documents as an act of decolonization, as tribes work to use documents to assert their sovereignty and self-determination.

O’Neal uses Vine Deloria Jr.’s 1978 “Right to Know” paper (Deloria, 1978) as a framework for her investigation. Deloria’s paper was commissioned by the organizers of the 1978 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Libraries and Information Services On or Near Reservations to make the argument that the federal government has an obligation to support tribal information services. He also argues that there are seven items on a “to-do” list for American Indians to fulfill their right to know their past, present, and of the world around them. In order to complete the to-do list, we need “the will to act and the intelligence to create wise and substantial

programs.” (Deloria, as quoted in O’Neal, 2015, p. 3). Deloria’s landmark paper and its specific call to action was also used by Krebs (2012) to examine the “to-do” list provided by Deloria for Indian information services.

Krebs (2012) leaves us with a “Right to Know Timeline” that lists the legislative, judicial, executive, and citizen-based initiatives that contributed to the development of knowledge institutions and initiatives in Indian Country. It is her timeline that became the framework, and major source of inspiration, for my dissertation project. The timeline begins with the Indian Self-Determination and Education Improvement Act of 1975. Krebs notes that most of the development of contemporary Indigenous knowledge ecology begins after the Indian Self-Determination Act. The seeds of her timeline can be seen in the list that follows, as well as the larger timeline available in the appendix (Appendix E).

After reviewing the literature, I have identified a number of landmark activities and projects that are often attributed to the development of tribal libraries. In the table that follows, I have identified some of these landmark projects that are consistently mentioned in the literature, as well as projects that are mentioned occasionally, but that do not receive much attention in the literature. A more comprehensive timeline is available in Appendix E.

Table 1: Landmark Activities and Projects

Year	Project/activity/legislation	Sponsor/Agency	Role in tribal library development
1928	Meriam Report, aka <i>The Problem of Indian Administration</i>	Commissioned by the Institute for Government Relations, submitted to the Secretary of the Interior	The first comprehensive study on the status of overall conditions on Indian reservations and boarding schools. Deeply criticized Indian education. Suggested that the federal government should support Native people’s choice to “remain an Indian”

1969	Kennedy Report, aka <i>Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge</i>	Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Indian Education	Indian education policy is a “national tragedy”
1965	Title II B of the Higher Education Act	Federal	Funding for continuing education and professional development for Native American librarians
1970s-80s	Bureau of Indian Affairs school libraries	Federal	BIA school libraries were emerging as institutions to provide information services to Indian communities and schools
1971	Task Force on American Indians within American Library Association (ALA) Social Responsibilities Round Table	ALA	This taskforce initiated discussions within ALA for American Indian library services
1971-7	National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Library Project	National Indian Education Association	Development of landmark library demonstration projects to meet the information needs in Indian communities
	Project ILSTAC (Indian Library Services Technical Assistance Center)	NIEA	Focus on developing statewide plans for American Indian library services
1973	Goals for Indian Library and Information Service published	NIEA & ALA	First publication outlining vision & goals for Indian libraries
1973	Institute for Training Library Aides in Pueblo Indian Schools	Lotsee Patterson & Title II DOE grant	First training program specifically for American Indian librarians
1975	Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act	Federal	Codified self-determination as an official policy of the United States
1976	American Indian Libraries Newsletter launched	ALA & NIEA	First official mode of communication for the tribal library movement
1977	NY “Indian Library Bill”	New York State	First state to provide permanent state support for tribal libraries
1977	Bureau of Indian Affairs Draft Plan for the Improvement of Library/Media/Information Programs	BIA	First official statement from the BIA regarding their commitment to improving library services for American Indian people. Plan was used as the basis for discussion at the

			1978 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services on or Near Reservations
1978	White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services on or Near Reservations	NCLIS	First national meeting concerned with library and information services in Indian Country. Produced the National Indian Omnibus Library Bill
1979	National Indian Omnibus Library Bill passed by delegates at the 1979 White House Conference on Library and Information Services.	NCLIS	The Bill became the basis for federal funding (LSCA Title IV) for library services on reservations
1984	LSCA Title IV (Library Services for Indian Tribes and Hawaiian Natives Program)	Federal	First federal legislation that earmarked money for library services for Indian tribes and Hawaiian Natives
1985	TRAILS (Training and Assistance for Indian Libraries)	L. Patterson & HEA Title II B grant	Training program designed to assist American Indian tribes across the country with library development and operation
1992	“Pathways to Excellence: A Report on Improving Library and Information Services for Native American Peoples”	NCLIS	Identified major challenges still facing tribal libraries since the 1978 WHPC
1994	New Mexico Tribal Libraries Program developed	NM State Library	State support for NM’s tribal libraries
1996	Museum and Library Services Act	Federal	Established the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS)
2002	Tribal Archives, Libraries, Museums National Conference held in Mesa, Arizona	ATALM	First major gathering of tribal librarians, archivists, and museum professionals

There is not a comprehensive history of tribal library development that analyzes the basis for the development of tribal libraries, however, including looking at the bigger picture of federal policies, activism, leadership, sovereignty, and resilience. While many of these resources mention landmark documents such as the Indian Omnibus Bill (Appendix A), none of these resources analyze and review them in the larger context of tribal library development.

The most often cited landmark mentioned in the literature of the 1990s and beyond concerning tribal library development is the 1984 LSCA Title IV funding—the first federal funding earmarked for Indian and Hawaiian libraries. Indeed, this funding was crucial—an all out game changer for tribal libraries. For the first time ever, tribes had access to federal grants that they could use for training of library personnel; to purchase library materials; to conduct special library programs; to provide salaries for library personnel; to build, purchase, or renovate library buildings; to provide transportation for Indians to have access to the library; to disseminate information about the library; and to conduct tribal library needs assessments. All of these activities were necessary for the development of tribal libraries.

Few authors discuss the 14 years of advocacy, action, and persistence that it took to get this federal funding passed. Few authors discuss the tribal library movement in context of other initiatives in Indian Country at the time. None of the authors discuss the overall vision of tribal libraries. Nor do authors discuss the more than 30 years of action that have followed the initial LSCA Title IV funding.

What was the status of early tribal library services that prompted this specific funding? What other sources of funding did the tribes have to develop libraries? What were the guiding philosophies behind the development of tribal libraries? Why did the funding only pertain to reservation Indians, not Indians living in urban centers? What role did self-determination play in this funding, and because this is federal funding, how did the library leaders and drafters of this legislation address the federal responsibilities to Native people? How did Indian leadership shape tribal libraries? In summary, what was the basis for the development of tribal libraries at this time?

The authors, particularly those of the 1970s, often mention the National Indian Education

Association (NIEA) Library Project, but do not analyze or discuss its role in tribal library development. Authors often mention the 1978 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services On or Near Reservations, but few authors address how important this conference and its resolutions were for the foundation of the LSCA Title IV funding, not to mention how important the National Indian Omnibus Library Bill was for this movement. None of the literature critically analyzes the Omnibus Indian Library Bill.

I have also identified a number of themes that are mentioned consistently in the literature, but are not examined thoroughly. These include self-determination; funding; the status of early library services for American Indians on reservations; federal responsibility to Native nations; state library agencies roles in tribal library development; and the overall vision for tribal library services. Each of these themes will be discussed in the findings/discussion section.

2.3 Evolution of Library Services to American Indians

This portion of the literature review will consider how American Indian library services have been addressed historically in the literature. Previous literature, beginning in the 1930s through the 1970s, mostly written by non-Native librarians, reveals the issues and approaches to providing Native Americans library and information services. The entire body of literature will not be reviewed for this dissertation, but a few noteworthy pieces will be addressed here. For a very comprehensive review of the literature up to 1977, see Heyser's dissertation, *Native Americans and Libraries: A Citation-Entry Analysis* (Heyser, 1977) and Metoyer's state of the art report from 1976 (Metoyer, 1976b).

A review of the early literature (1930s-1950s) reveals a strong focus on librarians trying to find ways to bring more books to Indians. Prior to the 1960s, the published literature on library

services to Native Americans was focused on Indian school libraries and the lack of books for Indian readers. None of the early literature discusses library services that originate from the community; rather, the focus of these early articles is on how non-Native people were trying to bring libraries (mostly books) to the Indians. Besides school libraries, the earliest library services to Native peoples consisted primarily of non-Native people coming to reservations to bring books, usually via bookmobiles, to the Indian Reservations. The literature of the 1960s on Indian library services focuses greatly on bookmobile services, including a short article about “flying libraries” that delivered books to remote areas of New Mexico (“Flying library,” 1963). Bookmobile services have been described for several Native communities, including New Mexico to the Navajo, Apache, and Pueblo (Farrington, 1969), and to Minnesota Indians (Gordon, 1969).

Margaretta Barr’s 1935 study of Indian school library collections is one of the earliest publications on Indian library services. Barr’s article is based on a school project she completed at her library school. She started her project thinking that the school library would be a bridge between the Indian world and white world, where Indians would be introduced to “white living” through books and would gradually transition while retaining the “best of Indian culture” (Barr, 1935, p. 702). She soon learned that there are numerous barriers to providing library services to Indian children: many books are not available in their language; there are no trained librarians in Indian school libraries; and Indian children are not interested in “reformatory books” that are often sent to Indian schools (p. 702). She also found that, “the Indian does not like to read...[unless] about his own people and customs” (p. 702). Barr finds that some teacher-librarians are hostile towards Indian children, quoting one as saying, “As soon as I go into my classroom, I feel like slapping every one of their brown faces, the dirty, evil-minded little imps”

(Barr, 1935, p. 702).

Barr is mostly concerned about finding the right types of books for Indian school library collections, suggesting that books need to “show respect to Indian customs and religions,” books need to have accurate illustrations, and they need to “avoid mere European retellings of the Indian legends and myths.” (Barr, 1935, p. 702). Even in this early literature, it appears that Barr is concerned about involving the Indians in the library collection: “If we want to keep this literature of the Indian, it is necessary to enlist the understanding and interest of the Indian himself...If the Indian child is primarily interested in his own history and legends, as has been proved, there should be a place in the library for them, and since they are, so far, in oral form story-telling should be a vital part of the library program.” (1935, p. 703).

Lucy Ann Babcock (1935) argues that despite the romantic image of Indians, they are no different than whites as library patrons, with the exception that Indian children are naturally timid. Babcock says that Indians are “one of us,” as well as being “the noble remnant of a downtrodden race, a beautiful first cousin to Nature herself, or the last, pitiable victim of a too complex civilization.” (Babcock, 1935, p. 701). Babcock offers a colorblind look at library services to Native people, saying that there is no “Indian problem” when it comes to the relationship between libraries and Indians, except that “the library can do much to help the race in its travel on the ‘white man’s road.’” She assumes that government schools “are equipped with excellent libraries” to serve the patrons who read, and that public libraries can effectively serve the Indians who live in urban areas. She believes that the solution to the problem is more libraries, as well as providing books that “encourages him in a racial pride” because “the Indian reads and enjoys these works, and learns from them” (p. 701).

Irene S. Peck (1958), like the other early authors, is mostly concerned about getting “the right

kinds of books to interest Indian boys and girls” (p. 71). Peck’s focus is on library services to the Indians of New Mexico, which at the time focused primarily on bookmobile services provided through the New Mexico State Library Extension Service and Library Services Act funds. She believes that schools are the best way to reach the Indians, and that teachers have a great influence on the types of books that end up in the Indian children’s hands. Peck states, “Our Indian citizens deserve better schooling and better library service than they receive now” (1958, p. 71).

A 1967 article (Allen, 1967) describes library services to Choctaw Indian Schools via their Materials Center, which is mostly focused on the school curriculum and helping the Mississippi Choctaw Indians learn English. There is no mention of incorporating Indigenous people or their systems of knowledge into the library, except that they employ a Choctaw man to drive their bookmobile and work with the audio-visual equipment. The goals of this library, according to Allen, is to improve teaching, improve reading achievement, help the student become better English speakers, with an overall outcome of giving students “an appreciation of our literary heritage, and a deeper sense of values” (1967, p. 56). While “our” heritage is not specified, it is assumed that the author is referring to non-Native heritage and American values.

Evidence of Native people being involved with the establishment of a library is found in Evans (1969). According to this brief article, the Native American Student Organization in Mayetta, Kansas, in coordination with the local Topeka Public Library, established a community library. The library was staffed by Native American students and was an “exercise in self-help and a commitment to community improvement which revealed to the students the opportunity to reject the convenience of accepting the stereotyped image of Indian youth” (p. 15).

State libraries across the country provided various ways of bringing library services to Native

communities. The New Mexico State Library first began providing library services to Indian tribes in 1957 through bookmobile service to San Juan Pueblo and services began providing bookmobile services via federal funding to 16 day schools and boarding schools. Since 1956, books have been sent to the Gallup dormitory (Peck, 1958). Ford's (1968) study, her thesis for the MA degree in Librarianship, is focused on library services in Indian schools and uncovering deficiencies in services as compared to ALA recommendations.

Gordon (1969) describes bookmobile services for the Indian reservations in Minnesota. He is reluctant to admit that Native people want to have books about their own people, and describes his hesitation to provide this kind of library service to the Indians at the library's bookmobile stops: "The circulation from the bookmobile and the requests for interlibrary loans were for books on the history of the various Indian tribes, books on Indian crafts, and novels which dealt positively with Indian culture. It appeared that we were being tested. *Were we actually willing to distribute through our bookmobile materials about Indians and for the Indians?*" [emphasis mine] (p. 348). The librarians were "willing to make an effort to bring to the Indians books about their subcultures" and were surprised to learn that the Indian patrons were also interested in other types of books (p. 349). The director of a Minnesota library system, William Gordon (1969) writes, "It is not easy now to serve these people" (348). Gordon describes the Indian people as "economically, socially and culturally different" and they often have an "inability to communicate [their] needs and desires to outsiders" (p. 348). Gordon attributes their lack of communication on their "natural shyness," their distrust of strangers, and because they are too proud to "admit their ignorance of the situation" or for them to "admit illiteracy" (p. 348). Gordon concludes that librarians have to do whatever it takes to encourage library use among minorities, even if it means abandoning the typical middle class library service and accepting the

minorities' requests or suggestions.

The early literature is full of derogatory language, paternalistic attitudes, as well as stereotypical imagery describing American Indians. This language is common among authors and researchers writing about Native people during this time, and it is reflective of attitudes towards Native people and library services by the profession. Peck (1958) uses patronizing language, calling the Navajo homes "primitive and remote" (p. 70). Ford (1968) begins her Master's thesis with the following statement: "Historically, the American Indian was handicapped economically, socially, and educationally in becoming an average citizen by his restrictive reservation life. Then, in 1924, Congress conferred citizenship upon all Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States" (p. 8). She goes on to characterize American Indian students as deficient because many only understand their tribal language, and have not had many experiences beyond reservation life. Ford sees the school library as a means to help the Indian students "fully realize their American citizenship" (1968, p. 10).

Farrington's (1969) description of bookmobile services to Indians in New Mexico reflects his outsider perspective. He writes: "The ingredients [of the bookmobile services] were some city-bred women, a well stocked bookmobile, Federal funds, and a lot of courage... Though the danger of being scalped hadn't existed since the late 1880s, there were still lonely rutted roads, flash floods... and the greatest killer of them all, apathy" (p. 864). Earlier, he describes the New Mexico Indian land as a "barren desert, useless to the white man; so it was given back to its original possessors..." (p. 864). Farrington describes the Indians as "'primitive' people with a highly sophisticated culture" (p. 866).

A shift in tone and strategy appears in William D. Cunningham's (1969) article, "Anto Wicharti." Cunningham (1969) recognizes that "cultural deprivation does not exist" and that

“richness and depth of culture and tradition of one group is not measurable by norms established in a different group” (p. 4496). Cunningham also acknowledges forced attempts at assimilation, the “white man’s desire for the Indian’s land” (4497). Cunningham use of a Sioux word (“Anto Wicharti”: “dawn of a new day”) in his title reflects his acknowledgement of the Indigenous ways of knowing. Cunningham acknowledges that providing library services to Indians will require librarians to think beyond their mainstream educational training. He says, “the direction of such programs cannot rest on the paternalistic, or ‘my library degree tells me what’s best for you’ approach. The direction of a program is going to have to rest on partnership between the library and the Indian population” (4499). Cunningham is the first to publically acknowledge the need for Indigenous self-determination in planning library services.

Cunningham’s (1969) major argument in this article is that the States have a responsibility to extend and support library services to Indian reservations, and that Federal, state, and local libraries can become partners in these endeavors. He describes several library programs in Minnesota and South Dakota where Indians are considered as participants and recipients. New York enacted a law in 1977 permitting Indian libraries to be considered public libraries, allowing millions of dollars of state funding to support the four libraries on three reservations: the Mohawk’s Akwesane Library and Cultural Center; the Seneca Nation’s library; and the Tonawanda Community Library (Lotsee Patterson, 2003).

Naumer (1974) surveys library services to American Indians until the mid-1970s. Naumer focuses on library/media services in k-12 schools, colleges and universities with large Indian populations, state and public libraries, and resource collections developed by Indians. Like many other authors publishing during this time, Naumer focuses on the need for Indians to plan and direct library services for their own communities, a direct outcome of the self-determination

movement. She emphasizes, repeatedly throughout her report, the fact that library leaders and planners need to “let the people in.” Naumer’s report encourages librarians to “mentally reach outside their own range of experiences” (p. 4) so that they may better serve and understand Indian people. She suggests Indian-authored books and Indian focused books, such as Vine Deloria, Jr.’s *Custer Died for Your Sins* and Dee Brown’s *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, for non-Native librarians to gain background knowledge on Indians. Like many other publications, Naumer assumes a non-Native audience for her report.

Besides these resources, the history of Native American library services remains undocumented and un-analyzed and absent from the published research literature. Additionally, tribal and Indigenous libraries are rarely mentioned by American Indian education scholars and American Indian historians. Although Indian libraries were seen as vehicles to improve Indian education, rarely do authors refer to libraries as important sites of learning for Indian communities. Numerous descriptive and anecdotal accounts of specific libraries appear in the literature, as well as essays on tribal libraries. Much of the literature is focused on library services for American Indian communities, through public libraries, bookmobiles, public and BIA school libraries, etc. Most of these publications focused on tribal libraries are based on non-current data, or are combined with the needs assessment of tribal archives and museums. Recent literature has brought together the roles of tribal archives, libraries, and museums as cultural heritage institutions.

2.4 History of Library Services to Minorities

While tribal library services may be considered as another category of minority library services, or serving “ethnically diverse communities,” it is very important to remember that

Native sovereignty differentiates the issues and experiences of Native Americans from other groups. Native nationhood and status as sovereign nations must be considered first, above all other factors. In this discussion of tribal libraries and tribal librarianship, it is important to remember that Native nations are sovereign nations who may chose to provide library services to their people. And, as sovereign nations, funding becomes a complicated issue.

Given that, it is important to recognize the work of other scholars who have investigated the history of library services to other minorities, such as African Americans (e.g., Cooke, 2017; Dumont, 1986; Knott, 2016; Malone, 2000; Wiegand, 2017), Latinos (Guerena & Erazo, 2000), and Asian Americans (Liu, 2000). Their histories and issues may differ from the American Indian library history movement, but their stories also contribute to the tapestry of American library history in relation to non-white Americans.

3. Methodology

This is a qualitative research study which addresses the research question:

What was the basis for the development of tribal libraries?

In this study, I conducted and analyzed personal interviews, and reviewed archival documents, bibliographic materials, reports, conference material, and ephemeral material to supplement the interviews. The research process was iterative, allowing time to adjust initial concepts as I discovered new evidence.

3.1 Research Approach

Using qualitative research methodologies informed by the elements of an Indigenous research paradigm (Wilson, 2008), this study reflects Indigenous research methodologies that

seek to privilege Indigenous voices and create a broader understanding of library services to Native Americans. The elements of an Indigenous research paradigm—ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology—are all based on relationality as they work together to maintain relational accountability (Wilson, 2008). As Wilson states, “Identity for Indigenous peoples is grounded in their relationships with the land, with their ancestors who have returned to the land and with future generations who will come into being on the land. Rather than viewing ourselves as being *in* relationship with other people or things, we *are* the relationships that we hold and are part of” (p. 80). Relationships form our realities (ontology) and our ways of knowing (epistemology). Knowledge is relational. It is important to be accountable (axiology) to our relations—to be respectful with the knowledge that we gain from others and to use this knowledge in a way that contributes to Indigenous communities rather than takes away. Based on this axiology, Indigenous research methodologies are designed to help to build relationships, to be respectful to participants and to the topic, and to incorporate reciprocity.

I am not a historian by training. But I recognize that the story of tribal libraries must be told by someone. Western approaches to history have traditionally omitted the stories of the ‘other,’ resulting in Indigenous histories being told by outsiders without Indigenous perspectives. I want to avoid this problem.

I am inspired by Puerto Rican historian Aurora Levins Morales’s words about the methodology of history: “History is the story we tell ourselves about how the past explains our present, and how the ways in which we tell it are shaped by contemporary needs” (Levins Morales, 1998, p. 24). Levins Morales creates a set of 15 understandings, or instructions to herself, about how to do this kind of work. Below is the list the instructions I have developed for this work, based on Levins Morales and Wilson’s work:

1. Tell undertold stories.
2. Center Native Americans in the story. And acknowledge Indigenous identity when appropriate.
3. Reframe the narrative of tribal libraries.
4. Acknowledge research as ceremony.

1. Tell undertold stories. I interviewed early developers of tribal libraries and other experts in tribal library development. I conducted these interviews because I knew that the written record would not tell the whole story of tribal library development.

2. Center Native Americans in the story. Acknowledge Indigenous identity when appropriate. I identify the tribal affiliation (when known) of the Indigenous interviewees, as well as those who I cite. I also try to identify the land where they are from. In Indigenous communities, it is common to ask, “Where are you from?” This question and the conversation that usually follows helps Indigenous people build relationships and upholds the relationality that is at the core of an Indigenous research paradigm (Wilson, 2008). While I cannot replicate the interaction that takes place when someone asks and answers the “where are you from?” question, I can at least give readers a sense of the individual’s background and provide context to establish a relationship between readers and the people who appear in this dissertation.

3. Reframe the narrative of tribal libraries. This project is aligned with the decolonizing methodology of reframing, a way of taking control over the way tribal library issues are discussed and researched by avoiding paternalistic and cynical approaches to issues. (Smith, 2012). I wish to reframe the way we look at tribal library development. Taking cues from Duarte’s (2013, 2017) study of Native approaches to internet deployment in Indian Country, I wish to shift the inquiry away from the ‘why don’t Indians have access to or use libraries?’ to ‘in

what ways have library leaders and American Indians provided libraries for Indian communities, and what can we learn from their approaches?’ In this way, we move away from conversations focused on problems (the “Indian problem”) and deficiencies, and focus instead on what has informed library development in Indian Country.

There is no denying that library services were inadequate for American Indians living anywhere in the United States for many years. As a 1975 NIEA report states, “There are essentially three types of American Indian communities: reservation, rural, and urban. In all three types of communities, library services (including public and school libraries, have been virtually non-existent” (Townley, 1975, p. 1).³ This dissertation addresses inadequate library services, but it also looks behind the curtain to investigate the context of these libraries and then to the leadership that addressed the issue.

Smith (2012) writes: “The need to reframe is about retaining the strengths of a vision and the participation of a whole community” (p. 155). This project focuses on the strengths of the vision for libraries and information services in Indian Country and the participation of numerous people in this vision. This reframing project is a decolonizing methodology that allows researchers to consider the whole context in defining an issue in conjunction with deciding the best solutions (Smith, 2012). While I do discuss some of the deficiencies, this is not the focus of this research project.

³ The key word here is “virtually.” Although there were a handful of libraries in these communities in 1975, for the most part, these libraries were inadequate or non-existent. I will touch on all of these communities throughout the dissertation, however, my focus for this study is on library services on Indian reservations.

4. *Acknowledge research as ceremony.* Wilson's (2008) work shows us that research is ceremony. Ceremony is about the preparation that happens in anticipation of an event. Preparation includes not only preparing logistics of data collection. It is also the long-term process of readying yourself for the in-depth dissertation work. I acknowledge that this research has been more than 10 years in the making, starting before I entered the PhD program. Ceremony is also about building stronger relationships between the cosmos and ourselves, according to Wilson. For this study, I did a lot of listening and reflecting, allowing stories to emerge through the data collection and analysis. I entered into the interviews as conversations and as a part of relationship building. Some of the people I interviewed were mentors, previous colleagues, and people I have personally known in the field for a number of years. Other interviewees were individuals I had met for the first time for the purpose of the study. "The research that we do as Indigenous people is a ceremony that allows us a raised level of consciousness and insight into our world" (Wilson, 2008 p. 137). In this project, I am not only recognizing the ceremony of the research—which includes building relationships among people and ideas—I am also recognizing the role of libraries in research--research that is ceremony.

3.2 Research Procedures

The research incorporates a historical review of documents and interviews with key individuals involved in tribal library development.

This research employed historical research methodologies to analyze the development of tribal libraries within the context of self-determination, legislation, and vision for Indian education across sovereign nations over a period of several decades. Historical research is an iterative research process that generally involves the following steps (Neuman, 2003):

1. Conceptualizing the object of inquiry
2. Locating evidence
3. Evaluating the quality of evidence
4. Organizing evidence
5. Synthesizing
6. Writing

Data collected include interview notes, interview transcripts, personal reflections, and notes from primary and secondary documents. Data analysis was based on successive approximation, which is an iterative process that moves from “vague ideas and concrete details in the data toward a comprehensive analysis with generalizations” (Neuman, 2003, p. 451). Themes were identified at each iteration, becoming more and more refined as the analysis continued. I attempted to weave the archival data with the interview data to tell a story of tribal library development.

3.2.a Data Collection Procedures

Gathering of recollections and personal reflections was an important aspect of this research. The interviewees included key players in the tribal library development history. These individuals were involved in the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Library Demonstration Project, the 1978 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services On or Near Reservations, and the 1991 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services. Interviews of individuals who were involved in the major tribal library initiatives in the 1970s and 80s were conducted – particularly the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Library Demonstration Projects in the 1970s, the First

White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services On or Near Reservations of 1978, and Title IV of the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) of 1984. These individuals included Dr. Lotsee Patterson, Dr. Charles Townley, Janice Rice, and Dr. Cheryl Metoyer (listed in order of interviews). Additional interviews were conducted with individuals who were or are involved with tribal library development. While there are a number of people who were concerned with tribal library development over the years (see Appendix F), these particular individuals played important roles in several major initiatives in the 1970s, 80s, 90s, and 2000s that brought attention to the library and information needs of Native Americans.

The interviewees shared their recollections about relevant events, which were used as the basis for further inquiry (Yin, 2009). I conducted unstructured, open-ended interviews, which allowed for a great depth of data collection (Fontana & Frey, 2000). The interviews, taking between 60-90 minutes, occurred over a period of time spanning from October 2016 to May 2017. I developed an interview guide and audio recorded and transcribed each interview for analysis. Ten interviews were conducted face-to-face.⁴ One was conducted via the telephone.

⁴ The ten interviews included four individuals who informed the research, but were not included in the final analysis of this dissertation. These interviewees were with 1. **Carolyn Petersen** at the Washington State Library. Ms. Petersen is the Washington State Library's assistant program manager for Library Development, and also serves as the liaison to the tribal libraries in Washington State. 2. **Kathy Kaya**, the founder of the Tribal College Librarians Institute (TCLI). 3. **Joe Sabatini**, retired librarian and long-time Indian Pueblo Cultural Center volunteer. Joe Sabatini helped establish a group in the New Mexico Library Association for Native American Libraries, and he continues to work for the development of tribal libraries

Archival documents, including letters, memos and other correspondence, pamphlets, unpublished reports, newspaper clippings, and ephemera, provide clues to the development of tribal libraries. This research incorporated analysis of these types of documents obtained from various sources, including the archives at the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS); the American Library Association; the New Mexico State Library; the University of New Mexico Special Collections Library; the Sequoyah National Research Center at the University of Arkansas Little Rock; and the Xwi7xwa Library at the University of British Columbia. I was also able to acquire and review unpublished documents, reports, correspondence, photos, a sound recording, and a 35 mm film from the personal collections of four of the interviewees.⁵

My data collection officially started in October 2016 when I interviewed Dr. Lotsee Patterson (Comanche) at the 2016 International Conference of Indigenous Archives, Libraries, and Museums (aka the ATALM conference), held in Phoenix, AZ at the Gila River Indian

statewide. Mr. Sabatini shared detailed knowledge of the legislative history of tribal libraries in New Mexico. 4. **Dr. Rose Diaz**, Indian Pueblo Cultural Center Library Director and Sr. Research Historian. Dr. Diaz has been the project coordinator for two Administration for Native American Grants (2011-2014, 2014-2017). The latest of these programmatic efforts focused on bringing archival management training to tribal communities.

⁵ Videos from the 1978 WHPC were held at one time at the Denver Public Library, according to the official event report (Office of Library & Information Services, 1979, p. 29). However, the Denver Public Library's Western History and Genealogy department confirmed that the videos are no longer part of their collection.

Community. Dr. Patterson is well known in the tribal library world as one of the leaders and early advocates whose lifetime of work shaped the future of the tribal library movement. Among her many accomplishments include being one of the founding members of the American Indian Library Association, establishing the TRAILS (Training and Assistance for Indian Library Services) program and serving as its Program Director, and providing expert testimony for a number of hearings on tribal library services. I was able to reconnect with Dr. Patterson at the 2017 ATALM conference.

In November 2016, I obtained digital copies of 109 issues of the *American Indian Libraries Newsletter*, volumes 1-37, spanning the years of 1976-2014. The *AILN* eventually became the official newsletter of the American Indian Library Association (AILA). The scanned issues were provided by the Sequoyah National Research Center at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. I read and reviewed the first twenty years of the publication, volumes 1-17, and conducted a content analysis using an Excel spreadsheet using open coding. Using data obtained from the open coding, I was able to perform a preliminary analysis of the literature.

In January 2017, I traveled to the University of New Mexico's Center for Southwest Research in Albuquerque, New Mexico where I reviewed the unprocessed collection of Lotsee Smith (Patterson), titled, "New Mexico Tribal Libraries," circa 1983-1988. The collection contained a number of photos, slides, and documents related to tribal library projects that Dr. Patterson oversaw in the 1980s.⁶ I also reviewed an archived recorded interview of Ben

⁶ Dr. Lotsee Patterson (Smith)'s papers in the University Archives (record group 40/27, School of Library and Information Studies) at the University of Oklahoma in the University Archives were not consulted, but may provide additional insight on this topic for future research.

Wakashige held in the unprocessed collection titled, “Native American Oral History Project,” in the Center for Southwest Research. On the same trip, I traveled to Santa Fe to the New Mexico State Library archive. I reviewed a number of documents in an unprocessed collection focused on the Native American Libraries Roundtable and other material from the New Mexico Library Association focused on Native Americans.

Also during this trip to New Mexico in January of 2017, I conducted an interview with Benjamin Wakashige. Mr. Wakashige was the state librarian of New Mexico from 1998-2003, and the Interim New Mexico State Librarian in 2011. Mr. Wakashige played important roles in tribal library development in the 1970s. He was a Field Coordinator for the Library Demonstration Project initiated by Dr. Lotsee Patterson in the mid-1970s in New Mexico. Through this demonstration project, he assisted in the development of library programs in the Pueblos of Cochiti, Jemez, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and Zia. He was also the Project Director of the American Indian Library Cultural Centers Project in New Mexico. He and I talked about this demonstration project, about tribal library development—particularly in New Mexico, and about his work as a state librarian supporting tribal libraries.

I ended the January 2017 New Mexico trip by interviewing Dr. Charles Townley in Las Cruces, New Mexico. Dr. Townley was heavily involved with a number of early initiatives to develop libraries in Indian Country, including the 1973 *Goals for Indian Library and Information Service*; the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Library Project, the White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services on or Near Reservations, the National Indian Omnibus Library Bill, and other significant milestones.

I conducted a phone interview with Janice Rice (Ho-Chunk) in March of 2017. Janice Rice is a retired outreach librarian at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries. Janice Rice has a

long list of professional accomplishments and many years of involvement with tribal libraries. She was a delegate to the 1978 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Libraries and Information Services On or Near Reservations. She served as the President of the American Indian Library Association (AILA) in 2008, and was given the Distinguished Service Award from AILA in 2012. I also interviewed Janice Rice in 2010 for a project focused on the legacy of the late Virginia Mathews. I recorded our conversation in 2010, two years before I started the PhD program, and just a few months after Mathews passed away. When I spoke to Janice Rice in March of 2017, she granted permission for me to use that interview for this dissertation.

In May of 2017, I drove south to Portland, OR to interview Alison Freese. For ten years, Alison Freese served as the Senior Program Officer for the Native American/Native Hawaiian Library Services grants administered by IMLS. Before working for IMLS, Dr. Freese worked six years at the New Mexico Tribal Libraries Consultant. She was the first person to have this role in New Mexico. She and I talked mostly about her work in New Mexico with tribal libraries.

I interviewed Dr. Cheryl Metoyer (Eastern Band Cherokee) in May of 2017 in Seattle, WA. Dr. Metoyer was one of the first Native American scholars in the field, earning her Ph.D. in Library and Information Science from Indiana University in 1976. She began her career working with the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) library project, which set the stage for library development in Indian Country based on the goals of Indian self-determination. She was a delegate for the 1978 White House Preconference on Indian Libraries and Information Services On or Near Reservations, and was selected as a delegate to the 1979 White House Conference on Libraries. Over the years, she has directly assisted eight Native nations in the development of their libraries, archives and museums. Dr. Metoyer has worked as faculty in several universities;

most recently as Associate Professor and the Associate Dean for Research at the University of Washington Information School.

Also in May 2017, I attended the Tribal College Librarians Institute (TCLI) in Bozeman, Montana where I conducted an interview with Dr. Loriene Roy (Anishinabe), Professor at The University of Texas at Austin. Dr. Roy has a long history of research, service, and teaching focused on Indigenous cultural heritage development and Indigenous librarianship here in the United States as well as internationally. She convened the Special Interest Group on Indigenous Matters in 2008 within IFLA (the International Federation of Associations and Organizations). She is the founder and director of “If I Can Read, I Can Do Anything,” a national reading club for American Indian youth. She served as President of the American Indian Library Association (AILA) in 1997 and as the 2007-2008 President of the American Library Association (ALA). Dr. Roy is the only Native American (to date) to serve as the president of this association.

In July 2017, I traveled to Ann Arbor to the University of Michigan where the U.S. National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) archive is held. I spent two days there, where I reviewed nine boxes of materials and digitally scanned (using an application on my iPhone) hundreds of pages of documents of NCLIS Records from 1966-1995. Created by Public Law 91-345, the NCLIS operated as an independent agency within the executive branch of the Federal government from its inception in 1970 to 2008. The commission was established to advise the President and Congress on matters related to national library policy and plans, but it was also a key early supporter of Native American library services. In February 1977, the NCLIS adopted a resolution stating that, “the National Commission pledges to continue its interest and support of the development of an effective library and information program that will serve the needs and desires of Native Americans” (National Commission on Libraries and Information

Science, 1977). The documents I reviewed included those related to Native American library and information services. The archive included such things as documents/itineraries/transcripts/reports of hearings conducted by NCLIS from 1989/1990, drafts and correspondence related to reports written by NCLIS staff and consultants on Native American affairs; and documents related to the 1978 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Libraries and Information Services On or Near Reservations, the 1979 White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services, the 1991 White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services, and more. The NCLIS archive contained a wealth of material related to this research project.

Also in July 2017, I traveled to the University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign to the American Library Association (ALA) archives. The ALA is home to the American Indian Library Association (AILA), the first and only professional organization that focuses on library services to American Indians. The AILA started as a subcommittee on Library Service for American Indians in the Social Responsibilities Roundtable of the ALA. Many of the early leaders of AILA and the subcommittee were also involved with the landmark projects of the tribal library movement, making this archive of particular importance for this project. Like the NCLIS archive trip, I also reviewed and digitally scanned 100s of pages of documents in about ten boxes in the ALA archive. Of particular interest were those documents from the Office for Literacy and Outreach Services folders, the Subcommittee on Library Service for American Indian People, the American Indian Library Association, and the ALA Washington Office files on American Indians. This archive also held a number of materials related to the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS), some of which were duplicates from the U-Michigan archive, but many that were unique.

In order to discern any relationship between Canada and US tribal library development, I reviewed archival material at the Xwi7xwa Library at the University of British Columbia (UBC) Vancouver Campus in July 2017. The Xwi7xwa Library is the only Aboriginal branch of an academic library in Canada. The archival material I reviewed included documents from the 1960s and 1970s related to Native library development across Canada. These include the Indian Eskimo Association (established in 1960), the Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples (established in 1967), and the Original People's Library Association (established in 1978). I also conducted an interview with Gene Joseph (Wet'suwet'en) while I was on the UBC campus. Gene Joseph has a long history of involvement in First Nations libraries and archives. She was President of the Original People's Library Association in Canada. She is also the founding librarian of the Xwi7xwa Library and formally worked at the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs library. She is also known for her contributions to aboriginal title and rights through the use of legal research. While I did not specifically use the documents and Ms. Joseph's interview in this dissertation project, the knowledge I gained through this investigation helped me to provide historical and geographic context for library development in the Indigenous communities to the north.⁷

⁷ Canadian First Nations library development provides another layer of relevance in this discussion. The Akwesasne tribal library in New York was developed as one of the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) library demonstration projects in the 1970s. The Akwesasne library serves the Akwesasne Nation that straddles the United States and Canadian borders.

All of the documents I collected and scanned, as well as transcripts of most of the interviews, were uploaded and organized into NVivo for Mac, a qualitative data analysis software. I reviewed and conducted open coding of most of the documents. I used NVivo to help me search for terms and themes across documents and transcripts.

3.2.b Ensuring Authenticity and Credibility

Documenting “the truth” is difficult, if not impossible, as constructing a history involves the telling of people’s stories, which are often biased (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In order to avoid inquiry based on a single point of view, I incorporated multiple sources of information to achieve triangulation. Much of this will be based on primary sources -- official government documents and reports which contain testimony.

All sources used to gain information were appraised according to their worth to the research question:

What was the basis for the development of tribal libraries?

Sources were also appraised in terms of their genuineness and reliability. Documents underwent external criticism to ensure they are authentic. External criticism asks questions regarding when a document was written, where it was written, why did it survive, and who is the real author (Neuman, 2003). Once documents pass the external criticism, they will undergo internal criticism to establish credibility (Neuman, 2003). Internal criticism focuses on the meaning of the document in context. It critically examines the contents of each document, asking questions such as why the document was written, if it is internally consistent, and if it is an eyewitness or secondhand account. Historians often use their prior knowledge about the subject as a guideline about the reliability of information (Busha & Harter, 1980), thus my

conceptualizing of the context will be of the utmost importance for this evaluation. By examining the content of the documents to determine credibility, I ensured that documents were worthy of inclusion in this research.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

As an Indigenous scholar engaged in research that can potentially impact Indian Country, my primary focus is to provide relevant and practical knowledge that can be used to improve practice and have a positive impact on indigenous communities. Unlike research that has been conducted on and about Native Americans in the past, this research was designed to benefit the communities, as they are the stakeholders.

Ethical considerations of historical research involve the use and selection of materials, the selection and ethical treatment of informants, the analysis of the data, and acknowledgement of bias in the process (Neuman, 2003). Historical research is often difficult to replicate, as the researcher cannot reasonably document and share all of her evaluation and interpretation decisions. In order to avoid accusations of fraud or misinterpretation, I documented sources and kept extensive notes. I was very cognizant of the protection of informants' privacy and possible diplomatic issues resulting from the information shared or the questions I ask. I am aware that some of the informants have based their careers on tribal library development and have much at stake in sharing their professional stories. My goal was to be as respectful as possible of their professional contributions.

Because this research involved human subjects in the interview process, this research was reviewed by the IRB before conducting any interviews with informants. The University of Washington's Human Subjects Division determined that this research project is exempt from

federal human subjects regulations. Each interviewee received and signed an informed consent form granting permission for their participation in the recorded interaction, for their name to be associated with their comments, as well as providing information on the research so that they can make an informed decision about participating.

I see myself as a storyteller who is writing and sharing this research. Storyteller as researcher is part of an Indigenous research paradigm, according to Wilson (2008). Wilson writes about the role of the storyteller/researcher: “As a storyteller, I am responsible for who I share information with, as well as ensuring that it is shared in an appropriate way, at the right place and time.” The responsibility is shared with the listeners: “In receiving the story, you as an active listener are responsible for putting the story into a relational context that makes sense for you and for listening with an open heart and open mind. If you choose to pass along the story or my words, you also take on the responsibilities of the storyteller yourself” (Wilson, 2008 pp. 126-127). As a storyteller and researcher, I have to be accountable to the relationships that are built through this research.

3.4 Limitations

I acknowledge that the information I present here is incomplete, and only reflects the parts of the history that surfaced for me. I also recognize that the story of American Indian librarianship is very complex and nuanced, and that this dissertation cannot possibly touch on all aspects of this history. A major limitation for this research is the fact that I did not conduct interviews with any tribal librarians who lived and worked during the era of tribal library development, particularly those from the 1970s. My research focused on individuals who have remained active in the profession and who were relatively easy to track down. This is not the case for many of the

librarians from the 1970s, given the high rate of turn over and the fact that 40 years have passed since the first gathering of American Indians who addressed the issue of tribal library development.

Research Question:

- *What was the basis for the development of tribal libraries?*

4. Findings and Discussion

In this section, I will address the research question (*What was the basis for the development of tribal libraries?*) through an analysis of interviews, documents, and other research data collected throughout the study. This section begins with defining tribal libraries through an analysis of the documents and interview data. To further investigate the basis for the development of these libraries, I will explore the issues and challenges in the development of tribal libraries, such as the lack of adequate library services, the lack of Native American librarians, and funding issues. I will also discuss federal and state responsibilities to tribes for tribal library development. I will review the advocacy, action, and leadership that formed the basis for tribal library development, including reviewing major milestones in the history of tribal library development. I will review the vision for tribal libraries as envisioned by early developers. Finally, I will review the theme of leadership that emerged through this study.

Through this research, I argue that the development of tribal libraries has been shaped by the early advocacy of library leaders and tribal leaders.

4.1 Definition of Tribal Libraries

Before we can begin to explore the basis for the development of tribal libraries, it is important to operationalize the term “tribal library.” As noted earlier, there is no single definition for this term. In this section, I will explore the characteristics of tribal libraries as described in the interviews I conducted and in the literature.

The 1978 WH Pre-Conference identified one of the critical needs of tribal libraries: a definition. The 5th Resolution of the WH Pre-Conference stated that there were “no criteria or standards” for tribal libraries:

Whereas there are no criteria or standards in existence which may or should be realistically applied to Indian reservation library services and libraries; (WH Pre-Conference 1978, Resolution 5)

We can look to a number of sources to begin to develop a definition. We might look to the federal agency that provides a majority of funding to the Nation’s tribal libraries for a definition of “tribal library.” The Institute for Museum and Library Services does not use the term “tribal library.” Instead, they provide grants to “Native American libraries.” The *Pathways to Excellence Report* refers to three types of Native American libraries: 1. Community or tribal libraries/museums, 2. School libraries/media centers, and 3. Postsecondary and research libraries (including museum libraries). (National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, 1992, p. A-25). As mentioned in the introduction, the terminology used to identify these libraries has evolved over time. Early literature uses terms like “Indian libraries,” “libraries on or near reservations,” or “Native American libraries.” The evolution of terminology reflects the evolution of these institutions, as well as the complexity in determining the defining characteristics of these libraries.

A 1975 document published by the National Indian Education Association defines libraries from an Indian perspective in a guide entitled, “Working with Indian Communities and Agencies to Establish Indian Library Services. Guide 1.” The guide’s definition for “Library” begins by acknowledging that the word conjures up typical imagery of books, media, quiet spaces, limited hours, and uncomfortable seating. The authors suggest that “library” needs a new definition for the Indian community:

It should be a place where members of the Indian community can go to for materials to further their tribal knowledge, or non-Indian knowledge or whatever kind of information the tribal person wishes to locate. It should be a place not already defined in the librarian’s head, but with careful listening, and listening again and asking the right questions the librarian will help make the library one meant for Indians, used by Indians. The Indian library should have comfortable furnishings and be a comfortable place...A smoking area should be designated and as many elder Indians chew tobacco, spittoons should be provided in the smoking area. Books and other library materials should be viewed not as ends in themselves to be displayed, catalogued, treasures piled here on earth but should be seen as tools, as a means to information. (Christensen, 1975, p. 4)

In 1978, Virginia Mathews tells readers that “[tribal] libraries evolved by the community and operated under community control, reflect[ing] the real needs felt by community members of all ages” (1978, p. 2). Their collections and services may be similar to public libraries, but may include an emphasis on Native American history and culture, particularly on the local tribe. In a 1977 AILN article, Metoyer (Metoyer, 1977a, p. 22) describes tribal libraries in the following way:

These libraries or information centers have their location on the reservation as their common denominator. They are called community libraries, tribal libraries, tribal resource centers, or tribal oral history centers. Some exist in a separate facility and others are housed as a division of the tribal community center. Primarily, these libraries exist to address the information needs of the adults and children residing on the reservation...These libraries are planned and developed by community members, and they do express the culture, educational goals, and information needs of that community. (p. 22)

Margaret Jacobs (Mohawk), the librarian at the Akwesasne Library and Cultural Center defines “an Indian library” for their community (Jacobs, 1978, p. 2). She writes, “At Akwesasne, an Indian library does not mean a library that houses only Indian materials. It does mean that Indian people work in the library, which is located on an Indian reservation. We do have a large collection of Indian books...but we also offer other resources....Therefore, in addition to the traditional resources of a public library, our library includes materials of special note to our Indian population” (p. 3). For Jacobs, it was important to point out that the library employs Indian people and serves Indian people with not only Indian books and materials, but other mainstream resources.

We can look to some of the published literature that describes these libraries. Tribal libraries may be referred to as “hybrid institutions” because of their tendency to work in partnership with many other entities, including museums, archives, cultural centers, tribal colleges and universities, and schools (Jorgensen et al., 2014). Tribal libraries most often serve as tribal archives (Jorgensen, 2012; Martin, 2011; Roy & Alonzo, 2011). School libraries on reservations sometimes have a dual role of serving as the community library as well serving children and

youth (McCauley, 1991). Tribal libraries may have sacred or culturally sensitive materials in their collections, making it necessary to devise culturally appropriate access policies. Jorgensen (2014) state that the primary mission of tribal libraries is to “serve the information needs of their respective Native communities, a mission that includes serving as ‘culture keepers’ for tribal-specific information and history” (iii).

Brown and Webster (2006) state that “a tribal library must be designated by a tribe. Tribal libraries vary widely in size, collections, staffing, and function. They can include public, academic, and special libraries. Many libraries serve more than one role in a tribal community. Some may support reservation schools while also functioning as a public library. Some act as research libraries or archives. Many tribal college libraries also serve as public libraries.” (2006, p. 20)

Another recent definition comes from Newbold’s study of tribal libraries in California. Newbold writes:

a tribal library is defined as a collection of materials, including books, manuscripts, photographs, articles, sound recordings, and video recordings, which is maintained by an Indian tribe – a recognized sovereign nation registered with the U.S. Federal Government. Although tribal libraries contain valuable historic and cultural materials, they also include mainstream current literature that is relevant and useful to their patrons such as information regarding legal matters, health issues, personal development, education, and entertainment. (Newbold, 2011, p. 77)

Newbold’s definition is exclusive to federally recognized tribes, and is focused on the materials that are included in the building.

Roy (2011) describes tribal libraries in the following way:

These are libraries and other information centers that offer the expected services: circulation of materials, collection of singular items such as oral histories, and provision of public services such as summer reading programs. Yet, there is always something unique and special in these settings as they balance tribal protocols and infuse their settings with tribal lifeways expressions, from their footprints on the land, to their architecture and interior design, institutions names, signage, and special services such as Native language promotion. (vii)

In March of 2017, I sent a message to the American Indian Library Association listserv and on my personal social media accounts, asking if people could share with me the word for “library” in their Native languages, and the translation of the word “library.” I received 40 different words and translations from across the country and around the world. The translations for “library” included some of the following:

Book building, book house, the place where books are stored, important and old books, the people’s cultural document house, the house of papers, a house to store something, a place for reading.

The way that tribal nations have defined these institutions in their own languages also reveals another dimension of the characteristics of tribal libraries from an Indigenous perspective.

I asked some prominent leaders who have helped to shape the tribal library movement to define tribal libraries.

In her 2017 interview, Metoyer built on the definition she gave in 1977 by adding the importance of nation rebuilding as a role of tribal libraries: “I think a tribal library serves the information needs of its community. And I think it sees that as part of its responsibility as part of

a sovereign nation. I think there also needs to be the element that that tribal library is de facto part of nation rebuilding, the ongoing rebuilding of a nation.”

In her 2017 interview, Roy adds “learning” and “sharing” to her definition of tribal libraries: “It's a learning place. A self-learning place. A sharing place.” She also talks about the diversity of tribal libraries and the many ways they can be defined. She reminds us that each tribal library has its own identity, just like each tribe does:

I think of tribal libraries as a whole. Some people think of tribal college libraries. Some think of the public version or what some people call the community library. Some think of the multipurpose, so it's library, museum, archives, language center. And sometimes there's a place that isn't even the library, but the youth center, the chapter house. So it's where this happens. And so whether it's supporting Native identity through language acquisition, whether it's providing a social space, a place to exhibit cultural reflections, whether it's the traditional library that you might think of as material centered with collections and now computers. All those, I think, there are shades of definitions. Just like people are, I think each tribal library has its own identity. Some are similar. Some are different. But they're on the fringes of statistical data gathering. They might be excluded from even being considered a tribal library in their state, or qualifying for certain things. It gives them some freedom. Sometimes they can be interpreted in traditional ways, "Dewey classification and a weeding schedule!" But they also have the great potential more so than many other settings of being unique. As unique as a tribe can be.

Janice Rice includes discussion of technology and exhibits in her definition during our 2017 interview. She also talks about how the definition of the tribal library is “stronger and richer” than what was envisioned in the 1970s when she and others were discussing establishing tribal

libraries for the first time.

I think it's a combination of everything. The technology, the books, the stories, the community, the exhibits, the vision people have in the community. It reflects them. So that's how I think it is now. It's moved way beyond what we envisioned way back when, in the 1970s. It's much stronger and richer than what we thought. Because we were using the tools that we learned in higher education at the time and it's evolved into high tech and all kinds of developments.

Janice Rice's definition also includes looking to elders and to young people to help us to define tribal libraries today:

Movies, videos, webcasts, all kinds of things we have access to now that our young people have that now without the library, so it's going to be a challenge for us to work with them because they were born with it, with high tech, which we weren't. They are going to help define it too, they have to listen to their elders, too, so they can make the most of what our elders want to share. And then with their high tech skills can bring forward to make the library relevant to everyone in the community.

Lotsee Patterson, in our 2016 interview, emphasized the fact that a tribal library can be anything that a tribe wants, and is not determined by size or structure:

What is a tribal library? And my answer is, it's anything you want it to be. It could be a shelf with some books in a hallway. It can be, um, as I told you earlier, I set up libraries in food co-ops. I set up libraries in tribal council chambers. It doesn't have to be a big library. It's kinda like, build it and they will come. I think it was Zuni...we started with a shelf, a little bookshelf in a hallway. And now they have their great big building. Let it grow. I firmly believe you can start anywhere, anyway. And it will grow. It will develop.

Patterson's definition reflects the philosophy of self-determination, of allowing tribes to decide what they want and how they want services, which is a prominent aspect of tribal library development.

Charles Townley, in our 2017 interview, focused on the ideal tribal library: "In an ideal world, the tribal library would be an information resource that provides services that are needed and requested by the community."

Alison Freese, in our 2017 interview also discussed a successful tribal library. Her definition is unique in that it addresses the interactions between western and traditional Native approaches to knowledge and information that are at play in a tribal library:

I would say that a successful tribal library would be the one that can combine both the traditional and the western use of information and knowledge collection, and support both of those and service facilitating institutions for bringing these together so that they make sense to community members and are relevant to their lives and help improve their lives. Sometimes it has to be health care, job applications. Sometimes it has to be elders telling stories, learning languages. There was one library in NM where they had toddlers learning the language in the library. Anything the community needs that the library is appropriate for facilitating. You gotta go along with tribal council wants, or tribal leadership wants. Can't get out of those parameters. But if you do it right, it's a very dynamic addition to a community.

Ben Wakashige simply stated, "The thing about tribal libraries is that we need to consider they are more than public libraries." Lorie Roy, in our interview, echoes Wakashige's observation. She said, "The thing is that they don't have to be like any other library." Indeed, tribal libraries are diverse and defy a simple explanation.

Based on the data gathered in this research, it is clear that a definition of tribal libraries is complex. In the simplest terms, tribal libraries are libraries that are planned and administered by a tribe, pueblo, village, or native group. They may provide services similar to public libraries, such as circulation of books and resources, access to technology, adult and children programs, and meeting spaces. But they also provide more than the typical public library services. These libraries incorporate and reflect Native lifeways and perspectives into their services, collections, policies, and design. They may incorporate Native language programming, traditional stories, and intergenerational activities. They may have a strong collection of materials and resources focused on the local tribe(s) or region. They may be housed in youth centers, schools, chapter houses, or anywhere in a tribal community. They may serve the local tribal college or tribal university on or near reservation. They may be hybrid institutions in conjunction with archives, museums, and/or cultural or language centers. Tribal libraries are community libraries, and they are as diverse and unique as the tribal communities that they serve. Tribal libraries serve their communities by addressing the information needs of community members, as well as addressing nation building and rebuilding across Indian Country. Reflecting on the current definitions of tribal libraries, we can now consider the many aspects that formed the basis for the development of tribal libraries.

4.2 Inadequate Library Services

What kind of library services did your parents or grandparents have as children? For many Native American adults, the answer to this question reveals the inadequate or absent library services for several generations. This section acknowledges this deficiency (particularly for Indian reservations), but only as a part of the overall story of resilience and tribal library development. The absence of adequate library services on reservations at the beginning of the

tribal library movement in the 1960s and 1970s is a common theme across all of the data collected and is often used as a rationale for establishing library services for Native Americans.

Library advocates had recognized the need for action several decades before the major grassroots movement to improve tribal libraries began in the 1960s and 70s. Letters documenting dissatisfaction with Native American library services indicate that individuals at ALA and working on reservations wanted better libraries for this population, and that they had begun strategizing for advocacy. For instance, a 1950 letter from Mrs. Margie Sornson Malmberg, Director of the ALA Washington Office, states the following:

Mr. Beatty's [Director of Education, Office of Indian Affairs] advice was that in those areas where the Indian service operated the schools, individuals should bombard the Indian service and the members of Congress to make their wants and interests known. As far as other Indians are concerned, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers and similar organizations can help most effectively by working to extend library service generally. He also suggested that the State departments of education who help to a large extent with the Indian public school budget should be told of the interest in the Indian problem. He also suggested that pressure be put upon the Catholic leaders to improve the school library reading facilities. (Malmberg, 1950)

She concludes her letter with frustration with the lack of actual work on this issue by the federal government: "In other words... They recognize the inadequacies of the situation but seem to be stymied, by what I am not quite sure." Mrs. Malmber's letter conveys the frustration with the current system.

The paucity of American Indian library services was reflective of the economic and (western) education deficiencies experienced by many Indigenous people across the country. The bleak

state of American Indians at the time was used by the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) in their proposal to use federal funds to develop library programs for American Indian communities (National Indian Education Association, 1971). The 1971 formal proposal to the Office of Education recalls the following quotation from the 1969 Kennedy report:

To thousands of Americans, the American Indian is and always will be dirty, lazy, and drunk. That's the way they picture him; that's the way they treat him...The basis for these stereotypes goes back into history – a history created by the white man to justify his exploitation of the Indian, a history the Indian is continually reminded of at school, on television, in books and at the movies. (Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, 1969, p. 22)

The NIEA library project proposal based its argument on the fact that libraries, “as informational centers and repositories of culture, have an opportunity and an obligation to serve Indian communities and the entire society in a constructive way.” In other words, properly planned Indian libraries can help undo the wrongs of this country’s mishandling of American Indian history and culture, and can help meet the information needs of this community.

The 1978 National Indian Omnibus Library Bill and accompanying resolutions described the inadequate library situation as follows:

Whereas library, cultural and information resources at a compensatory level are now urgently needed by American Indian/Alaska Native people living on or near Reservations; (WH Pre-Conference 1978, NIOLB)

And, later, as:

Whereas library/media/information services on or near reservations are inadequate or non-existent

A 1971 document describes library services to American Indians as “a void,” and “woefully inadequate.” It goes on to characterize some of librarians serving Indians as “patronizing” who want to “do something to help the poor Indian.” (“American Indian Program for Library Service Draft,” 1971, p. 1). Among the concerns mentioned in this document are the use of libraries to socialize American Indians to white cultural values (rather than support the richness of American Indian cultures); the inappropriate materials that support stereotypes of American Indians; the library collections that do not include any materials written by American Indians; the negligence of library administration to serve urban Indian populations; the almost non-existence of any American Indian librarians; and the ineffective use of funds that could be used to support American Indian populations. Overall, the document suggests that, “the field of American Indian librarianship has been badly neglected.” (“American Indian Program for Library Service Draft,” 1971, p. 3)

Four years later, a 1975 report describes a situation not much different from the previous document: “the picture of sparse, inadequate, token or non-existent library and information services available to Indian people, wherever they live” (Mathews, 1975, p. 5). The bleak situation was compounded by illiteracy, language barriers, and lack of understanding of library services on reservations, according to the report.

The 1975 Wisconsin Statewide Plan described the lack of library services in Wisconsin in the following way: “Meaningful library services that meet Indian information needs are generally non-existent in areas of high concentrations of Indian population. Yet Indian people are interested in libraries and the services that they offer” (“Statewide Plan for the Development of Indian Library Services in Wisconsin,” 1975, p. 3). The revised 1981 Wisconsin Statewide Plan contains the same sentence, indicating that progress in establishing library services to this

population was not immediate (“Statewide Plan for the Development of Indian Library Services in Wisconsin, Revised,” 1981, p. 1).

The 1977 BIA Plan also declared that, despite the lack of library services, the Indian people were ready for library services: “Indian people fully understand that access to and use of accurate information is the first requirement for the preservation and enhancement of Indian cultural roots, and at the same time, the first necessity for dealing on an equal footing with the non-Indian society” (U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Office of Library and Information Services, 1977, p. 10).

Hardy, in his 1978 paper prepared for the WH Pre-Conference, focuses on the need for libraries to provide information for economic development on Indian reservations. He observes lagging development due to “information gaps” caused by technical studies that “do not find their ways into the few existing traditional libraries that are readily available for convenient use by Indian people.” (1978, pp. 3–4). Hardy goes on to say that, “on a great many reservations, library facilities are either not available or are not organized to provide needed information for economic development.” (Hardy, 1978, p. 4). He concludes that tribes need to establish libraries/information centers to support reservation economic development.

The archival documents confirm the memories that were shared by the interviewees. For instance, Lotsee Patterson, in her 2017 interview, discussed her annoyance working at a BIA school and realizing that the school had no reading material for her students:

I was really annoyed. I had taught at a Bureau of Indian Affairs school, high school in OK, Riverside. And in a little rural school where I first started teaching, and I realized none of those kids had anything to read. They had nothing. NO newspapers, no magazines. It really bothered me. Because we always had books, magazines, my mother

got books by mail from the state library. So that set me on the path, and so when I got to New Mexico and I decided I would try to work with Pueblos and the BIA schools, they were BIA schools in Pueblos. So, as I say, I just started because I was trying to get libraries in the schools.

Cheryl Metoyer, in her 2017 interview, reflects on her early thinking about library services for American Indians. “I started thinking about tribal libraries even before I knew they existed. By that I mean, when I first started to realize how, through the public library system how very few materials there were about any of our Native people that led me to begin to wonder, are there libraries on reservations?” Dr. Metoyer reflected on the “deplorable” state of materials in the libraries she knew of as a master’s student and as a Native American who grew up in an urban center. “I remember asking the director of the public library why it was that there weren’t tribal libraries, and even in the public libraries, there were maybe just one shelf of books about Indians. And they were all wrong and horrible. It was like the light beginning to dawn.”

Later in the interview, Dr. Metoyer makes a profound statement about the state of American Indian library services: “And then it dawned on me that there were no libraries on our reservations.”

Dr. Metoyer also reflected on her experiences working for the NIEA Library Project, and finding that some libraries did not have adequate resources:

[One library in particular] was just devastating...[It] was the scariest one because it was certainly on the books [as a library], but then we got out there, we were looking at a one-room situation with a lot of broken audio-visual equipment. This is the library? It was very eye-opening. And that began my understanding of where tribal libraries, of whatever kind, fit within this larger framework of providing information to the communities. That was the best

institutional setting for this to happen at that time. Because the libraries had a role in supporting whatever schools were on or off the reservation. That there was another link there that should have been happening, with the right amount of resources, of which, of course, there were virtually none. That was part of the problem.

She further reflects on the dire situation at the library: "I remember the looks on our faces when we walked in. "Is this it?" It was unbelievable. There was almost nothing there. And I do mean nothing... There certainly was no staff that we saw. My memory was audiovisual equipment. A closet of broken lights. That's my memory. I don't remember us even looking at a collection [of resources]. I don't even remember that there was a collection."

A 1973 film-strip script written for the NIEA Library Project describes the state of libraries serving Indian people at that time: "For Indian people living on reservations, the problem is one of no libraries at all, no local tax support, and no state or federal grants in aid to support any library. Several of the few really good (Bureau of Indian Affairs) BIA school libraries have provided a base for branching out into adult community library service" ("American Indian People and Library Learning Centers," 1973). Examining evidence from this time period, it's clear that "really good" BIA school libraries were also few and far between.

The film script goes on to describe the misconceptions of decision-makers about the need for libraries in Indian Country: "Bureaucrats who see no need to spend any money on library and information services for Indian people are fond of giving the excuse that Indian people do not want libraries because they have not had them. But that is not true" ("American Indian People and Library Learning Centers," 1973). The fight to demonstrate the Indians indeed wanted/needed library services will be discussed later.

Janice Rice remembered how she first encountered Native American issues in her graduate library school program: “I had been reading about library services to the disadvantaged, but I never saw much on American Indians.” Few people were talking about American Indian library services in any setting, including LIS schools. Unfortunately, this situation has not changed much today.

4.2.a Books

A 1971 document summarized some of the problems with the books and materials available at the time: “The most accessible and familiar materials concerning American Indians are usually written or produced by whites and include toward a stereotyped view and misconceptions.” The report goes on to describe that these inappropriate books are often rejected by Native Americans, and that the materials present “historical untruths, polarizing groups and often inflicting harm on individuals, both white and Indian” (“American Indian Program for Library Service Draft,” 1971).

The 1969 Kennedy Report also discusses the problem of stereotypes in books, particularly in textbooks, found in schools, and how these stereotypes cause much damage to Indian students. The report suggests that non-Indians often see Indians as “inferior” and “savages” who were justifiably exploited by the white man (Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, 1969, p. 22). The Report cites studies and testimonies where Indians are seen as ‘less than our coloreds’; as ‘savages’ and as ‘lazy, shiftless, dirty, biologically and culturally inferior,’ and that these stereotypes were reinforced in the curriculum and in school textbooks (p. 22).

The report describes the case of the Mesquakie Tribe of Tama, Iowa, where Mesquakie

children were being forced to attend a local public school after the closure of their BIA day school (p. 48-52). The BIA claimed that the public school was “ready” for the transfer of the Mesquakie children, citing, among other things, the fact that the “school library contains many references to Indian history and culture” (p. 51). However, the Mesquakies maintained that ‘the curriculum has not been geared to our tribal way of thinking’ and ‘the only steps taken toward acknowledging the presence of Indians in the school are the addition to the library of a number of books on Indian history and culture’ (p. 51-52). This case demonstrates that school libraries can be seen as a place to represent Indian history and culture, but it cannot be the only place where Indians are present in the school. And, depending on the quality of materials, the presence of stereotyped Indians in books may do just as much harm as the lack of Indian materials.

As a graduate student, Dr. Metoyer began to learn more about the state of library services for urban and reservation Indians. In our 2017 interview, she reflected: “It was very much a recognition of a lack of information of any kind in the way that those of us who were "urban Indians" had at least been exposed to in public libraries if nothing else. And then to realize that without being in an urban environment, you didn't have access. And even having access, the materials were...it was a deplorable state.”

Distrust of books and the institutions that hold them are legitimate concerns. “Books are Dangerous” was the title of a 1985 talk by Maori writer Patricia Grace (cited in Smith, 2012). Books are dangerous because they “do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture and identity;” and they spread untruths while relying on negative or insensitive material (p. 36). The lack of good, reliable books and materials to fill the libraries contributed to the lack of support and awareness of library services. Libraries in Indian Country were in a state of great need in the 1970s.

The lack of appropriate books eventually led to the establishment of Project MEDIA (Media Evaluation and Distribution by American Indians) in 1973, as well as tribal libraries creating materials for their communities. Project MEDIA's purpose was to address the lack of appropriate materials by and about Native American by "locating, acquiring, and coordinating the evaluation (by Native American people) of all the print and non-print media relevant to Native American people." According to a brochure on the Project MEDIA project, the evaluations were "written by Native Americans who are members of the tribes referred to in the media." Using Native American evaluators to evaluate materials about Native Americans was critical to the project's goal. According to an evaluation report for the project's first year, more than 560 people from 140 tribes agreed to assist in the development of the evaluative criteria (Buffalohead, McClaskey, & Pennington, 1974).

4.2.b American Indians, Libraries (and the Written Word)

Documents from the 1970s as well as from the interviews demonstrate that support for libraries from Indian people was sometimes lacking due to the lack of familiarity with these institutions. It can be difficult to support an institution that is foreign, or that may be linked to western educational institutions.

In her interview, Janice Rice simply stated, "So, libraries were not really anything people thought of. Indian people in my district."

Why weren't Indians interested in libraries? According to the 1973 NIEA film script: "Why don't the majority of Indian people have real access, right now, to library-learning centers? ... Unfortunately, it is largely because Indian people are not yet familiar enough with all the things libraries can do to demand that the officials who act on their behalf translate expressed needs into

support of the library learning centers that could provide desired opportunities for literacy improvement, information about rights and health, cultural studies, independent study (leading, perhaps, to a high school or college degree,) job training, and others...” (“American Indian People and Library Learning Centers,” 1973).

A 1973 report of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) recounted testimony from Robert Norris (Navajo), an assistant professor at the University of Arizona. He observed that, “most Indian people have no notion of what a library is.” Mr. Norris went on to say, “If you have never seen a library, you don’t even think about it.” (Mathews, 1975, p. 4). Another testimony reported in that 1973 report came from Mrs. Tabitha Gilkerson, a librarian serving the Papago reservation in Arizona through the Tucson Public Library. She states, “Pagagos are not book-oriented, but the children greet books enthusiastically.”

This challenge of incorporating a foreign institution may have had consequences for the initial funding of libraries for Native people. According to the NIEA film strip script, those in charge of Indian education funds “often do not themselves relate libraries to cultural awareness, aspiration and a positive self-image, reading improvement, career choices, job upgrading, motivation to stay in school, home reinforcement of school children, and an improved, more hopeful, learning climate in the community” (“American Indian People and Library Learning Centers,” 1973). Thus, the awareness of the use of library services was lacking at many levels.

Some librarians and educators discussed problems with the library’s focus on the written word rather than the oral tradition. In a 1979 *AILN* article, Gary Young (Yakima) asserts that “the written word has been used to oppress our people” and that Indians, such as those from his tribe, the Yakimas, rely on the spoken word and gesture to pass down history, culture, and

traditional teachings (p. 1). He recalls the use of “the Time Ball, a roll of hemp string with a variety of spaced knots and colored beads that recall events,” and how “the flexibility and sensitivity of oral community disappears when words are written down.” (Young, 1979, p. 1). He describes a challenge with the written word for modern Indians:

As a Yakima Indian, involved in this momentous time of information systems, I welcome the opportunity to share my ideas about Indians and information. As one with an oral tradition, I worry even, as I write these words, that the non-Indian world may read and think, and say, ‘Oh, that is what Indians are like.’ Indians hearing this reaction turn angrily to the Indian writer, asking that he or she ‘stop appearing to speak for all of us.’ For Indian people, this is the trap of the written word. (p. 2)

Young was a delegate from Washington to the 1979 White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services, and worked, at the time, as the director of the Cultural Heritage Center in Toppenish, Washington.

Young’s observations are reflected elsewhere in the broader literature. Poet Joy Harjo (1997) (Muscogee) writes about this issue from an Indigenous author’s point of view:

To write is often still suspect in our tribal communities...It is through writing in the colonizers’ languages that our lands have been stolen, children taken away. We have often been betrayed by those who first learned to write and speak the language of the occupier of our lands. Yet to speak well in our communities in whatever form is still respected. This is a dichotomy we will always deal with as long as our cultures are predominately expressed in oral literatures (p. 20).

Harjo (1997) also sees the healing power of language:

In our tribal cultures the power of language to heal, to regenerate, and to create is understood. These colonizers' languages, which often usurped our own tribal languages...now hand back emblems of our cultures, our own designs: beadwork, quills if you will. We've transformed the enemy languages. (p. 22).

We might look at the issue from another angle, which was expressed in a 1980 report of the field coordinator of the American Indian Library-Cultural Centers Project in New Mexico. Tim Troy (1980) writes about the problems of gaining "solid Pueblo support for libraries" in some communities (p. 4). Troy sees that libraries may not fit in to the strong orally based culture of the Pueblos. He writes,

Culturally the Pueblos are simply too strong to seriously accommodate something as narrow-minded and Western as the printed word, i.e. the library. Oral modes of communication in the unwritten Pueblo dialects have held sway in both secular and religious matters despite the intrusion of the dominant written language...Culturally speaking, this is not a lamentable situation, of course, and one finds oneself almost hoping that the English language library (if it continues to exist at all) will remain forever on the periphery of Pueblo life as a sign that, indeed, there are rich cultural alternatives to the seemingly all-pervasive...Anglo, Judeo-Christian tradition. (p. 4)

Troy's reflections capture some of the problems with incorporating a written-based institution into an orally based culture. However, given the current strength of the tribal libraries in New Mexico today, including many Pueblo libraries, it appears that some of these communities have found a way to embrace libraries in an orally-based culture.

Townley, in our 2017 interview, reflected on the colonial aspects of the library as an institution: "The library in Indian terms is a colonial institution. There's no getting around it.

You can modify it, hopefully so it can meet the information needs of Native people in a Native manner.”

Duarte and Belarde-Lewis (2015) discuss the “supremacy of the book” and the “blindness of text based colonialism” as serious issues to consider when trying to understand the impacts of colonialism in libraries that are used by Indigenous people. They write:

But what makes Western text-based systems so visible and, therefore, apparently superior to oral, kinesthetic, aesthetic, and communal Indigenous ways of knowing—quipu, ceremonies, dances, songs, oral histories, oratory, stories, hunting and growing practices, healing arts, weaving, painting, pottery, carving, dreaming and vision work—are the institutions through which Western text-based systems are legitimated. (p. 7)

In particular, the authors consider how colonization works through library classification and cataloging systems, systems that are embedded deep within libraries and impact every aspect of the services. It is no wonder that some Native people were hesitant to embrace these institutions where their knowledge systems were not only absent, but deemed inferior by colonizers.

Despite the unfamiliarity of libraries for some Native people, there was a desire and demand for library services on reservations and in urban centers. The NIEA film script stated,

Bureaucrats who see no need to spend any money on library and information services for Indian people are fond of giving the excuse that Indian people do not want libraries because they have not had them. But this is not true. Although few public, government-appropriated funds have been channeled into providing reading and other media opportunities to Indian people, a demand has grown among people living cities, as well as on reservations and in rural areas. (“American Indian People and Library Learning Centers,” 1973)

The early developers of tribal libraries knew that American Indian people had information needs, just like other people, and they knew that libraries could address these needs. This fact was confirmed by the NIEA Library Project's research with the Akwesasne in New York, the Standing Rock Sioux in North and South Dakota, and the Rough Rock community in Arizona (National Indian Education Association, 1972a, 1972b, 1972c).

A 1975 guide written for individuals developing Indian library and information services gives the following advice:

Indians are aware of the services libraries may be able to offer... Librarians, however, ought to make a special effort to put together an attractive brochure or statement emphasizing the kinds of services that libraries can offer to Indian citizens. The statement ought to be printed in English and the tribal language. As services other than books are available through libraries, these services ought to be made known to the general Indian public... (Christensen, 1975, p. 6)

Although library services to American Indians was often inadequate, these services were desired by a number of communities.

4.2.c American Indian Librarians

It might be obvious that in addition to the deplorable state of libraries in Indian Country, and the lack of familiarity with libraries in some communities, there was another critical problem with tribal library services. That is, the lack of American Indian librarians to serve these communities.

The ALA Office for Library Personnel Resource produced several memos and documents—directed to ALA heads of units, ALA Committee Chairs, ALA Roundtable Presidents, and deans

and directors of library education programs in the United States—announcing the number of known Native American librarians and library school students in the country. The lists were compiled to aid in the recruitment of American Indian librarians to the recipients’ respective units and programs. Seven Native Americans graduated from Master’s level library programs in the 1973-74 school year (Salazar, 1975). In February 1974, there were 17 American Indian librarians listed. In June 1975, there were 14 Native American librarians and 3 Native American library school students listed in the memo (Salazar, 1975). The short lists reflect the Salazar 1975 memo’s opening statement: “The recruitment and training of Native American people in graduate library education programs is exceedingly poor.”

Velma S. Salabiye, a Navajo librarian, mentions the need for Native American librarians in her 1978 article, “The Library Experience—A Native American Viewpoint.” She cites the Office of Library Personnel Resources of the American Library Association’s fact that as of November 1976, there were fifteen Native American librarians in the country (Salabiye, 1978).

Metoyer, in our 2017 interview, reflected on the issue as well: “There weren’t enough Natives with Masters degrees. Well, one of the reasons for that is that there aren’t enough Natives teaching in library schools to encourage, recruit and retain and graduate these students.” It is true that, in 2017/2018, there are very few Native Americans obtaining a PhD in the LIS field to work as faculty in LIS programs. The first Native American to earn a PhD in LIS was Mary Nieball (Apache) in 1975. Following her, there has only been about a dozen Native Americans earning a PhD in the LIS field. The lack of Native American faculty in LIS programs means that there are few advisors and mentors for other Native Americans with research interests in the LIS field.

Alison Freese, in our 2017 interview, noted that many individuals working in tribal libraries had not gone to college. And the ones who were interested in learning more about librarianship did not have an undergraduate degree, which prevented them from obtaining a MLIS degree.

Janice Rice, in our 2017 interview, commented on the focus of training programs in Wisconsin in the early years of the tribal library development movement:

[In Wisconsin], the focus was a certificate program instead of an MLS because they knew that librarianship was not a strong area within tribes, or even literacy. They knew that whenever Universities and schools tried to recruit American Indian people they wouldn't get them because they didn't want to leave home. So the focus was on online training [over the phone].

Dr. Roy echoes Dr. Metoyer's observation that there are not enough Natives in the profession. In our 2017 interview, Roy compared librarianship to the field of education by recalling the words of renowned Indian Education scholar, Karen Swisher: "[Swisher] said, 'a day had come for non-Native educators to step aside, [because] there were enough Native educators. That hasn't happened in librarianship yet.'" Despite the effort to address this issue at the start of the tribal library movement, there are still not enough Native librarians in the year 2018 to meet the needs of Native American library services. We still have to rely on non-Native librarians to serve Native communities.

4.2.d Funding

The funding of tribal libraries has been a major issue since the beginning of the tribal library movement. In fact, the 1979 National Indian Omnibus Library Bill begins with a strong statement about the lack of funding for Indian libraries:

“WHEREAS there is at the present time no funding in any agency dedicated to the development or operation of library systems in Indian country (as defined in 18 U.S.C. 1151); and whereas such funds as have been used in the past are unreliable, inadequate and usually project orientated;”

Non-tribal libraries relied on local tax support and state and federal grants. None of these were reliably available to tribal library development. The situation might be understood by answering the question, “Who is responsible for aiding public library services on Indian reservation?” In fact, this question was addressed in a 1980 *AILN* article written by the Qualla Boundary (Cherokee, NC) librarian, Sandra Harrison. Harrison was calling newsletter readers to action, to write letters addressing the fact that the proposed National Library Act of 1979 would not include any funding for Indian libraries. Her explanation of the dire situation of funding for tribal libraries deserves to be quoted at length:

All of the federal money that might be appropriated for public libraries by this bill will be funneled through the state library agencies, and they have no obligation whatsoever to spend even one dime of it on an Indian reservation. Check the laws in your state. Is your tribal library able to qualify as a "county, regional, or municipal" library? If not, you will be unable to tap any of the millions of dollars of federal money, should this bill become law. And as you already know, under the present system of library funding, there is no guaranteed way for the Indian reservations to adequately fund a first-class library and information center. [paragraph break] The question is, Who is responsible for aiding public library services on an Indian reservation? Local public libraries are usually funded in part by property taxes. We do not have property taxes. Most county libraries receive state aid. We have never been able to qualify for state aid, because the reservation is on

federal trust land. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has never provided public library services and has never asked Congress even to make it a line item in its budget...How is it, then, that American Indians have never been able to qualify for ongoing operating funds for our libraries from any source? The most we have ever been able to get is "start-up" money or "one-time project" money. (Harrison, 1980, p. 17)

The situation with federal, state, local, and tribal funding was and remains complicated.

Quoted in a 1978 newspaper article, the Chair of the WH Pre-Conference, Virginia Mathews (Osage) stated, "There are no government funds specifically allotted for Indian libraries. It is a constant fight for money" (Farrar, 1978). The article featured a photo of the "Serious Ladies" of the WH Pre-Conference planning group, including Maxine Edmo, Cheryl Metoyer-Duran, Minerva White, and Lotsee Smith. Their words, plus words from Virginia Mathews, were included in the article. Mrs. Maxine Edmo (Shoshone-Bannock), one of the planners of the WH Pre-Conference, said, "We have to fight for library funds. There has been funding for one-shot projects. We need on-going, stabilized funding" (Farrar, 1978). Mrs. Edmo helped to start libraries for Indians in her home state of Idaho. The article describes the lack of funding and the innovative ways Indian tribes worked to raise money for libraries: "In 1970, Mrs. [Minerva] White [St. Regis Mohawk Reservation] and others launched a library-fund drive with a lacrosse benefit game. Indian dinners were served, rummage sales were held and money was obtained from foundations and corporations. Three Mohawk women became library trainees. A reservation Bookmobile was purchased. Talking books for the blind were obtained. There were money problems and for two months the library trainees worked for nothing" (Farrar, 1978).

There were early attempts to use and modify existing federal funding for tribal library development. On January 15, 1969, Mr. E.Y. Berry, Representative from South Dakota,

introduced a bill (H.R. 3654) to amend the Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) Act of 1934. The proposed amendment would have added the words "library services" to the Act, including it with the other actions provided by JOM: "education, medical attention, relief of distress, and social welfare of Indians." H.R. 3654 was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, but was not successful in amending the Act. Representative Berry, in a 1969 newspaper article, stated, "Because Indian reservation land is nontaxable, they need to find another source of funds to meet the demand for these services." His bill would have made South Dakota eligible for "the \$25,000 to \$35,000 to maintain bookmobiles on the reservation" ("Berry to Seek Library Service to Indians," 1969). The paper trail for the bill ends at the Committee, signaling that the idea died or was tabled before it could be implemented.

Despite the failure to add "library services" to the Act, the Johnson-O'Malley Act, Title II funding was possibly one of the "only continuing funding that has shown itself to be reliable" for school libraries in 1973, and "BLLR funding" for demonstration projects. And these sources of funding were noted to be "in trouble" at the time, making "funding" one of the first priorities for the Library Services to American Indian People Subcommittee of LSD in 1973 (Townley, 1973a).

What were the sources of funding prior to the federal library programs? The "project orientated" funds mentioned in the first line of the Indian Omnibus Library Bill and the funding for "one-shot projects" mentioned by Mrs. Maxine Edmo might refer to American Indian projects that were included in federal funding such as the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) in the 1960s. According to one document, approximately \$761,594 in federal funds via LSCA Title I (Public Library Services) and Title IVB (Physically Handicapped) were spent on "Service to Indians" during the fiscal year 1968, including projects in Arizona, Minnesota,

Alaska, and New Mexico (“LSCA Service to Indians -- FY 1968,” 1969). It is unclear what the specific projects were that served Indians, but according to a January 22, 1969 document, approximately \$578,607 was spent in Arizona for service to an estimated 670,067 Indians, amounting to about \$0.86 spent per Indian in that state. In Minnesota, approximately \$147,500 Title I funds were spent for an estimated 488,792 Indians, amounting to about \$0.30 spent per Indian. For the Title IVB funds, designated for library services for the physically handicapped, Alaska and New Mexico started producing books in Indigenous languages. Alaska spent \$9500 on this project while New Mexico spent \$25,587. New Mexico’s recorded book project included Spanish, Navajo, and Pueblo languages.

By 1971, the number of programs under LSCA funding within states had grown a little. Alaska, Arizona, and Minnesota’s LSCA projects serving Indian communities; and New York and Ohio had plans to spend LSCA money in 1972 for special Indian projects. Alaska’s project focused on a 38-week training program for library technicians, including “8 Eskimos and Indians.” Arizona reported three projects, including a bookmobile to serve the Navajo, Hopi, and Whiteriver Apache Reservations; a user needs study focused on Indians in the city of Scottsdale; a survey of Indian library needs; and “services to blind and physically handicapped, using Talking Book Trailer throughout the State, including reservations, special education classes, [and] festivals.” Minnesota reported having an Indian Liaison Librarian on staff at the State agency: “Aloysius Thunder, member of Red Lake Chippewa Board, continues special Indian Library Consultant project, working with reservations served by three regional library systems: Arrowhead, East Central, and Kitchigami.” (“Library Service to American Indians,” 1971). It appears that most of this funding went to public libraries that were looking for ways to serve Native Americans in their service region, but not particularly for libraries on reservations.

A handful of libraries were receiving assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The following list of BIA library projects appears in a 1969 document: (“Library services administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs,” 1969):

1. A few bookmobiles are operated out of the regular BIA appropriations for school children.
2. One project was funded when OEO [Office of Economic Opportunity] Community Action Program turned some money over to BIA.
3. A little ESEA Title I [Elementary and Secondary Education Act—Title I] money is turned over to BIA for use for library services to children.
4. BIA got \$78,000 from ESEA II [Elementary and Secondary Education Act—Title II] for purchase of books for Indian schools.
5. Mr. Hill is not aware of any programs being carried out by public libraries with LSCA money.

The above list mentions three possible sources of funding for Indian libraries that the BIA used. Both the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) Community Action Program and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act were parts of President Lyndon B. Johnson’s “War on Poverty” programs. The 1964 Economic Opportunity Act. The Act funded programs like Job Corps and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), among many others. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act--Title I focused on low income families while Title II was specific to school library resources, textbooks, and instructional material. Without further investigations, it is unclear how the BIA used these funds that were earmarked for the War on Poverty.

Dr. Metoyer also commented on the lack of federal support for one of the libraries she encountered in her work with the NIEA Library Project: “My memory is that the bureau [Bureau

of Indian Affairs] was supposed to be funding the monies for Rough Rock demonstration school. Because it was a Demonstration School. That just wasn't happening.” Later, the BIA made a commitment to assist with tribal library development, and later drafted a plan (the “BIA Plan”) that was used as a basis for further library development (see later section for further discussion of the BIA Plan).

Others looked to the American Library Association for help in addressing the lack of federally funded libraries on Indian reservations. A 1969 letter from a Bureau of Indian Affairs employee in California indicates the dearth of services in her region (Peterson, 1969). She writes, “I am an employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and, acting as a private citizen, I am interested in encouraging legislation for community libraries for Indian citizens. Presently, the reservations are served through limited school libraries, and occasionally through local county bookmobile services. Neither facility seems adequate for the nature and extent of reservation populations, and I believe attention should be drawn to this important need.” Her letter was sent to the American Library Association (ALA), and she asks if ALA is doing anything to support establishing federal funding for libraries on reservations. The ALA response to the letter suggests that funding does exist through state and local funds, as well as through the BIA.

Other letters to and from the American Library Association Office for Library Services to the Disadvantaged in the early 1970s indicate that people were interested in locating funding for Indian libraries. A series of letters in 1974 to a woman at Barry College in Florida who asked for information on grants to start an Indian library in her state indicates the lack of resources available at the time (Coleman, 1974a; Fleming, 1974; Lang, 1974; Tuveson, 1974). To answer the woman’s question, the ALA representative, Jean Coleman, contacted the Florida State Library Public Library consultant, who then contacted the Governor’s Council on Indian Affairs

in Tallahassee, whose response was forwarded to the original letter writer. The Indian Affairs representative forwarded a list of possible granting sources that were given to them to fund a Native language dictionary, which “may prove useful” to the original letter writer. The list of possible granting sources included the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, several private foundations, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation (Coleman, 1974a).

Examining this chain of correspondence and the suggestions offered, it is clear that there were no easy answers for people looking for funding for tribal libraries at the time. While there may be similarities between a Native language dictionary project and a project to develop Indian libraries, in reality, the differences could not be more stark.

Another letter writer, this time from the Save the Children Federation, was given the suggestion to contact state library consultants in the states that the project operated. Jean Coleman, the director of the ALA Office for Library Service to the Disadvantaged, wrote, “these consultants mainly work with institutions for the physically handicapped, hospitals or jails. However, they are also good resource contacts to make in relation to programs such as yours” (Coleman, 1974b). Thus, Native Americans were grouped with other “disadvantaged” groups in terms of library services. It’s clear that the ALA Office for Library Services to the Disadvantaged was seen as a resource center for people wanting to learn how to support tribal libraries. And it is also clear that at the time, there were no straightforward answers for the inquiries.

Some optimism was apparent in the development of tribal libraries: “The problems librarians may encounter in working with Indian communities to establish Indian libraries and information may seem insurmountable. But take heart, it is not. With a modicum of good will, some

flexibility and a minimum of courtesy, Indians and non-Indians can interact for the benefit of any enterprise” (Christensen, 1975, p. 9). However, no amount of good will and courtesy can substitute for a deep understanding of the complexity of the other factors involved with tribal library development, including Indian education, treaties, and self-determination.

4.3 Government Responsibilities and Tribal Libraries

4.3.a American Indian Education and Libraries

How do we begin to explain the inadequate library services for American Indians at the time? One way is to look at the state of Indian education and its link to failed policies and lack of attention to library services.

Despite the treaty agreements, the state of Indian education was abysmal for generations, resulting in a dark period of failed federal policies aimed towards further colonizing Native American children. Historians of American Indian educational topics consistently point to two landmark reports that altered the landscape of American Indian federal policy, particularly in terms of Indian education: the 1928 Meriam Report and the 1969 Kennedy Report (e.g. Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Both reports identified significant failings in federal policy towards American Indians and the quality of their education received at government-run or state-sponsored institutions. The Meriam Report, also known as *The Problem of Indian Administration*, was the first to critique Indian Services, including health, economic conditions, family and community life, and education. Its major findings were that Indians were not included in the management of their own affairs and that they were receiving inadequate and poor services, particularly in health and education.

The Meriam Report, a report submitted to the Secretary of the Interior in 1928 and

commissioned by the Institute for Government Relations, was the first comprehensive study on the status of overall conditions on Indian reservations and boarding schools. Additionally, it was revolutionary in its suggestion that the federal government should support Native people's choice to "remain an Indian" (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). The Report found that in Indian schools, "there are in fact practically no libraries worthy of the name in the Indian Service, almost no provision for acquiring worthwhile new books, and few if any trained librarians or teacher-librarians to carry out the plans." Furthermore, "except in a few rare instances the library, where there is one, consists mainly of sets of old textbooks, a few books for teachers and some miscellaneous volumes, usually kept under lock and key in the principal's office and seldom used in the way a modern school library is used continuously by pupils in the school" (Meriam, 1928, pp. 371–372).

The 1969 Kennedy Report, published 40 years after the Meriam Report, found that conditions of Indian education had not changed much in the intervening years. The Kennedy Report, also known by its formal title, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge*, outlined enduring problems of the education of Indian children. Plagued by negative effects of Federal legislation and policies, Indian education has been a "failure of major proportions," according to the Report's summary (Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, 1969, p. XI). The Report covered the failings of federal and public schools in the education of American Indians, as well the overall failure of national policies, both historical and contemporary, that have negatively impacted American Indians.

The Kennedy Report contained few specific references to library services to American Indian children. However, the few references provide powerful indications of the need for culturally relevant library services and educational materials in schools serving Indian children. The Report

found several examples of schools using books filled with inaccurate and stereotypical depictions of American Indians, or schools without any representation of American Indians in their books and resources. For instance, when Senator Robert F. Kennedy asked for any books about Indians at a school on the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, a school administrator frantically searched the school library, only to come up with a book about captives of the Delawares, a tribe located nowhere near Fort Hall. The book's cover depicted a white child being scalped by an Indian. In another community, where the Indian children were being sent to a public school run by the local county school district, the addition of books on Indian culture and history in the school library was the only place where the presence of Indians was acknowledged. Critics of transferring the Indian children to this particular public school system found that the public school was otherwise unprepared to serve and educate the Native children, according to the Report.

In the end, one of the major recommendations to come out of the Kennedy Report was to present to the Congress a comprehensive Indian Education Act to meet the educational needs of Indian children in federal and public schools. Among its many recommendations is brief mention of the need to address library resources, as well as the need for culturally-relevant textbooks and resources. The Report also included a recommendation to address adult education and Indian illiteracy. A major theme found throughout the Report and its recommendations is the need for the voice of the Indian people to be heard in the education of Indian children. The Report recommended substantial increased involvement of Indian parents and the community in the development and operation of education programs for Indian children, giving control of the schools back to the communities. The Report points to the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation as a model program that is highly effective as a tribally controlled school.

The Report also recommended increased funding for Indian education, as well as better accountability for existing funding, including Johnson-O'Malley funding. The Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) Act of 1934 gave authorization to the Secretary of the Interior to contract with states and other agencies to provide educational services to Indian children, especially those living outside of reservations and those attending public schools. The Kennedy Report critiqued the effectiveness of JOM funding adequately reaching Indian students in public schools, as many schools were using the funding to supplement their operating budget, rather than focusing the funding on the needs of Indian students. It is important to note that JOM funding has been, and continues to be, used to provide supplemental funding to schools and libraries.

The Meriam Report and the Kennedy Report both laid the foundation for future federal Indian legislation and funding that directly impacted tribal library development, including the I Title II-B of the Higher Education Act of 1965; the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (Public Law 93-638) and Title IV of the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) of 1984. Education became a rallying point for the establishment of Indian libraries following the passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975.

At the 1978 WH Pre-Conference, Rick Lavis, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior, affirmed the commitment of the BIA to the improvement of library services (Office of Library & Information Services, 1979). Lavis is quoted at length in the report of record for the conference, saying, "the Bureau of Indian Affairs acknowledges that its administration of a federally mandated education system requires the provision of top quality library/media/information programs as an integral part of that system" (p. 38). Also in his remarks, he notes the adverse conditions of BIA education, but declares a new path for the BIA.

Lavis referred to a 1980 budget line, which was new at the time, dedicated to “the education of the handicapped.” He stated, “What we are doing for the education of handicapped Indian children illustrates the kind of approach we intend to use in dealing with the library and informational needs....This will not be an easy task...” (Office of Library & Information Services, 1979, p. 39).

4.3.b Federal Responsibilities, Libraries, and Indian Treaties

One of the major arguments made by the advocates and leaders of the tribal library movement were that library services was/is a treaty right for American Indians. This argument was first officially referenced in the *Goals for Indian Library and Information Service*, which was approved by the National Indian Education Association on February 23, 1973 and by the American Library Association (see Appendix D). The document contains six goals and corresponding justifications for each goal. The sixth and final goal and justification reads as follows:

Goal: Continuing funding sources for library and information service must be developed.

Justification: Library service, as a function of education, is a treaty right of American Indians.

Documentation from the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) became concerned about the federal trust responsibility to American Indians as early as 1974-75 as they sought to develop national policies to improve library services for all citizens of the United States (Mathews, 1975). The report states, “The legal responsibility of the Federal government toward Indian people in all aspects of their lives carries particular implications for the Commission [NCLIS] as it considers policy development at the national level that will

eventuate in more than minimal library and information services for all people in the United States. It was for this reason that the Commission set concern for Indian people apart as requiring special investigation and attention” (Mathews, 1975, p. 1).

However, it appears that some federal Bureau of Indian Affairs employees did not always espouse the argument of libraries as a treaty right. In the 1975 unpublished NCLIS report, author Virginia Mathews summarizes the testimony received by Dr. Robert Rebert from the Albuquerque Education Center of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA):

Asked about the treaty right aspect of libraries for Indian people, (the Federal government’s legal responsibility for educational opportunity under some 300 treaties with the tribes) Dr. Rebert replied that to the best of his knowledge libraries were nowhere [sic] mentioned, although of course education was. Clearly, he did not seem to consider library services to be part of educational rights and opportunities. (Mathews, 1975, p. 11)

A change of direction appears to have happened by 1977 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs published the BIA Plan with the following introductory statements regarding library services and the federal governments responsibilities:

1. “The Bureau of Indian Affairs affirms that direct access to a wide range of library/media/information programs is intrinsic in Federal obligations to American Indian and other Native Peoples...” and
2. The BIA “acknowledges that its administration of a Federally mandated education system requires the provision of top quality library/media/information programs as an integral part of that system” (U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Office of Library and Information Services, 1977, p. 15).

Dr. Metoyer recalled, in our 2017 interview, “There was this relationship in my mind and others, a very clear relationship between libraries and education. I began to understand where treaties fit into this, and that in fact, libraries are part of the education that was promised in treaty after treaty after treaty. It wasn't a difficult relationship to make. It had actually been promised. But it wasn't happening.”

In a 1978 letter, Virginia Mathews, on behalf of the planning committee, asked Standing Rock Sioux scholar, Vine Deloria, Jr. to write a paper for the 1978 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services on or Near Reservations that would “present an argument based on treaties, law, and National policy for direct Federal financial support for the development and maintenance of Indian library and information service on or near reservations” (Mathews, 1978). Mathews goes on to say, “we believe that Indian library and information services are a part of the Federal government’s educational and social service responsibility to Indian people. In addition, other Federal law, such as the Freedom of Information Act, the Copyright Law, the Privacy Act, and the First Amendment needs to be applied to information access in Indian communities.”

Vine Deloria Jr.’s May 1978 letter, in response to Mathews’s letter indicates his stance:

There is, to be certain, no mention of libraries in the treaties as these were relatively recent institutions among Americans themselves and during the time when treaties were being signed there was no conception that one day Indians would be so well educated that they would want to read for pure enjoyment or educational value. So the tack I have taken simply covers the promises for educational programs in a general way emphasizing the intangible promises for education that do not specifically refer to a particular school house or program which might give cause to argue that libraries and informational

centers are beyond the scope of treaty intentions. (Deloria, 1978)

He goes on to state, “If the tribes are to receive funds for these purposes a direct tie with treaty provisions is the best way to go rather than by creating some legal fiction of them being sub-groupings of ordinary political and institutional subdivisions of state and local governments.” Clearly, Deloria’s argument in tying libraries to education and treaty rights is introducing sovereignty into the discussion.

In his 1978 paper prepared for the WH Pre-Conference, Vine Deloria, Jr. reminds us that education was “one of the key services for which the tribes exchanged their ancestral lands” (1978, p. 11). The United States’ promise to provide educational support to tribes allowed the country to obtain millions of acres from the Indigenous people between 1776 and 1887 through treaties and executive order. Of the more than 400 treaties negotiated between the tribes and the United States, 120 of them contained educational provisions (Reyhner, 2006). Educational provisions were not ancillary in these agreements—they were part of the payment for the land, or part of the agreement for tribes to maintain peace with the United States, as was the case with the 1868 Navajo Treaty. The 1868 Treaty with the Navajo provides an example of treaty language with an educational clause:

In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as may be settled on said agricultural parts of this reservation, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that, for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a

teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than ten years.

Education, as viewed by the United States, would fold the Indians into the country by teaching American social values and basic skills needed for survival. Many of these agreements focused on agricultural education and instruction in the domestic arts and mechanical arts, as well as reading and writing instruction.

Many of the treaties left the education clause open to broad interpretation. Most of the treaties specifically mention “institutions” that need to be supported as long as there is a need for them. Deloria (1978) notes that the lack of specific reference to the establishment of libraries in Indian treaties may be due to the fact that libraries in the United States for the public were still being established as a pillar of American education. Public libraries in the United States were still being established during the treaty-making period.

Besides reminding us of the history of educational provisions in treaties, Deloria’s (1978) final paper makes a larger point: “A survey of treaties and agreements, and of the records of negotiations conducted to achieve these understandings indicates clearly that this responsibility, no less than the right to tribal self-government and trust responsibilities over natural resources, is wholly allocated to the federal government.” And further, that “there should...be direct funding from the federal government to tribes for library, information and archival services...” (13). Education is a treaty right, and libraries fall within the scope of treaty educational provisions, according to Deloria, as many of the treaties speak broadly of institutions needed to fulfill educational provisions.

Townley (1978) reflects on the importance of treaties for the development of Indian library

services in his landmark document: “While more often honored in the breach, treaties remain the law of the land. Behavioral relationships have no standing in law, but have a powerful impact on the policy environment at any given time. If the American public, acting through Congress and the Executive, decides that Indians are unimportant, then treaty obligations are no longer valued and Indian people are open to exploitation. If, on the other hand, the American public is concerned with Indian people, then Indians have an opportunity to prosper. The key is achieving and maintaining public recognition of the law” (p. 141).

A 1980 letter from the Navajo Nation library also indicates a tribal librarian’s views on Indian treaties and libraries. “The Navajo Nation, and many other tribes (tribes being used to include pueblos, bands, etc.) believe that library service is a right they are entitled to under the education guaranteed by them by treaty with the government of the United States. The question is not now nor has it ever been a question of tribal wealth but rather a question of treaty and human rights” (Heyser, 1980). By probing the educational provisions in the treaties with tribes and the United States, library leaders were able to argue that federal funding and support for educational initiatives, such as libraries, should be established. Richard Heyser’s suggestion to pursue tribal libraries as a human rights initiative is intriguing, but not something that appears often in the development of tribal libraries.

4.3.c State Responsibilities and Tribal Libraries

State libraries and state funding were seen as one place where reservation Indians might be given attention for library services. In fact, the first article of the inaugural issue of the *American Indian Libraries Newsletter (AILN)* in 1976 contained this statement about the expectation of state support for tribal libraries: “Before the organized movement for the development of library

service to Indian people in Wisconsin, there were few, if any, libraries serving Indians. There may have been a few libraries springing up here and there, which later died out due to lack of funding or support from the state or other responsible organizations” (Tsosie, 1976, p. 1). It appears that state libraries did not always consider special needs of these Native Americans residing in their states. And funding from state governments for Native American libraries was rare across the country. The lack of support from states and from the federal government was a central finding of the NCLIS hearings in the 1970s (Stevens, 1991).

A 1968 letter from the Montana State Library reveals the level of service available to residents at the time. Montana’s Native Americans residing on reservations were expected to use library services in off-reservation towns. According to the letter from librarian Ruth O. Longworth at the Montana State Library, many of the reservations in the state were “well served” by a combination of the State Library and the LSCA program, as well as federations of non-reservation libraries (Longworth, 1968). In the letter, Mrs. Longworth states that Montana’s “library centers” and the federations of libraries across the state are “do[ing] a great deal of service” to the Indian communities. According to the letter, the Blackfeet Reservation is served by Glacier County library.⁸ The Crow Reservation is served by the public library in Billings.⁹ Mrs. Longworth continues to explain how the seven Indian reservations in Montana are, or will be, served by off-reservation libraries. She ends the letter by saying: “We do not establish

⁸ Glacier County Library is approximately 35 miles away from the headquarters of the Blackfeet Nation in Browning, MT. The Blackfeet Reservation is approximately 1.5 million acres.

⁹ Billings is 59 miles away from their tribal headquarters at Crow Agency.

separate libraries for the Indian population but serve them along with the other people in the county.” Mrs. Longworth’s letter never gives any details of how Native Americans were served through the off-reservation libraries, many of which are located miles away from the reservations.

New York made early strides to support tribal libraries. A bill, first introduced in 1974 to the New York State Assembly, and finally enacted into law in 1977 provided permanent state funds to Indian libraries in the state, which includes the Akwesasne Library and Cultural Center, the Tonawanda Indian Community Library, and the Seneca Nation Library. It also provided a means for NY tribal libraries to become recognized as full members of the NY public library systems, giving these libraries access to interlibrary loan services, training workshops, automation programs, collection development, and support for library programs (Shubert, 1991). New York was the first state to enact legislation to provide state funding for tribal libraries, and was seen as a possible model for other states to follow (“State \$\$ for Indian Libraries: Bill May Set Precedent,” 1974). In fact, New York was called out as “an exemplary model for the Nation” for its support of their tribal libraries (Stevens, 1991, p. iv).

Although New York was once seen as a model for the Nation, it appears to have lost its influence. When I mentioned the New York model to two of the interviewees (Freese and Wakashige), neither of them remembered the initiative. Freese worked for the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) Native American grants program. She recalled little to no interaction with the state of New York during her tenure at IMLS. This may be due to the fact that contemporary New York tribal libraries are not dependent on federal funding like many of the other tribes.

Wisconsin was another state that made strides towards serving American Indians in their

state. The “Statewide Plan for the Development of Indian Library Services in Wisconsin” (hereafter referred to as the “Wisconsin Statewide Plan”) was developed by the Great Lakes Intertribal Council and Wisconsin Division for Library Service and published in 1975, and revised in 1981. The plan was developed with the guidance of the National Indian Education Association’s Library Project director, Charles Townley. The Wisconsin Statewide Plan created an outline of action for state and local agencies to develop Indian libraries. The plan not only identified goals, priorities, and action plans for developing Indian libraries, it also specifically identified the state statutes (Chapters 36, 37, 38, 43 and 90, Section J, Wisconsin Statutes) that directed the state and local agencies to serve Indian people (p. 27). Other statewide plans were eventually developed for North Carolina, New Mexico, Washington, and Minnesota, with the assistance of the Indian Library Services Technical Assistance Center (ILSTAC) Project, under the direction of Cheryl Metoyer (Metoyer, 1977b).

The Statewide Plan in Wisconsin clearly made an impact on librarians like Janice Rice, who was a student when the plans were being developed. In her 2017 interview, she recalled feeling that, “the state of Wisconsin, the division for library services and the library school were really interested in helping make library services available to Indian tribes in Wisconsin.” When I asked Janice Rice about the use of the Wisconsin Statewide Plan today, she simply said, “No one brings it up.”

Despite these efforts, state library support for tribal libraries could not always be relied upon. Charles Townley, in our 2017 interview, reflected on how different states supported or did not support Native American libraries during his tenure at the NIEA Library Project. Townley listed a number of state librarians who were supportive of Native American libraries, as well as allies who were interested and committed in this work. These states include New York, New Mexico,

South Dakota, Nevada, North Dakota, Arizona, and Wisconsin. He recalled, “in New York, you had E.J. Josey in the state library, and the state of New York, keep in mind, New York still sees [itself] as responsible for Native Americans in New York. The original 13 states did not give up their Indian affairs responsibilities to the federal government....So in New York, E.J. was able to use that to get the Akwesasne and other libraries that have come along, funded with state library funding.” He recalls being invited by the state of Wisconsin to help them develop the statewide plan for Native American libraries across the state. But he also recalls that other states at the time, including Idaho, Montana, and Oklahoma, had limited interest in supporting Native American libraries. He recalled one state librarian saying that if the state recognized the Indian libraries in the state, then they’d have to shut down other public libraries because there are so many Native Americans in the state.

Cheryl Metoyer, in our 2017 interview, recalled learning how many state libraries disregarded her request for information in the 1970s on how they served their tribal communities:

I remember, in gathering data for my dissertation, I wrote letters to all the state library agencies, and asked them, very simply, what types of resources or services did they provide for their tribal communities. "Native Americans" was the term I used at that time. Because everyone was moving in that direction. I was nervous about it because it seemed to me that certain parts of the country were using it, and some were using American Indian. But I decided to go with Native American. It's the 70s, people were trying to get away from Indian, since that's what Columbus called us, and it's not accurate. So I used that term ["Native American"] in my letter. It was a real eye opener for me because some states wrote back and said, "We serve all of our Native Americans. Our Native Irish, our

Native Italian." I thought, that's the thing about that term...It's an out for people who don't want to answer those questions...

The disregard of Metoyer's request for information echoes the statement from the Montana state librarian in 1968: "We do not establish separate libraries for the Indian population but serve them along with the other people in the county."

Lotsee Patterson, in our 2016 interview, also recalled the interactions with state libraries at the time: "The state library doesn't recognize tribal libraries as being their responsibility. Some of them do now. It's changed. New Mexico does. Even Arizona does. But generally speaking, state libraries don't want to share with tribal libraries."

New Mexico is one exception to this issue. It is often seen as a current model for supporting tribal libraries. State funding supports the Tribal Libraries Program (TLP) through a special appropriation given to the State Library in 1994. Permanent funds were added to the State Library's budget to support the TLP in 1998. The TLP also includes a state-funded coordinator position that provides consulting and support to tribal librarians in the state. The Native American Tribal Libraries Round Table, within the New Mexico State Library Association, established in 1976 or 1977, began with the original trainees of Lotsee Patterson's TRAILS project. The group is now known as the Native American Libraries Special Interest Group (NALSIG) (Patterson, 2003). NALSIG meets regularly and has had a significant influence on state funding of tribal libraries in New Mexico. Undoubtedly, Lotsee Patterson's demonstration projects and training initiatives with Pueblo libraries in the 1970s and 1980s gave the NM tribal libraries an extraordinary opportunity to succeed.

My conversations with Carolyn Petersen at the Washington State Library and with Joe Sabatini in New Mexico in 2017 (combined with previous knowledge of state libraries across the

country) indicate that there are other state libraries (such as Washington, New Mexico, California, Alaska, and Arizona) that are working or have worked with tribal libraries. However, there is no hard evidence of what kind of support state libraries are providing to tribal libraries across the country. Based on the information obtained in this study, it appears that support varies from state to state, and has changed over the years.

4.4 Activism, Leadership, and Advocacy

Dissatisfied with the state of library services for American Indians on reservations (and elsewhere), American Indian leaders and allies began taking significant steps to address the problems. They were prepared with a number of items in their tool chest:

1. The evidence of inadequate library services for American Indians (see section 4.2);
2. The understanding of federal responsibilities to tribes under treaty obligations (see section 4.3.b), including the barriers to funding and support from state and federal agencies, as well as opportunities for support (see section 4.3);
3. The evidence that American Indians have information needs that can be addressed through library and information services (Forbes, 1978; Metoyer, 1976a; Townley, 1975)

In addition, they had a critical mass of American Indian scholars, educators, librarians, and community members, as well as non-Native allies ready to advocate for improved library

services for American Indians on reservations.¹⁰ They were also in a social and political climate conducive to addressing the inadequacy of library and information services for American Indians.

Self-determination and the activism climate of the 1960s and 1970s in the American Indian community provided the backdrop for the tribal library movement. Indian activism and Indian-based leadership movements had been brewing in the United States since the 1911 founding of the Society of American Indians in Columbus, Ohio (Fixico, 2013) followed by the 1944 founding of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) in Denver, Colorado. As Fixico (2013) notes, the rise of the intertribal organizations following the founding of NCAI set the stage of Indian groups needing to “work together, forgoing tribal differences, to stand shoulder to shoulder to protect their interests and rights” (2013, p. 122). The founding of prominent intertribal organizations and movements, such as the National Indian Youth Council (1961), the Chicago Pan-Indian Conference (1961), the founding of the American Indian Movement (AIM, 1968), the National Indian Education Association (1970), the National Tribal Chairman’s

¹⁰ Title II-B of the Higher Education Act (HEA II-B) of 1965 through the Office of Library Programs of the Department of Education “funded numerous institutes for American Indian librarians” creating “a cadre of Indian library leaders” that were well poised to pursue funding and advocate for the library and information needs of Native Americans (Galvin, 1992, pp. 446–447). The goal of HEA II-B (Library Training) was recruit and retain personnel in areas of library specialization that were experiencing shortages, and to develop library leadership through training in library management (Carter & Owens, 1992). Some of the early advocates, including Lotsee Patterson and Cheryl Metoyer benefitted from this educational funding.

Association (1972), and the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (1975) reflect ways that Indian leaders had begun to band together to stand shoulder to shoulder for issues important to Indian Country (Fixico, 2013).

Dr. Metoyer reflected on the climate of the 1960s and 1970s during our 2017 interview: “It was the time when people began to understand Red Power. People were paying a lot of attention to the unbelievable disparity between the haves and the have-nots in terms of information in Indian Country.” She goes on to say, “[the] phrase people were hanging on to was ‘Information is Power’ and that made perfect sense to me, because we didn't have it [power], and we didn't have adequate information.” The time was right for Indian leaders and allies to begin to come together to address library and information services in Indian Country.

Leaders found a way to navigate the systems to bring libraries to Indian Country. They exhibited what Fixico (2013) describes as a “new Indian leadership” or a “modern Native leadership” during the activist era. These leaders were “articulate, visionary, intelligent, and proactive” (p. 6). Many of these modern Indian leaders were urbanized, either through the Relocation program or other means. Many were “educated in the mainstream educational system” where they were able to “unlock much of the information that Native leaders and their peoples needed for survival and rebuilding their tribal nations” (Fixico, 2013, p. 220). Indeed, we see this Native leadership throughout the movement to develop tribal libraries.

The late Virginia Mathews (Osage) exhibited many of the characteristics of modern Indian leadership described by Fixico. She was articulate, visionary, intelligent, and proactive, according to those who knew her that spoke to me during this study. Mathews was “diplomatic,” “matter of fact,” and had the skill of “guiding” people to see issues as she did and obtaining their support (according to my interview with Janice Rice, 2011). Mathews was an excellent public

speaker.¹¹ She worked with anyone who would help her make her passions and vision a reality¹². She and other leaders “interacted with the movers and shakers” and developed relationships with individuals at the American Library Association, with state librarians, and others in positions of power. Cheryl Metoyer described her impact in this way: “the extent that we began to grow these tribal libraries, a great deal was possible due to the leadership, our leadership. We had people like Virginia who would say, ‘Oh, what about tribal libraries?’” She held a prominent position in the publishing world, she was the daughter of a celebrated Osage scholar, and she used her positions to convince the movers and shakers that it would be important to support tribal libraries.

Of course, Virginia Mathews did not work in isolation. Other movers and shakers were named in the interviews as prominent in the movement, including Lotsee Patterson, Mary Huffer (Director of the Office of Library and Information Services at the Department of the Interior), Charles Townley, Cheryl Metoyer, and Mary Alice Razatar (Associate Director of NCLIS) (see Appendix F for lists of people who helped develop tribal libraries). These were the individuals, both Native and non-Native, who held key positions in institutions outside of reservations that could assist with the movement. The development of tribal libraries relied on non-Native allies and leaders to build and encourage libraries in Indian Country. Having strong leadership at the

¹¹ The University of Michigan special collections holds a cassette tape that supposedly has a recording of a hearing where Ms. Mathews testifies. Unfortunately, the library did not have the listening technology for me to play the cassette tape and hear her voice during my research.

¹² Virginia Mathews’s main passion was literacy development and saw libraries as a way to combat illiteracy.

National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) played a very important role in the development of tribal libraries.

There were also a number of individuals, mostly Native women, who held leadership roles in their communities who were influential in advocating for libraries in their communities. Charles Townley reflected in our interview on the leadership of women in the tribal library movement that helped to move things forward for the NIEA Library Project:

- “There was a woman there, Minerva White, who was sort of the Virginia Mathews of the St. Regis area. She was a strong woman. She was overseeing all of this and coordinating between the schools.”
- “Loretta Ellis at Green Bay, again was one of these strong women folks like Minerva, like Lotsee, like Virginia. She was on the NIEA board, and when we were doing it, she made sure that the Green Bay, the Ojibwa Reservation--she made sure they were engaged. And she helped to interpret, motivate them to say what it was that they wanted in terms of information service.”
- “Another woman, the head of Bureau of Indian Affairs, Winnebago, very strong, one of the first Indian women chairman...she was chairman at Winnebago, at the time she was chair of the education committee at Winnebago and she was also on the board of regents at University of Wisconsin, and she got them organized. She was able to elicit what the community wanted in terms of a library.”

Native women leaders in tribal library development is a strong theme that could be further explored, especially given that most librarians then (and now) tend to be women. Knowing that library services were inadequate in Indian Country at the time, it is evident that the women who helped establish the first tribal libraries in their communities must have faced some barriers in

navigating the tribal government systems, mainstream library systems, as well as gaining community support. Lotsee Patterson recalled that the “older women librarians were not afraid to go to the tribal council and advocate for money and resources, and that was very effective because of them.” We know that many of the librarians from the 1970s and 80s in tribal communities did not hold graduate degrees in library science. Without further investigation, it is difficult to determine whether these women had been closely tied to their communities their entire lives, or if they had experienced the Relocation program or some other means of urban life.

Fixico’s (2013) assessment of the “new Indian leadership” does not take gender into consideration, nor does it address Indian leaders who may not have had the same political outlook as those involved in the American Indian Movement (AIM). The women of tribal library development, especially those who lived in their own communities and helped to establish their libraries may exhibit other dimensions of leadership. As noted by research conducted by Metoyer (2010) on leadership in American Indian communities, Native American women leaders often “operate as co-creators” who share, collaborate, and mentor as part of their leadership style (p. 5). They may exhibit a strong grounding in their culture and strong connections to family, traditions, the land, and well as a desire to bring an educational institution such as a library onto a reservation. Their leadership and tenacity to establish these libraries must be considered in this investigation of the basis of tribal library development.

The importance of relationship building and the concept of relationality could be further explored as a leadership style. Ben Wakashige noted something he learned from working with Lotsee Patterson in New Mexico:

Lotsee never spent any time in her office. She was always out talking to people. One day she stopped me and said, ‘Ben, you see me talking a lot to people...I get more things done talking to the other people than I do in my office.’ What that taught me and lasted for me was that you’ve got to spend time with people. Time spent with people, you can have a greater impact in the long run than all the academic papers you can write.

The leadership of past (and current) tribal library leaders deserves more attention. The spotlight is often on the leaders who came from government or educational institutions; however, it was the individuals, mostly Native women, who were on the ground, engaging with their communities and working to establish library services on reservations. A number of strong Native women, living on and off reservations, helped form the basis for the development of tribal libraries.

Returning to Fixico’s framing of “new Indian leaders,” we can look at how these leaders began to form intertribal groups and associations. Within the nation’s largest library association, the American Library Association (ALA), leaders began to organize to voice their concerns about the inadequate services they were witnessing. Charles Townley, in his interview, reflected on the lack of attention to Native American library services at the national ALA conferences in the 1970s and his involvement with establishing a venue for discussing these issues.

At the mid-winter meeting in Los Angeles 1971¹³...At this SRRT [Social Responsibilities Round Table] meeting, for an hour and a half there was a great

¹³ Townley initially said it was the ALA midwinter meeting in Los Angeles in 1970. Later, he said it might have been in 1971. I confirmed on the ALA website that the 1971 ALA Midwinter meeting was in Los Angeles.

discussion of blacks and libraries. And no mention of Native Americans. So I simply stood up and said, what about Native Americans? They said, gee, maybe we should think about that. Then I sat down and a minute later I got a tap on my shoulder. I don't know if you ever heard of Virginia Mathews...

Townley described how he and a small group of other concerned librarians and educators, including Virginia Mathews, Lotsee Patterson (Smith), and Jim May, discussed creating an organization, initially called the Society for American Indian Library Services (SAILS) to support Native American library services. According to Townley, SAILS was the group that the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) came to when the NIEA Library Project was in development. As described through Zora Sampson's (2014) interview with Dr. Lotsee Patterson, the American Indian Library Association (AILA) would be established as an organization and then later officially affiliated with the American Library Association.

Janice Rice reflected on a story that pushed her, as a young librarian, to stand up for her community at the 1978 White House Pre-Conference. It is also a story of how the roots of the future AILA were planted. She recalls being shy as a girl, but once she got into librarianship, she was able to come out of her shell. An experience at the Pre-Conference made a huge impact on her leadership abilities. She recalled that a delegate from her assigned breakout group made the initial recommendation to form an American Indian library group at the 11th hour of the WHPC:

And he said, I think you need an American Indian Library Association because the rest of you librarians if you want to follow up with what we're doing here today, we can't do it back in our communities. Only you librarians know what we need and can be our voice and you can do it. But I think you need an association so that, nationwide, we will always have Indian people gathering together to make sure library issues are followed up on.

The discussion group was mostly made up of tribal members, with only two librarians in the group, Janice and a non-Native librarian from North Carolina. Janice made special note that the suggestion came from non-librarians: “The people who suggested it were not even librarians. They, as community people, saw that we need an Indian library association. So that’s part of the story that’s not told.” She also talks about how the resolution almost didn’t make it to the floor because her time at the microphone was considered “out of order” by Chairwoman Virginia Mathews. Janice recalls that Virginia Mathews banged her gavel and almost scared her, but she knew that Virginia’s heart was in the right place. Janice recalled:

I got to the microphone and reported that our group...voted that there be an American Indian Library Association created so that there can be follow up on all of the issues that are being brought up today. So that there will be someone to track it. So that we don’t just end today and our ideas are done. That the American Indian library association will follow up on these...I did a handwritten resolution...And I didn’t even call it AILA, we just said, we have to form an Indian library Association...that should be on the record somewhere on the resolution when that came forward.

Janice Rice’s recollections during the 2017 interviews reflect the same information she shared during the 1989 NCLIS hearings on library and information services for Native Americans (Beaudin, 1989). Her testimony and reflections on the start of the American Indian Library Association reveal that state of development of tribal libraries depended on strong leadership and Native American community members’ vision for tribal libraries.

As we reflect on the leadership and advocacy exhibited during the start of the tribal library movement, we might also consider what schools of library and information science are doing to groom the next generation of leaders, the leaders of today. What efforts are being made by

grassroots organizations, national and international library associations, and LIS graduate programs to prepare Native American leaders to carry the profession forward for future generations? It is evident that the leadership exhibited in the 1970s and 1980s was strong enough to make lasting impacts on Native American library services and on tribal libraries.

Lotsee Patterson, in our 2016 interview, reflected on the need for strong leaders and advocates for tribal libraries today. She noted the elimination of the NCLIS,¹⁴ which had a strong impact on tribal library development, and the fact that there are few strong leaders for tribal libraries today. She said that the field is in need leaders, “who are strong and knowledgeable and willing to commit time and effort to being advocates.” She gave some advice for the next generation: “Be an advocate, at the federal level and the state level...Keep your eyes and ears open, [don’t] miss an opportunity to write letters, to testify...Offer solutions. Invite them [decision makers] to your reservation...Spend some time thinking about what you can do. Think about the future. What would be important? What would be effective? Talk to tribal librarians. What do you need? What do you need that you don’t have? How can an outside agency help you?”

4.5 Self-Determination

¹⁴ The Commission was established as a “permanent independent agency” of the federal government in 1970. It terminated its operations in 2008 and was consolidated under the Institute of Museums and Library Services (IMLS).

The policy and philosophy of self-determination opened the doors for library development in Indian Country based on the needs, wants, and desires of the tribes. Self-determination became a central argument for the development of libraries in Indian Country.

In a July 1970 message to Congress, President Nixon announced an end of the Termination era¹⁵ and the new official Indian policy of Self-Determination. President Nixon outlined his goal for the new national policy of self-determination: “to strengthen the Indian’s sense of autonomy without threatening this sense of community. We must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life without being separated involuntarily from the tribe.” He went on to state that his intention for his proposed legislation was to “empower a tribe or a group of tribes or any other Indian community to take over the control or operation of Federally-funded and administered programs in the Department of the Interior and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare whenever the tribal council or comparable community governing group voted to do so.” (Nixon, 1970). While self-determination has been an unofficial goal of American Indians for many years, it became official US policy at this point.

The ability for Indian communities to make decisions for themselves, including decisions about libraries, was profound. Developing library services for Native Americans did not receive much attention from the federal government until the availability of funding in the 1970s to plan and develop libraries in selected tribal communities (Patterson, 2000; Roy et al., 2011). Self-Determination was codified in 1975 with the passage of PL 93-638, the Indian Self-

¹⁵ The termination policy was the U.S government’s efforts to dismantle reservation systems. During this time, tribes were “terminated,” meaning that the tribes lost federally recognized status and lost federal services. The official termination period was from 1953-1962.

Determination and Education Assistance Act. The 1975 Act provided a foundation for tribal control of Indian education by allowing government agencies to enter into contracts directly with federally recognized tribes. The law was based on the principle of “maximum Indian participation in the government and education of Indian people.” A direct result of the 1960s Civil Rights era in the United States, Indian activism, and a gradual shift in federal Indian policies, this Act gave federally recognized tribes the authority to make decisions on their own behalf without having to go through the approval processes of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The law was enacted to:

provide maximum Indian participation in the Government and education of Indian people; to provide for the full participation of Indian tribes in programs and services conducted by the Federal Government for Indians and to encourage the development of human resources of the Indian people; to establish a program of assistance to upgrade Indian education; to support the right of Indian citizens to control their own educational activities; and for other purposes... (P.L. 93-638) (Indian Self-Determination and Educational Reform Act, 1975)

Self-government and control of education allowed tribes to regain control over their own affairs, including deciding on programs such as libraries and information services in Native communities. Native control of education was a milestone achievement in the history of Indian education, following years of education designed to “civilize,” “assimilate” and “Americanize” Native children (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006).

Self-determination was central to the discussions held at and prior to the WH Pre-Conference. “My head was reeling,” wrote Metoyer in the spring of 1978, “not because of the Denver altitude but because finally the spirit of the Indian Self-Determination and Education

Assistance Act is increasing its impact on the library profession” (Metoyer, 1978b). The spirit and philosophy of Indian Self-Determination embodied the WH Pre-Conference (Buffalohead, Genia, Martin, & Soto, 1978).

As self-determination policies were directly related to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, it’s no wonder that the 1977 BIA Plan included many references to “Self-Determination” as a policy and philosophy. One of the three goals of the BIA Plan was to “Provide information necessary for informed decision-making and self-determination in Indian communities” (U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Office of Library and Information Services, 1977, p. 16). The BIA Plan referenced the Akwesasne, Oneida, Standing Rock, Ft. Hall, Laguna, Zuni, Papago and Colorado River as examples of “Indian communities [that] have responded to their new sense of self-determination by trying to start library/media/information programs” (U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Office of Library and Information Services, 1977, p. 11). The Plan further stated that providing quality library/media/information services was part of “the Federal obligation to Indian people, and essential to the success of self-determination” (1977, p. 12).

“Self-Determination” was referenced in a number of documents of the tribal library development movement. Janet Naumer based her 1974 chapter, “Library Services to American Indians” on the theme of “Let the People In,” which was based on the following quote from a 1970 American Indian Historical Society publication:

Let the people in, and they will provide the enthusiasm which is needed in order to make a program...the success that it deserves to be. Let the people in, and they will dig into their distant past and come up with knowledge, sources, and information which will bring to brilliant life the whole story of our country, from its Native beginnings. Eliminate the

stark and stony phrase, “Resource Person,” as well as its frigid and uncreative type of participation, and make the People a basic part of the process of planning, organization, evaluation, and approval. (Naumer, 1974, p. 2)

Naumer consistently encourages readers to let the Native people in to the decision making process. Looking back at this concept, more than 40 years later, it is apparent that self-determination was a revolutionary demonstration of empowerment.

While not a tribal library project, the Sioux City Public Library Indian Library Project of the mid-1970s demonstrates how the library profession was beginning to see the importance of letting Indians choose their library services:

Both Ron Dubberly and I felt that the essence of this project [the Sioux City Public Library Indian Library Project] is to give Indian people a real stake in the opportunity to realize their potential. We’ve tried to avoid the mistakes that have been made for generations in the name of “help” to Indian people. From the beginning, we pledged ourselves to offer a service which they were free to accept or reject, and to deliver it by one of their own at the time and place and in the manner of their choosing. We have been careful to promise nothing that could not be fulfilled. (Jones, 1975, p. 495)

Charles Townley included an entire section on “Self-Determination” in his state of the art report on Indian library services in 1978. Townley’s state of the art report was distributed to the WH Pre-Conference delegates in 1978. He quotes, at length, three statements at the core of the self-determination movement. The first quote is from the American Indian Chicago Conference’s *Declaration of Indian Purpose*, published in 1961 as a way for North American Indians to voice their desires and opinions. The document was a result of the convening of 460 Indians from 90 different bands and tribes at the American Indian Chicago Conference from June 13-20, 1961.

The statement of purpose included this passage (which was partially quoted in Townley's 1978 article):

Therefore: in order to give recognition to certain basic philosophies by which the Indian People live, We the Indian People, must be governed by principles in a democratic manner with a right to choose our way of life. Since our Indian culture is threatened by presumption of being absorbed by the American society, we believe we have the responsibility of preserving our precious heritage. We believe that the Indians must provide the adjustment and thus freely advance with dignity to a better life. (American Indian Chicago Conference, 1961, p. 4)

Townley also quotes from the "Legislative and Regulatory Proposals" section of the *Declaration of Indian Purpose*, in which recommendations are proposed to involve American Indians in their own affairs:

The basic principle involves the desire on the part of Indians to participate in developing their own programs with help and guidance as needed and requested... The Indians as responsible individual citizens, as responsible tribal representatives, and as responsible Tribal Councils want to participate, want to contribute to their own personal and tribal improvements and want to cooperate with their Government on how best to solve the many problems in a business-like, efficient and economical manner as rapidly as possible. (American Indian Chicago Conference, 1961, p. 6)

It was evident that many Indians wanted libraries and had begun to start their own library projects. Townley's (1978) analysis discusses the following major findings based on experiences since 1973: 1. Indian communities have specific information needs; 2. The demand for information is increasing; 3. Indian control is necessary; 4. Service strategies need to be based on

interactions with the community; 5. Materials, equipment, and facilities need to be adequate; 6. Funding needs to be planned; and 7. The training and education of American Indian librarians needs to be addressed.

Townley summed up the important implications of the self-determination era: “the ultimate fate of American Indian library service must reside where it should – with the people. Librarians will be accountable to Indian people for the success or failure of American Indian Library service” (Townley, 1978, p. 142). This quote can be unpacked and analyzed further. First, Townley’s belief that “librarians will be accountable to Indian people” suggests that the librarians are not Indian themselves, echoing the fact that most librarians were in fact, and continue to be, white, non-Native individuals. Townley reflected on the role of non-Native librarians in tribal library development in our 2017 interview. As a non-Native himself, he hoped that he was seen as a professional who asked Native people what they needed without making assumptions, and working to meet those needs. His record of working with Native communities during this time must be acknowledged. It is important to consider that self-determination, at the time, meant that if tribal people wanted to invite professional librarians to help them develop libraries for their communities, it meant that they had to invite either non-Native librarians or Native librarians from other tribes.

Non-Native librarians were the intended audience for at least two guides that were part of a series produced by the NIEA in 1975 (Christensen, 1975; Smith, 1975). A two-part guide entitled, “Establishing Indian Library Service” (one written by Christensen and the other by Smith) offers advice for non-Native librarians for in the following areas: communication with Indians, developing relationships in communities, understanding funding issues in Indian communities, making first contacts in Indian communities, and “the Indian Way or How Indian

Communities Function and Make Decisions” (Christensen, 1975, p. 9). The guides offer advice to aid the non-Native librarian to help them establish libraries that meet the Indians’ information needs. While the guides do not use the term “self-determination,” they take steps towards including Native people in the process of determining the library services on reservations. For instance, one guide says, “Listen, be slow to speak, don’t interrupt (especially for elders) and listen to Indians”¹⁶ (Christensen, 1975, p. 7). The other guide encourages librarians to determine if “the Indian Community [has] sufficient needs and/or desire for library and information services to make use of them if Indian library and information services are provided” (H. Smith, 1975, pp. 7–8). Additionally, the guide reminds the “expert” librarians that they may have to abandon their pre-conceived notions of an effective library and involve the Indian community in the process. Listening to the information needs of the Indian people and “serv[ing] the Indian community, their needs, their information desires, not yours” is a step towards giving the people the control over their library services, according to the Christensen (1975) guide. “Indians do not like to be asked to rubberstamp projects (ostensibly designed to help Indians) written from preconceived notions of white people,” according to one guide (Christensen, 1975, p. 14). Unfortunately, the guide stops short of authentic and active participation of Indians in the decision making process: “This does not mean, however, that the Indians on whom you are relying for consultation and advice will do the actual writing of the statement and the action” (Christensen, 1975, p. 14).

Many Indian communities were ready for libraries. They sought out people like Lotsee Patterson, Cheryl Metoyer, Charles Townley, and their respective projects to help. Dr. Patterson, in her interview, describes how the Native American people in New Mexico began to “show up

¹⁶ Underlining appears in the original document.

at [her] door basically” to ask for help in developing their libraries. Some of the Pueblos had small collections of books before she started her tribal library development initiatives in New Mexico: “A couple of the Pueblos had a collection of books that it might have been Peace Corps or Peace Corps type group that had been on the reservation. They had put some books somewhere. You know. So they had, in essence, a little collection.” They had already taken steps to begin their library collections. The 1973 NIEA film script further demonstrates the desire for libraries, and their connection to education in Indian Country:

But interest and initiative has been coming from Tribal Councils, and Indian organization leaders, so there are models and experiences to share, and proof that Indian people do want libraries, and will use them when they have them. Indian leaders in education, understanding the need for library opportunities for Indian people. — leaders like Helen Scheirbeck, Will Antell and Ace Sahmaunt-- Initiated the Indian Library Project as one of the first activities of the National Indian Education Association, in 1971.” (“American Indian People and Library Learning Centers,” 1973)

Metoyer, recalled, in her interview: “Some libraries had more going on. Akwesasne and Standing Rock had libraries that were actually functioning on a day-to-day basis and providing information services for their communities. Still, they didn't have enough money for optimum services. Yet, both libraries were central to their communities and the communities used their libraries.”

Patterson reflected on the importance of asking tribes what they wanted in their libraries, once they determined that they even wanted a library:

You have to ask them, you know, who they want you to deal with. So, I would just simply say, what do you want in your library. First of all, it was, do you want a library?

And they all did planning, I think that's part of their federal requirement. They all had long range plans. And interestingly enough, most of them had a library in their long range plans. But they came after water, sewer, you know, basics of life. But the libraries were still high on their want list. So it kinda fit right in with their plans. I never had anyone say they didn't want a library."

Townley reflected on working with the Mohawk tribe at Akwesasne after they had established their library:

Akwesasne was always pretty easy because the people there had already started the library... They had worked through what they wanted a library to do, which was to be a really information commons for the tribe...And they had in mind that they wanted a library to do some traditional library services, like they were very strong on children's library services. And they got an old school bus and fitted it as a bookmobile... It was very popular. They also had in mind that they wanted it to be the support staff for educational and health services.... And they also provided adult reading. It was a fairly traditional library service, but it was pretty aggressive. And the community really took to it.

The American Library Association demonstrated some interest in the developments of Indian Education and self-determination. An October 1971 letter from the office of Senator Alan Cranston (CA) to Eileen Cooke at the ALA Washington Office, confirms that the Indian Education Act amendments would eliminate the eligibility of organizations like the ALA from applying for federal funds on behalf of tribal nations. However, from the amount of documents in the ALA archive on Indian Affairs, it is clear that the staff at ALA was following the developments of tribal libraries carefully.

While these community development projects were still based on perceived needs, they still assumed that a particular project could be wedged into the lifeways of the community. Troy writes, “it is very easy to find oneself engaged in the worst form of messianism [sic] and ethnocentrism when launching a community develop project with needs assessment questionnaires...One erroneously begins...by assuming that there is a need for whatever it is one is proposing, ‘if only I can convince them that they have a need for it.’” (Troy, 1980, p. 5). Troy’s assessment is an honest assessment of some of the issues of working with tribal communities. It is an assessment that is rarely written, but is often expressed in small circles with trusted colleagues. Working in tribal communities and helping them exercise their self-determination can be challenging. It is easy to forget that effective assistance must recognize tribal sovereignty as the basis for the empowerment needed to develop tribal libraries.

The Indian Self-Determination Act was a turning point that guided tribes to being more self-sufficient. But it may have had some unexpected consequences for tribal libraries. For instance, the era of self-determination may have also played a role in the state’s lack of support of tribal library development. Janice Rice stated, “It seems that the state [of Wisconsin] lost their interest when the Indian Self-Determination Act came in and every tribe wanted to be more self-sufficient and wanted to do things themselves. And they stopped funneling everything to the state.” (Janice Rice interview) This situation is reflected in the introduction to the Title IV funding, the first funding ever that was specifically earmarked for Indian tribes. The Act includes this statement: “Indian tribes and reservations are generally considered to be separate nations and seldom are eligible for direct library allocations from States.”

Deloria and Lytle (1984) suggest that the era of self-determination, while helpful in opening doors for many programs on reservations, also opened the doors for Indians being considered another American domestic racial minority:

In order to attach themselves to national social welfare legislation, Indians had to pose as Another American domestic racial minority. Few of the funds and programs that Indians received during the sixties and seventies were given to them because the government felt responsible to fulfill treaty obligations long withheld and due them. National policy sought to abolish poverty, and all low-income groups and areas were eligible to receive funds to accomplish this purpose. Indians happened to be a group that fell well within the identifiable guidelines of the poverty program, and they therefore qualified as recipients. (p. 216)

This point is very important to consider today as we look back at federal funding for tribal libraries. While the early advocates of tribal library funding often referred to the federal government's obligations to tribes in exchange for land, this argument has faded into the background.

4.6 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information

Services

The 1978 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library & Information Services On or Near Reservations may have been the most significant step in the development of tribal libraries in the United States. While the 1978 WH Pre-Conference may be mentioned in the literature as an important point for tribal library development, there is little discussion of the context and content of the event, including the make-up of the committee members, the agenda, goals and

objectives, and all of the resolutions passed (including the Indian Omnibus Library Bill). The 1978 White House Pre-Conference as well as the 1979 White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services (WHCLIS) offered a chance for American Indians to collectively send a strong message to Congress and the President of the United States about the state of tribal libraries.¹⁷ This section will focus on the 1978 WH Pre-Conference, based on information gathered in the interviews, the literature, and archival documents.

The October 1978 Pre-Conference was the first time that any considerable attention was given to library services on or near reservations. It was the “first known Indian meeting concerned with library and information services” in Indian Country (Galvin, 1992, p. 447). Participants included 186 representatives of Indian tribes, including tribal community members, Indian education leaders, Native American library leaders, and scholars. After more than two days of programs and discussion groups, the conference attendees elected delegates and laid forth a plan to improve library services for Native peoples. The long-range plans and goals laid the foundation for future legislation and funding for tribal libraries.

The focus on American Indians living on or near reservations was unique for the White House Pre-Conferences on Libraries. Each state and territory had an opportunity to organize their

¹⁷ More than a decade later, in 1991, a second round of White House Conferences on Libraries and Information Services (WHCLIS) and an accompanying Indian Pre-Conference to the White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services was held. The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) hosted the Indian Pre-Conference. The individuals sent to the WHCLIS representing the Native American delegation included Kimberly Ellen Craven, Irving J. Nelson, Lotsee Patterson, and Harold Thomas Tarbell.

own pre-conference in preparation for the national 1979 White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services. American Indians having their own Pre-Conference along with 58 states and territories, and recognized as having distinct rights, was a direct result of advocating for the U.S. government to recognize “the federal trust responsibility to Indian people living on or near reservations, rather than Indians as a minority group”(“ALA Annual Conference LSD Subcommittee on Library Service for American Indian People” 1977). Advocacy was the prevailing spirit. Virginia Mathews, in a 1977 newsletter article, recounts that the American Indians received authorization to have their own conference at the first meeting of the White House Conference on Library and Information Services Advisory Committee on March 21, 1977. Mathews states:

You will note that the NCLIS White House Conference mandate makes it necessary to limit discussion to services on the reservations, since the reservations’ special relationship with the federal government puts them directly within the NCLIS purview, while the needs of Indian people living off the reservations must be considered in the same terms as those of all other citizen groups with service-intensive needs. It is only the federal status of reservation lands that makes it possible to call this conference and utilize WHC funds. (Mathews, 1977, p. 16)

The justification for an Indian focused Pre-Conference was further explained in the 1979 Report of Record:

The rationale for a separate conference is that the education of American Indians living on or near reservations is a Federal rather than a state responsibility. Since reservation residents are not a part of a state’s tax base, it seemed unlikely that the Pre-Conferences conducted by the states would include discussion of library/information services for the

on or near reservation community. On the other hand, consideration of such services for rural and urban Indians not living on or near the reservation properly would be included in the state Pre-Conferences. (Office of Library & Information Services, 1979, p. 2)

Lotsee Patterson, in our 2016 interview, reflected on the key role the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) played in the Pre-Conference and, ultimately, getting the NIOLB passed:

I give credit to the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science because when that happened they were going to be the ones to manage it. They said, what about Indian tribes. It was the commission that did that. And they got money, a separate pot of money so Indians could have their own pre-White House Conference. What a step that was! You know, so they were, we were treated like a state. Each state had a pre-conference to the White House conference. Indians were treated as a state. So we had a pre-Conference to the white house conference. That was a key initiative. That came from the National Commission and their think tank. Mostly Mary Alice Razatar, who was just brilliant in designing, well, thinking thorough and seeing the future and getting these things done.

Thus, in lieu of a state name or territory on the NCLIS grant application form to apply to use funds for White House pre-conferences, the organizers listed “American Indians On or Near Reservations.” (American Indians On or Near Reservations, 1977). American Indians were the only group who had their own planning conference in which to organize a unified message to lobby to address the lack of library services on or near reservations. It is important to note that the words “sovereignty” or “sovereign nations” was not used as a reason for the status of American Indians with the 1979 WHCLIS. It wouldn’t be until later that the sovereign status of tribes was used in conversations about library services.

It was assumed that urban Indian library services would be included in the state Pre-Conferences. The organizers of the Indian Pre-Conference encouraged Native American librarians across the country to become delegates for their states to ensure that Native voices were heard across all conferences.

The 1978 WH Pre-Conference was held 11 months prior to the 1979 White House Conference on Library and Information Services (WHCLIS). A review of the associated documents from the WH Pre-Conference and *AILN* publications indicates that the organizers of the Pre-Conference made substantial preparations in anticipation of the event. Mary H. Huffer, Director of the Office of Library and Information Services at the Department of the Interior, and Virginia H. Mathews, Coordinator of the White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services, were listed as the official authorizing agents on the NCLIS State/Territorial conference grant application (*American Indians On or Near Reservations, 1977*). The grant application included the following attachments: a tentative list of goals and objectives for Pre-Conference; the “Bureau of Indian Affairs Plan for the Improvement of Library/Media/Information Programs,” and the NCLIS resolution demonstrating the Commission’s support of American Indian library development. It also includes a list of eight committee members who wrote the BIA plan, as well as a full list of planning committee members for the WH Pre-Conference.

The thirteen WH Pre-Conference committee members included educators, tribal community leaders, educational administrators, a tribal chairman, a professor at a library school and at a college of education, a library board member, a representative from the Office of Education, a representative of BIA librarians, and a tribal business leader (*American Indians On or Near Reservations, 1977*). They represented geographic areas surrounding various US cities and

regions, including Portland, Minneapolis, Billings and Aberdeen, Navajo, the East, Sacramento, Anadarko and Muskogee, Albuquerque, and Phoenix. Each committee member had a tribal affiliation: Shoshone-Bannock, Ottawa/Choctaw, Sioux, Navajo, Osage, Cherokee, Hoopa, Kiowa, Comanche, Cocopah, Mohawk, and Arikara. Other names listed include “Resource Persons” and “Staff,”—a mixture of Native and non-Native individuals representing various federal and state agencies and educational institutions. The WH Pre-Conference committee met several times before the October event.

The October 1978 WH Pre-Conference had 186 delegates and observers. Invitations were also sent to “persons interested in Indian Education” to serve as observers to the WH Pre-Conference. Twelve background papers were given to all the WH Pre-Conference participants a month in advance (Office of Library & Information Services, 1979). These papers covered treaty obligations, funding, case studies of tribal libraries,

The conference had three stated goals, written by the Pre-Conference’s executive planning group (“White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services On or Near Reservations: Tentative List of Goals and Objectives,” 1978):

1. To raise awareness among Indian people of potential benefits of library/media/information services and their relevance to Indian concerns, issues and interests.
2. To provide an opportunity for Indian people throughout the United States to reach consensus on a long-range plan to improve and develop library/media/information services on or near reservation.

3. To provide focused input on library/media/information needs and services as they relate to national Indian issues into the White House Conference on Library and Information Services.

And the pre-conference had five stated objectives (“White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services On or Near Reservations: Tentative List of Goals and Objectives,” 1978):

1. To convene a group which is representative of a range of Indian interests, localities, tribes, organizations, and communities.
2. To prepare background material and documentation on Indian library/media/information needs and the current status of services addressing these needs in Indian communities.
3. To gather input from Indian communities on the preferred means for development of Indian library/media/information service.
4. To incorporate recommendations of the Pre-Conference participants into the Working Draft of the BIA Plan for the Improvement of Library/Media/Information Programs, to form the action document for the development of Indian library service on or near reservations.
5. To produce a report and recommendations from the Pre-Conference for wide distribution throughout Indian America and the library community. This document will serve as the basis for formal Indian input into the White House Conference on Library and Information Services.

It is clear that the goals and objectives of the event were developed to address the needs and concerns of American Indians. Asking American Indians for their input on any kind of public services was a new phenomenon. The Self-Determination era certainly helped to spur these types of actions.

Another major goal, not listed, was to elect four official delegates and four alternate delegates to the 1979 WHC. It was important that the delegates represented the library field as well as those with no formal connections to libraries. Only one of the four official delegates and two of the alternates could be a librarian, a library worker, or a member of a library board (“Elections Procedure for Official Delegates to the White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services,” 1978). All delegates elected to the 1979 WHCLIS had to have first served as delegates to the 1978 WH Pre-Conference. Because all WH-Pre-Conference delegates had to be American Indian, this ensured that all delegates sent to the WHCLIS with an official voice were also American Indian. Thus, all delegates were American Indians – an extraordinary achievement. The four delegates sent to the National WHCLIS were announced as follows:

Sr. Kateri Cooper (Papago)- former teacher, Sells, Arizona; Calvin Isaac (Choctaw), long-time tribal chairman, Mississippi Choctaw Tribe, Philadelphia, Mississippi; Dr. Cheryl Metoyer-Duran (Cherokee), Library School Professor, UCLA; and Dr. Joseph "Bud" Sahmaunt (Kiowa), Professor, School of Education, Oklahoma City University.

Self-determination was central to the discussions held at and prior to the Pre-Conference. Cheryl Metoyer wrote in the spring of 1978, “Finally, the spirit of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act is increasing its impact on the library profession” (Metoyer, 1978b). Metoyer was referring to the planning meetings for the Pre-Conference, indicating that self-determination was undergirding the conversations from the beginning. Overall, the major

goal of this conference was to plan and describe a course of action, via legislation, that would result in having library, media, and information services to American Indians “on a level at least comparable to that of the larger society.”

The pre-conference produced the National Indian Omnibus Library Bill (NIOLB) as one of the ten resolutions endorsed by the delegates. The NIOLB (see Appendix A) outlines the needs of libraries on reservations and was included as one of the official resolutions at the national WHCLIS-I. Besides providing insight on the state of library services in Indian Country at this time, the NIOLB is significant in this historical narrative because it led to the passing of Title IV of the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) of 1984, which provided grants to develop basic and special services for libraries serving Indian tribes and Native Hawaiians. The Library Services to Indian Tribes amendment set aside 2 percent of appropriations for Titles I, II, and III of LSCA for this purpose (Galvin, 1992). The “Library Services to Indian Tribes” amendment to the LSCA has been termed “a legislative success” due to its supporters’ successful lobbying WHCLIS-I delegates to support NIOLB (Galvin, 1992).

The importance of the 1978 White House Pre-Conference cannot be understated for the development of tribal libraries. Metoyer reflected on the importance of the Pre-Conference and the resulting omnibus library bill in our 2017 interview: “What was really the most powerful event in the development of tribal libraries? I think it would be the White House Pre-Conference. We were the only group if you will, that had its own preconference. So people who hadn’t thought anything about Indians, but who thought about libraries had the two together on their radar. It was about voice...Now we had a voice linking American Indians and libraries.”

Metoyer, in our 2017 interview, reflected on the far-reach the NIOLB had. “I went back and took a look at the [NIOLB]...and I was really startled by how far thinking it was. The language

may be dated, but the intention is powerful. For example, the word ‘information’ appears frequently, even though it’s limited to information resources.” Indeed, the word “information” appears six times in the document.

Besides the often-cited National Indian Omnibus Library Bill, the 1978 WH Pre-Conference also produced nine other resolutions. One of the resolutions was used to create a professional association focused on American Indian library services, which eventually became known as the American Indian Library Association (AILA).

Advocating for the Indian library issues in the national arena at the 1979 White House Conference on Library and Information Services (WHCLIS) was the job of the elected delegates, and was encouraged by all the Native American delegates who attended as representatives of their respective states. The key issues of the 1979 WHCLIS included:

- Information as a National Resource
- Information Literacy – Awareness of and Access to Information Resources
- Costs and Funding of Libraries and Information Centers
- The Library of Congress and Its Nationwide Cataloging Support Services
- Proprietary Rights Versus the Public’s Need for Information and Data Resources Stored in Various Media
- The Role of the Private Sector in Serving National Information Needs
- Benefits of Information Science
- Policies to Coordinate Information Resources

Calvin Issac (Choctaw), reflected on the advocacy and lobbying of the delegates at the 1979 White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services:

The Indian delegation felt that we would do well if we could get our act together and support one strong Indian resolution PROVIDED we could lobby with the various state groups to support us in our efforts. Through workshop sessions, at dinner tables, and in casual meetings over coffee, we told about the information needs of reservation Indian people, who were without adequate library services. Through the wee hours of the morning, we labored, trying to gain support. Apparently, our PR paid off, for at the General Assembly on the last day our National Indian Omnibus Act resolution gained passage as one of the official resolutions to go to the White House and Congress. (Issac, 1980, p. 9)

An observation from a person not affiliated with the American Indian delegation captures the focus and effectiveness of their work at the WHCLIS in the fall of 1979, “the American Indian delegates performed a tour de force in successfully lobbying the delegates to support the concepts embodied in the National Indian Omnibus Library Bill” (Galvin, 1992, p. 448). We might imagine the American Indian delegates wearing the red buttons that said, “Let Me Tell You About Indian Libraries,” as they made their way around the WHCLIS-I in 1979.

It took an additional five years of lobbying and advocacy for the bill to make its way into legislation. The Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) Title IV, which was based on the National Indian Omnibus Library Bill, was signed into Public Law 98-480 by President Reagan on October 17, 1984. It was the first time that federal funding was specifically earmarked for libraries on Indian reservations.

4.7 Vision for tribal libraries

A new vision for tribal libraries formed a basis for the development of tribal libraries. This new vision was composed of viewpoints from many individuals--tribal leaders, educators,

community members, library leaders, scholars, and national organizations. Their vision—encapsulated in official resolutions, reports, articles, and planning documents—tells the story of their desires for a better future for tribal libraries.

The early developers of tribal libraries and library services to American Indians documented the rationale and vision for tribal libraries in a series of official resolutions. By reviewing these resolutions, we can determine what problems they were trying to address, and how they envisioned solving these problems. Resolutions served as the mandates, the vehicles in the development of tribal libraries. I focused my inquiry on the following landmark documents:

- American Indian Program for Library Service Draft, 1971
- Goals for Indian Library Services, 1973
- Bureau of Indian Affairs Plan for the Improvement of Library/Media/Information Programs, 1977
- National Indian Omnibus Library Bill, 1978
- White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services on or Near Reservations Resolutions, 1978
- Strategic Plan for the Development of Library and Information Services to Native Americans, 1991

Each document contains goals and plans for addressing library services for this population. Together, they represent a vision for the state of tribal library services. In this section, I will first review each document, and then discuss the vision for tribal libraries I obtained from a thematic analysis of the documents. The vision is a factor in the development of tribal libraries.

American Indian Program for Library Service Draft, 1971

An unpublished document from 1971, titled “American Indian Program for Library Service,” outlines a plan for action by the newly created ALA Task Force on the American Indian of the Social Responsibilities of Libraries Round Table (SRLT) (“American Indian Program for Library Service Draft,” 1971). Drafted by individuals within the American Library Association (ALA), the plan addresses the neglect in American Indian library services. There is no evidence that the specific objectives in the plan were ever carried out fully, except that the group began to build the foundation for future organizations. It is noted that the goals they set forth were not endorsed by ALA, even though they were read to the ALA Council at the 1971 Midwinter Meeting in Los Angeles. The four-year plan addresses many of the areas of need, including the lack of appropriate materials, recruitment of American Indian librarians, and getting professional librarians not only interested, but committed to better serve American Indians. The plan includes steps to reach out to Indian associations nationwide and American Indian leaders across the country; to reach out to and work with state library agencies and state library association; and to work with local library agencies to develop policies and evaluate library services.

The plan included the following: 1. Addressing the lack of library materials that “portray an accurate picture of Indian culture.” 2. “All librarians must become committed to American Library Service;” and 3. The American Library Association must “encourage libraries and librarians...[to] make it possible for them to make a positive step toward a realistic and imaginative program of American Indian Library Service.” (“American Indian Program for Library Service Draft,” 1971, p. 4)

Goals for Indian Library Services, 1973

The “Goals for Indian Library Services” was a joint policy statement of the National Indian Education Association and the American Library Association. It was drafted by the Library Service to American Indian People Subcommittee of LSD (Library Service to the Disadvantaged) within the American Library Association (ALA), with Charles Townley serving as the chairman of the Subcommittee during this time.

The six goals covered the following areas: 1. Cultural sensitivity in library and information services; 2. Indian representation on decision making boards and committees; 3. Appropriate materials; 4. Library programming; 5. Training of American Indian librarians; and 6. Funding.

The goals were issued as guidelines for the local and national level in order “to meet the informational needs of American Indians and to purvey and promote the rich cultural heritage of American Indians.” The first four goals are aimed at actions that could be accomplished at the local level. These include ensuring that all library services show “sensitivity to cultural and social components” of Indian communities; that Indians are appointed to local library boards and advisory committees; that library materials present a “bi-cultural view of history and culture”; and that library programs are compatible with the local community’s cultural lifestyle. The last two goals were national in scope and they set the tone for the work of the subcommittee (Townley, 1973b). These final goals address the need for more “trained” American Indian librarians and the need for continued funding for American Indian library services.

The very last goal addressed library services as a treaty right for American Indians, thereby including sovereignty as being a critical place in addressing the issue. This is the first time that treaty rights are tied to library services for American Indians in the documents I reviewed. The last goal also emphasized the need for continued funding for library and information services.

It was approved/endorsed by the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) on February 23, 1973. The approval by NIEA was sought to “seek the counsel and approval of Indian people,” since NIEA was “the most library orientated of national Indian groups” at the time (Townley, 1973b). And it was endorsed by a number of ALA units and divisions, including the Advisory Committee to the Office for Library Service to the Disadvantaged, the Board of the Association of State Library Agencies, and the Board of the Reference and Adult Services Division (Aceto, 1973). The Goals are rarely, if ever, mentioned in subsequent documents. However, its significance lies in the fact that it is the first statement on American Indian library services issued by the ALA and in the fact that it was also endorsed by the NIEA. It is also the first document to tie library services to treaty rights for American Indians. It appears that the Goals laid a foundation for future planning and visioning of tribal libraries.

The BIA Plan, 1977

The “BIA Plan for the Improvement of Library/Media/Information Programs” or, simply “The BIA Plan,” as it was often called, was based on testimony of tribal educators, personnel, and Indian librarians, and incorporated feedback received at meetings such as the National Indian Education Association and American Library Association conferences. The BIA Plan called for “policy commitment and direction, administrative support, extensive coordination with existing Bureau of Indian Affairs programs of all kinds, fuller and more cost effective use of both Bureau of Indian Affairs and Department of Interior resources, systems and services already in place, together with some additional budgetary support” (U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Office of Library and Information Services, 1977, p. 6). It was the first official statement from the Bureau of Indian Affairs regarding their commitment to improving library

services for American Indian people.

The BIA Plan builds on a 1975 commitment by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to “support the development of a long-range plan for the improvement of library, media and information programs serving Indian schools and communities” (U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Office of Library and Information Services, 1977). On February 16, 1977, a BIA press release headline stated, “Better Libraries for Indian People Being Planned.” The announcement described a “long-range plan” to improve library services for Indian schools and Indian communities. It was developed by the Department of the Interior’s Office of Library and Information Services and the BIA Office of Indian Education along with a group of five individuals who had been involved with library and information services projects in Indian Country. The members of the planning committee for the BIA Plan included Virginia Mathews, Cheryl Metoyer, Lotsee Smith, and James Bearghost (all Native Americans) as well as Norman Higgins. The project was led by Mary A. Huffer, Director, Office of Library and Information Services, Department of the Interior.

Four hundred copies of the BIA Plan were “circulated to tribes, Indian educational organizations, and Indian librarians, with responses supporting the proposals and asking for clarification on administrative details” (Office of Library and Information Service and Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1978).

The BIA Plan was used as basis for discussion at the 1978 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services on or Near Reservations, and was submitted as part of the conference’s grant application to the NCLIS (American Indians On or Near Reservations, 1977). It was “analogous to the long-range plans prepared by most state library agencies as a basis for discussion at state Pre-Conferences)” (Office of Library & Information Services, 1979,

p. 25)

The Plan outlines three goals and seven objectives, and then a five-year plan to achieve the goals.

The three major goals of the BIA Plan are as follows:

1. To meet the expressed needs of American Indian and other Native Peoples for information and knowledge necessary to successful life in a multi-cultural society.
2. To provide information necessary for informed decision-making and self-determination in Indian communities.
3. To assure that American Indians and other Native Peoples served by the Bureau of Indian Affairs attain information access at least equal to that which is recognized as basic for other American citizens.

To meet these goals, the plan includes seven objectives broadly sorted in the following headings: 1. Policy and administration; 2. Support systems; 3. Career development; 4. Research and evaluation; 5. Community control; 6. Pilot projects; 7. BIA-Wide Implementation. The bulk of the BIA Plan's pages are dedicated to outlining recommendations for fulfilling each of the seven objectives over the next five years, beginning in FY 1978.

The BIA Plan was never fully implemented, but it was included as one of the titles of the Indian Omnibus Library Bill. It was also used as a backdrop for the 1978 WHPC discussion. All available copies of the BIA Plan that I have seen have the word "DRAFT" stamped at the top and bottom of each page.

National Indian Omnibus Library Bill, 1978

The National Indian Omnibus Library Bill (NIOLB) was passed as one of the formal resolutions of the 1978 White House Pre-Conference on Libraries and Information Services On or Near Reservations. It was one of only 25 resolutions passed at the national White House Conference on Library and Information Services in Washington, DC in November 1979. In 1985, legislation was passed as Title IV of the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA), which incorporated parts of the NIOLB, and funding for tribal libraries.

The input received from tribal community members, Native American library leaders and scholars, and others at the Pre-Conference helped to inform a National Indian Omnibus Library Bill (NIOLB). The Omnibus Bill included the following (paraphrased here; for the full version, see Appendix A):

- A title¹⁸ on training Indian library workers that is determined by tribes.
- A title on historical and contemporary materials and dissemination of information in all formats
- A title on construction/remodeling
- A title on technical assistance to new or developing libraries
- A title on support of library services to Indian studies programs in higher education
- A title on financial support to urban and rural Indian communities for needs analyses to build a base for library development
- Special purpose grants and contracts
- A title establishing a National Indian Library Center that would do the following:

¹⁸ Here, a “title” refers to broad subdivisions of the bill.

- Implement the BIA Plan
- Serve as a stimulus and focal point for the preservation, production, collection and distribution of materials of interest to Indian libraries;
- Operate as a clearinghouse and referral center for materials (including oral history and language materials)
- Provide technical assistance
- Facilitate a national network capability
- Recruit high school and college Indian students to the LIS field
- Encourage a horizontal approach to information access funding within BIA so that health, social services, economic development, job training and other programs carry their own information services support components.

1978 White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services on or near Reservations--Resolutions

Other resolutions passed at the 1978 WH Pre-Conference include the following (as listed in the *American Indian Libraries Newsletter*, vol 4, no. 1, Fall 1979):

- *Depository State*: to permit each tribal government or reservation to designate one library within its jurisdiction as a depository library for the publications of the U.S. Government.
- *Indian Library Consortium*: (of organizations) to provide library/media/information services to Indian people on reservations.
- *Criteria and standards for Indian Libraries*: to sponsor the formation of an Indian Library Association.

- *Support for Indian Writing and Publication:* to provide intensive funding in order to preserve and maintain aspects of Indian life, language, tradition, and heritage.
- *Continuing Communication with Indian Tribes and Organizations:* to develop a communications network...(to insure realization of the goals).
- *Legislative Set Aside:* to provide a direct funding source to Indian communities, on or near reservations, for library services.
- *Interagency Coordination of Library Services:* to ensure effective planning and funding for Indian library/media/information programs to the greatest degree possible at all levels in the Federal Government.
- *Focus on Library Information Programs by Indian Organizations:* to consider as a matter of priority interest and concern the role and needs of library information services on Indian reservations and assign some order of priority to their development.

Although these resolutions did not become part of the Omnibus Indian Library Bill, they still reflect the vision and goals expressed by the participants of the pre-conference over the course of three days.

Strategic Plan for the Development of Library and Information Services to Native Americans, 1991

Beginning in 1988, NCLIS began investigating the status of Native American libraries through a series of hearings, site visits, a survey, and discussions with tribal leaders. The results included a Strategic Plan for the Development of Library and Information Services to Native Americans and another WH-Preconference in 1991, as well as testimony before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs regarding the condition of Indian libraries. The final report,

Pathways to Excellence: A Report on Improving Library and Information Services for Native American Peoples, outlines the findings of the investigations of NCLIS, as well as the Strategic Plan for the Development of Library and Information Services to Native Americans. The Strategic Plan covers four main areas: Service, Resource Management, Administration or Direction, and Organization. Below are some of the highlights of the 1991 Strategic Plan. See Appendix E for the full executive summary.

- I. Extend and improve community and school library services to the Native American community including the blind and physically handicapped, showing sensitivity to diverse cultural and social components existent in communities and continually involving Native Americans and tribal governments in planning, operating, and evaluating library programs.
- II. Reinforce tribal identity, cultural values, and self-determination by providing a bicultural view of Native American history and culture through services and materials that meet the informational and educational needs of this community including the blind and physically handicapped.
- III. Develop a program for coordination, cooperation, and complementary utilization of resources for planning, operation, maintenance, and evaluation of Native American libraries.
- IV. Foster literacy and life long learning for the Native American community including the blind and physically handicapped through the medium of a library.
- V. Provide technical assistance to local Native American libraries, tribal governments, and other involved library institutions to assist them in improving library services to Native Americans.

- VI. Strengthen and expand the economic opportunities for development of library services in Native American communities and Native American schools.
- VII. Serve as a directional guide for Native American libraries and inter-agency and private sector cooperative ventures as they relate to provision of library services to the Native American community including the blind and physically handicapped.
- VIII. Evaluate Native American information needs and the effectiveness with which these needs are being met to ensure continued efficiency and effectiveness of programs and activities.
- IX. Promote coordination among organizations involved in provision of library services and access to information for the Native American community including the blind and physically handicapped.

The report is significant as it is the most recent comprehensive review of the status of tribal libraries. Now, more than 25 years later, we are in need of an updated vision for tribal libraries.

Summary of the early vision of tribal libraries

- *What was the basis for the development of tribal libraries?*

The collective voices of the early developers of tribal libraries, encapsulated in the documents they produced, reveal an early vision for tribal libraries. This early vision formed a basis for the development of tribal libraries. A thematic analysis of the documents revealed 42 elements that informed the vision for tribal libraries. Major themes resulting from the analysis are as follows:

- Interagency communication, collaboration, and support
- American Indian individuals and communities included in decision making
- Funding sought or developed from federal, state, and private funds

- Recruitment and training programs devised and implemented
- Technical assistance provided to libraries

According to the vision put forth by the documents, one of the most common goals was interagency communication, collaboration, and support. Designers of tribal libraries saw the importance of designing support systems for tribal libraries across institutions and organizations. They saw the need to integrate library services into a variety of institutions and programs, such as schools, child-serving programs, literacy programs, and culturally based programs. They saw the need to have strong communication with tribes and Indian organizations to ensure that the goals and vision was met. They saw the need for library consortia, for libraries to work together to provide services to people on reservations. They saw a need for federal government agencies, especially the BIA, and state agencies to fully support tribal libraries.

Many of the documents mentioned involving American Indian people in decision-making roles, as well as planning, operating, and evaluating library services. This may occur on task forces, advisory boards, local library boards, and policy groups at the local, state, and national levels. These calls for Indian involvement are reflective of the self-determination era.

Developing funding from federal, state, and private funds was identified across all documents. The vision of tribal libraries supported by federal, state, and private funding sources is ubiquitous. None of the documents mention the use of tribal funds to support tribal libraries. Perhaps this is due to circumstances of the time period. Tribes, during this twenty-year span of time, were not seen as a major source of financial support for these types of initiatives. Perhaps this is also due to the fact that the nature of these documents was to make public statements for outside institutions to pay more attention to library projects on reservations.

The designers envisioned recruitment and training programs designed to encourage American Indians to become librarians. Some of these efforts included communication with high school counselors to encourage Native American youth to pursue librarianship as a career. Other suggestions included scholarship money for students to attend library school programs.

The designers envisioned ongoing and reliable technical assistance to new and developing libraries. The assistance would help these libraries solve the problems they encounter in the daily operation of the library.

Overall, the designers envisioned a major shift from the inadequacies of library services on reservations that they had known. They considered ways for institutions to work together, ways to include American Indian people in the process, ways to develop funding, ways to recruit and train more American Indian librarians, and ways provide technical support to the individuals facing the every-day challenges of running a tribal library. While they had some successful models of tribal libraries, these were rare. Those who wrote these resolutions and goals for tribal libraries knew the realities of Indian education and the social, political, and economic state of Indian reservations. Many of them also understood the mainstream educational systems and the western models of library services. They created this vision for tribal libraries that would carry the profession forward.

Gary Young (Yakima), expressed his dreams of “model Indian libraries, where Indians can meet and work in a library atmosphere that is predominately Indian...[where] Indian people can organize an Indian approach to use the information resources in a multicultural society” (Young, 1979, p. 2). He further elaborates on “The Model Indian Library”:

‘The Model Indian Library’ should collect the existing records of the history and culture of the Indian community it serves. The process will consist of taping the wisdom of the

elders; collecting a photographic record of those who remember; and filing and cataloging material that will be of interest to Indians and non-Indians. The work of the Model Indian Library will most certainly help the traditional public libraries in their task of achieving a balance. The Model Indian Library will be a center for education in the Indian community and be essential in guiding the Indian to be confidently Indian, while learning the skills necessary to walk in both worlds. The Indian will be able to relate to the resource of the written word in an Indian atmosphere, and then the transition to effective use of the wider resources of the public library can follow. (Young, 1979, p. 2)

Young's vision echoes the vision expressed in the resolutions, and then some. His vision also focuses on education and archival services, something that did not receive much attention in the resolutions.

In 2017, Janice Rice reflected on how far the field has developed beyond what was envisioned at the start of the tribal library development: "It's moved way beyond what we envisioned way back when, in the 1970s. It's much stronger and richer than what we thought... It went from being a place where literacy is the focus. It's evolved to a place that's empowering the community."

Although there has been much development of these institutions, there is always room to grow to its full vision. Loriene Roy reflects on the modern Indigenous space that could be a tribal library:

What we don't have, yet, is the intensely creative Indigenous place. We've learned how to create a library. Those are wonderful skills. But we don't have the Indigenous model from piece of dirt to everything where you come in and you emerge being totally satisfied. So maybe it's a place that brings Maori to you there. Brings Hawaii to you there. You can take

your seated hula classes there. You can take your ukulele lessons there. You can have your photo taken with your veteran. You can learn your language. You can read the Native writers. You can be the Native writer. That creative space. Every tribal school has this artist, its writers. Why not have the tribal library be that?"

Ben Wakashige reflected on a vision for tribal libraries that's linked to Indigenous ways of knowing. In our 2017 interview, he said, "Well, let me tell you about this conversation with this librarian, a recent graduate. She said, an important part of the way she would envision a library would be directed toward the oral tradition. Which is true." This young librarian's observations are on point and reflect ideas that have been discussed for decades in tribal library development.

4.8 Linking American Indian Culture and Libraries

The term "Indigenous knowledge" was not used in the published materials during the start of the tribal library movement. However, embedded within the documents are the understandings of the importance of "American Indian values" and culture. Early developers of tribal libraries often referenced traditional Indigenous ways of developing, storing, and transmitting knowledge as having existed since the beginning of time. The oral tradition, and record keeping through objects like Wampum belts and rock paintings, served as a comparison to knowledge stored in books in libraries. Jack D. Forbes, in his 1978 paper, reminds us that, "traditional Native American information science was a highly developed and heavily utilized area of activity, and one which was a vital part of each Native nation's culture.... (Forbes, 1978, p. 2)

Vine Deloria, Jr.'s paper, "The Right to Know," identifies libraries as a means to the ultimate goal of knowing:

Today the imperative need of Indian communities...is the need to know; to know the past, to know the traditional alternatives advocated by their ancestors, to know the specific experiences of their communities, and to know about the world around them in the same intimate manner they once knew the plains, mountains, deserts, rivers, and woods. A survey of treaties and agreements...indicates clearly that this responsibility...is wholly allocated to the federal government. There should, therefore, be a direct funding form the federal government to tribes for library, information and archival services...(Deloria, 1978, p. 13)

The management of knowledge in libraries were linked to American Indian culture and values, as demonstrated in these quotes from documents of the 1970s:

- The ALA Task Force “will insure that all programs funded at the Federal level to benefit Indian people include attention to, and funds for, the dissemination of Indian culture values through libraries and provision for intensive multimedia services and materials for all Indian people, rural and urban.” (“American Indian Program for Library Service Draft,” 1971, p. 8)
- “To such people, libraries are an acceptable and a valuable resource; even though the printed word and the book format came to them from the white man's world, the concept of the library is a congenial one. With the pictures, the storytelling, the gathering and sharing of information, which are part of the library mission, as well as of the Indian tradition” (“American Indian People and Library Learning Centers,” 1973)
- “The Hogan [traditional Navajo dwelling] is the home of information and learning, the open door to an opening up of the mind and the horizons.” (“American Indian People and Library Learning Centers,” 1973)

- “Indian Peoples of the North American continent were, in the broadest sense, literate before books and other media came into their lives. Native Americans have always been gatherers of information, sharers of knowledge, skilled users of symbols, and transmitters of cultural heritage and experience. Like the Greeks, Indian People vested the world with elaborate meanings, told stories of courage and heroism, and passed the wisdom evolved from assimilated knowledge and experience to succeeding generations.” (U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Office of Library and Information Services, 1977, p. 9)
- At the WH Pre-Conference: “Jack Forbes...affirm[ed] the Indian-ness of library and information services. Formal libraries were maintained by Indian people in Mexico and parts of Central and South America, and wampum belts, memory sticks, skin paintings and rock paintings all represent formal records with a sophisticated level of detail that were utilized by Indian Americans long before the coming of the white man.” (Office of Library & Information Services, 1979, p. 30)

Charles Townley (1975), in the final report on the NIEA Library Project reiterates the importance of Native culture in library development in Indian Country. He wrote, “The data clearly reflects a renewed interest in Indian history and culture. Pride in being Indian, interest particularly in local tribal history and culture, and interest in native languages, are growing strong. These trends do not reflect the desire for an impossible return to the past, but a mustering of new strength for the future” (C. T. Townley & National Indian Education Association, 1975, p. 18). It is clear that even in the early stages of library and information service development for Native people in the United States, there was an emphasis on incorporating culture into library

services and using libraries as one vehicle for collecting and providing access to Indigenous knowledge for the Indian people.

The NIEA Library Project acknowledges the need for “library-informational service centers [to] serve as a repository of Indian culture, art, and materials for instruction in Indian culture for all persons in the community” (National Indian Education Association, 1972a, p. 10). The rationale for this is that, “Indian culture has not been preserved in a written literacy tradition; the written record of the Anglo society has presented a negatively biased image of Indians in American life” (p. 10).

After several years of study on the information needs of Native Americans, the *Pathways to Excellence* report supports the need to record and preserve the “heritage, traditions, achievements, and wisdom” of Native peoples through libraries. The report is rife with references to protecting Indigenous knowledge through libraries before this knowledge is lost forever. The introduction sums up the stance of this report:

This largely undocumented knowledge base, containing the expertise and wisdom of the Native American experience, must be recorded and preserved through more permanent institutional structures in libraries and information resources if it is not to be lost. Before Native American traditions and customs disappear from historical memory, policy officials, legislators, tribal leaders, private agencies and individuals, and state and national library organizations, must join efforts to ensure that the first Americans will have access to the tools, technologies, resources, and skills needed to successfully enter the Information Age of the next century with clear channels to the wisdom of the past. (United States. National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, 1992, p. 1)

It goes on to emphasize the need for libraries to address “the availability of and access to culturally appropriate Native American material,” in particular, to create and develop Native language materials (United States. National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, 1992, p. 4). The report recognizes the special status of documenting knowledge from the oral tradition: “The unique nature of the Native American oral tradition requires the creation and development of multicultural and Native language materials, which should be available to both Indian and to non-Indian peoples alike. The non-textual oral tradition culture necessitates a special effort to develop materials from a non-dominant cultural perspective” (p. 14). This report is reflecting an evolving understanding of the role of Indigenous systems of knowledge in LIS. Building on the previous years of library development, it continues to make a strong case for incorporating Indigenous systems of knowledge in information services.

5. Recommendations for Future Research

This dissertation only begins to address some of the questions about tribal libraries and the broader question of library and information services for Native Americans and Indigenous people. The major factors in the history of tribal libraries (self-determination, leadership, and vision) could act as starting points for future research:

Self-Determination: Self-determination was a policy that allowed tribes to make significant gains beginning in the 1970s. Allowing tribes to determine their own policies and practices was empowering, and tribal libraries certainly benefitted. Looking beyond self-determination, Indigenous scholars are focusing on decolonizing knowledge and decolonizing institutions like libraries, archives, and museums. The information science field is in a position to explore ways

to engage with Native American tribes and communities to address Indigenous knowledge as an area of focus for curriculum and research. Future research could address the following questions:

- How are Native communities Indigenizing their libraries?
- How should iSchools and LIS schools include Native American knowledge courses in their curriculum?

Leadership: This investigation revealed some aspects of leadership that could be further explored. In particular, the role of Native women in the development of tribal libraries could be investigated. Are there differences in the leadership style of those tribal library leaders who are strongly connected to their communities vs. those who do not have these connections? This investigation would also consider the role of non-Natives working in tribal libraries, as well as those Native librarians who come from a different tribe/community than the one they work in. Additionally, knowing that certain states, such as New Mexico, have successfully led statewide movements to gain support for tribal libraries, it would be worthwhile to investigate their strategies for effective leadership and advocacy at the state level. Finally, recently, the term “Indigenous librarianship” has emerged in the literature. Future investigations could determine the leadership styles of those practicing Indigenous librarianship in tribal libraries and other library settings. Possible research questions include the following:

- What are the characteristics of effective leaders in tribal librarianship?
- What is the role of tribal councils in leading efforts to supporting library and information services in their communities?
- What is the role of the iSchools and LIS schools in addressing Indigenous leadership?

Vision: Since it has been several decades since the last comprehensive assessment of tribal libraries nationally, there is an opportunity to create an updated vision based on the current

status, challenges, and strengths of tribal libraries. Libraries across the United States have changed significantly in the last decades, given the proliferation of technology and society changes. A study could be conducted at least every ten years to update the data and needs of tribal libraries. Perhaps we might consider what a new National Indian Library Omnibus Bill would look like if we had a chance to influence new legislation.

Overall, a larger investigation would consider the future of tribal libraries, given its history.

- What is the future of tribal libraries in the United States?

Allison Krebs (2012) argues that “at the grassroots of Indian Country” is where changes to information policies, practices, and procedures will take place (p. 189). Continuing to involve Native people who are community-based, as well as those living and working outside of their communities, would be ideal. We might also consider how tribal libraries could help the guide profession in the development of protocols and policies surrounding the use of Indigenous knowledge in their own community and outside of their community.

6. Conclusion

What was the basis for the development of tribal libraries? Evidence gathered from this examination suggests that the development depended on a number of factors. The state of libraries on tribal nations was abysmal at the start of the tribal library movement. The lack of adequate books, combined with the lack of funding, training of librarians, created an unsatisfactory situation. Leaders emerged who were able to successfully navigate multiple systems—whether it was the library profession, legislation, tribal politics, or national organizations—in order to make positive steps towards develop a vision for libraries on

reservations. Their ability to weave self-determination into the fabric of tribal library development—to listen to Indian communities and involve them in the process—was critical to the success of the development of these libraries. Their deep understanding of the complexities and barriers caused by the federal government and state agencies relationship with tribes was also critical. While many of these leaders were Native American, there were a number of non-Native allies whose positions of power made positive impacts on tribal library development. Connecting tribal libraries to treaty obligations to Indian education allowed the leaders to make a strong case for federal involvement in these libraries.

Carving a space where American Indian librarians, educators, scholars, and community members could convene and discuss issues and solutions was also critical. Without having that space, it is unlikely that the voices of the Indigenous people living on reservations could be carried to the policy makers in Washington, D.C. who established federal funding for tribal libraries. And the non-Native allies and Native people in key institutions around the country allowed the vision of tribal library development to grow.

The development of tribal libraries incorporates resilience and strength. Resilience refers to the ability to endure and recover. Indigenous people are often credited with this ability to adapt to dire circumstances to survive. Those involved with the tribal library movement overcame some significant challenges and successfully created a plan to move forward. This is not to say that the entire movement has been totally successful. Tribal libraries close, lose significant funding, experience staff turn-over, and do not always enjoy the full support of tribal community members. Library services to Native people have evolved from the inadequate libraries of decades past, to providing mostly book-based services, to being modern and sophisticated institutions of today. The strength of the early leaders, as well as today's tribal library leaders,

allow visions to be fulfilled despite the challenges.

Reckoning with the seemingly inherent colonial aspect of western libraries in tribal communities is a critical part of this examination. This study recognizes that some Native communities may not have embraced the written word and western-based libraries, and this could impede the process of tribal library development. However, knowledge and information have always flowed in Native communities. The successful early developers of tribal libraries knew this, and worked to incorporate Indigenous ways of knowing into these western institutions. While Indigenous ways of knowing may not have been at the forefront of tribal library development, it was always there within the communities and the Indigenous leaders. Libraries can be seen as a way to store, protect, retrieve, and access knowledge important to Indigenous people. Libraries provide a place for Native Americans to learn and know not only about their own cultures, but also about the world that surrounds them. Libraries cannot replace the traditional means of knowledge flow in Native communities, but, as resilient and adaptable people, we are able to use available resources to survive.

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Terminology and Acronyms

AILA: American Indian Library Association

AILN: American Indian Libraries Newsletter

ALA: American Library Association

ATALM: Association of Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums

LSCA-IV: Library Services and Construction Act, Title IV

NCLIS: National Commission on Libraries and Information Science

NIEA: National Indian Education Association

NIOLB: National Indian Omnibus Library Bill

1978 WHPC or 1978 WH Pre-Conference: White House Pre-Conference on Indian Libraries On or Near Reservations, 1978

1979 WHCLIS: White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services, 1979

1991 Pre-White House Conference on Native American Library and Information Services, 1991

1991 WHCLIS: White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services, 1991

Appendices

Appendix A: National Indian Omnibus Library Bill

The following resolution was passed by the delegates at the White House Conference on November 19, 1979, to be forwarded to the president and Congress:¹⁹

WHEREAS there is at the present time no funding in any agency dedicated to the development or operation of library systems in Indian country (as defined in 18 U.S.C. 1151, appended); and whereas such funds as have been used in the past are unreliable, inadequate and usually project orientated; and,

WHEREAS library, cultural and information resources at a compensatory level are now urgently needed by American Indian/Alaska Native people living on or near reservations; and,

WHEREAS the Federal agencies are increasingly aware that Federal trust responsibility relating to education mandates inclusion of library/information resources;

AND WHEREAS the states of Arizona, Illinois, New Mexico, Michigan, Montana, Washington, Wisconsin have called for the White House Conference to support specific Indian library legislation;

¹⁹ NOTE: I found three versions of this document that all differed slightly. The version in the 1980 report, *Self-Determination Requires Information Power*, the Omnibus bill does not include the Title on establishing a National Indian Library Center. In a version that appears in the fall 1979 *American Indian Library Newsletter*, the National Indian Library Center is listed as a separate resolution from the Omnibus Library Bill. The document that appears here as Appendix A is from November 19, 1979, and shows the National Indian Library Center as part of the Omnibus Library Bill--as the last title of the bill.

The November 19, 1979 version includes the statement about the states of Arizona, Illinois, New Mexico, Michigan, Montana, Washington, and Wisconsin calling for the White House Conference to support specific Indian library legislation. The 1980 document does not include this statement. The 1979 version has a wording difference in one title. The 1979 version says, "A Title on historical and contemporary Materials and Dissemination of information in all formats." The 1980 version says, "A title on Materials and Dissemination of information in all formats." I asked Lotsee Patterson if she had any insight on which document was correct. She suggested using the 1979 version for my dissertation, which is why it appears here.

THEREFOR BE IT RESOLVED that the Congress be asked to enact a National Indian Omnibus Library Bill to include:

- A Title on Training, both pre-service and in-service, to be determined by tribes, Alaska Natives and Aleuts in collaboration with higher education agencies that leads to certification for Indian library workers, and that tribes and their designated Indian organizations and institutions shall be included in such programs. Particular emphasis would be on continuing education and career development, on-the-job experience and work study.
- A Title on historical and contemporary Materials and Dissemination of information in all formats.
- A Title on Technical Assistance to be provided to new or developing libraries.
- A Title on the Support of library/information services to Indian Studies programs in institutions of higher education.
- A Title providing financial support to Indian communities, both urban and rural, as a means of conducting Information Needs Surveys in building a base for library development.
- Special Purpose program grants and contracts.
- A Title establishing a National Indian Library Center that would do the following:
 - A. Implement the BIA Plan for library/media/information services development as continuously modified, monitored and re-evaluated by the tribal governments operating under it;
 - B. Serve as a stimulus and focal point for the preservation, production, collection and distribution of materials of interest to Indian libraries;
 - C. Operate as a clearinghouse and referral center for materials (including oral history and language materials);
 - D. Provide technical assistance through a bank of Indian resource people who can provide intensive, short term help;
 - E. Facilitate a national network capability;
 - F. Establish links between the National Indian Library Center and high school and college counselors regarding Indian students and library career training opportunities;
 - G. Encourage a horizontal approach to information access funding within BIA so that health, social services, economic development, job training and other programs carry their own information services support components.

The National Indian Omnibus Library Bill should be administered by the Department of the Interior's Office of Library and Information Services in line with policies established by Tribal governing boards.

Definition of Indian Country, 18 U.S.C. 1151

Except as otherwise provided in sections 1154 and 1156 of this title, the term "Indian country," as used in this chapter, means

1. All land within the limits of any Indian reservation under the jurisdiction of the United States government, notwithstanding the issuance of any patent, and, including rights-of-way running through the reservation,
2. All dependent Indian communities within the borders of the United States whether within the original or subsequently acquired territory thereof, and whether within or without the limits of a state, and
3. All Indian allotments, the Indian titles to which have not been extinguished, including rights-of-way running through the same.

Appendix B: Title IV funding

PUBLIC LAW 98-480—OCTOBER 17, 1984
TITLE IV – LIBRARY SERVICES FOR INDIAN TRIBES
FINDINGS AND PURPOSE, AUTHORIZATION OF GRANTS

Sec. 401. (a) The Congress finds that –

- most Indian tribes receive little or no funds under titles I, II, and III of this Act;
- Indian tribes and reservations are generally considered to be separate nations and seldom are eligible for direct library allocations from States;
- the vast majority of Indians living on or near reservations do not have access to adequate libraries or have access to no libraries at all; and
- this title is therefore required specifically to promote special efforts to provide Indian tribes with library services.

(b) It is therefore the purpose of this title (1) to promote the extension of public library services to Indian people living on or near reservations; (2) to provide incentives for the establishment and expansion of tribal library programs; and (3) to improve the administration and implementation of library services for Indians by providing funds to establish and support ongoing library programs.

(c) The Secretary shall carry out a program of making grants from allotments under section 5(c)(1) to Indian tribes that have submitted an approved application under section 403 for library services to Indians living on or near reservations.

(d) The Secretary shall carry out a program of making special project grants from funds available under section 5(c)(2) to Indian tribes that have submitted approved plans for the provision of library services as described in section 404.

USE OF FUNDS

Sec. 402. (a) Funds made available by grant under subsection (c) or (d) of section 401 may be used for –

1. inservice or preservice training of Indians as library personnel;
2. purchase of library materials;
3. conduct of special library programs for Indians;
4. salaries of library personnel;
5. construction, purchase, renovation, or remodeling of library buildings and facilities;
6. transportation to enable Indians to have access to library services;
7. dissemination of information about library services;
8. assessment of tribal library needs;
9. contracts to provide public library services to Indians living on or near reservations or to accomplish any of the activities described in clauses (1) through (8).

(b) Any tribe that supports a public library system shall continue to expend from Federal, State, and local sources an amount not less than the amount expended by the tribe from

such sources for public library services during the second fiscal year preceding the fiscal year for which the determination is made.

(c) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prohibit restricted collections of tribal cultural materials with funds made available under this Act.

APPLICATIONS FOR LIBRARY SERVICES TO INDIANS

Sec. 403. Any Indian tribe which desired to receive its allotment under section 5(c)(1) shall submit an application which contains such information as the Secretary may require by regulation.

PLANS FOR LIBRARY SERVICES TO INDIANS

Sec. 404. Any Indian tribe which desires to receive a special project grant from funds available under section 5(c)c(2) shall submit a plan for library services on or near an Indian reservation. Such plans shall be submitted at such time, in such form, and contain such information as the Secretary may require by regulation and shall set forth a program for the year under which funds paid to the Indian tribe will be used, consistent with –

1. a long-range program, and
2. the purposes set forth in section 402(a).

COORDINATION WITH PROGRAMS FOR INDIANS

Sec. 405. The Secretary, with the Secretary of the Interior, shall coordinate programs under this title with the programs assisted under the various Acts and programs administered by the Department of the Interior that pertain to Indians.

Appendix C: Current IMLS Funding legislation

U.S. Code
Title 20 - EDUCATION
Chapter 72 – Museum and Library Services
Sec. 9161. Services for Native Americans

From amounts reserved under section 9131(a)(1)(A) of this title for any fiscal year the Director shall award grants to Indian tribes and to organizations that primarily serve and represent Native Hawaiians (as the term is defined in section 7517 of this title) to enable such tribes and organizations to carry out the activities described in section 9141 of this title.

Sec. 9131. Reservations and allotments

(a) Reservations

(1) In general

From the amount appropriated under the authority of section 9123 of this title for any fiscal year, the Director –

(A) shall reserve 1.75 percent to award grants in accordance with section 9161 of this title

Appendix D: Goals for Indian Library and Information Service

1973

In order to meet informational needs of American Indians and to purvey and promote the rich cultural heritage of American Indians, the following goals are presented as guidelines for programs of library and information service serving American Indians.

GOAL: All library and information service must show sensitivity to cultural and social components existent in individual Indian communities. Justification: American Indian people comprise a continuing and unique society resident in the United States. The cultural and social components of this society do not share common origins with Western society. All forms of library service will require the application of bilingual and bicultural principles to insure success.

GOAL: Indian representation, through appointment to local boards and creation of local advisory committees concerning service to and about American Indians, is essential for healthy, viable programs. Justification: Library and information service should have input from those persons it attempts to serve. By creating a board or committee of Indian persons accepted by the Indian community which will be served, the library can insure programs and materials which will truly meet informational and other needs. This goal applies to libraries on reservations as well as urban and rural libraries in areas where Indian people live.

GOAL: Materials which meet informational and educational needs and which present a bicultural view of history and culture, must be provided in appropriate formats, quality, and quantity to meet current and future needs. Justification: In addition to materials of universal interest, materials of specific interest to Indian people must be provided. The library will produce its own materials, if not available in a language or format used by most of the community.

GOAL: Library programs, out-reach, and delivery systems must be created which will insure rapid access to information in a manner compatible with the community's cultural milieu. Justification: Library programs in Indian communities must take into account that local community's cultural life style. Insistence on a foreign programming philosophy will frustrate those for whom it is intended.

GOAL: American Indian personnel trained for positions of responsibility are essential to the success of any program. Justification: Until such time as sufficient numbers of American Indian people are trained to occupy professional and paraprofessional positions, compensatory recruitment and training programs must be devised and implemented.

GOAL: Continuing funding sources for library and information service must be developed. Justification: Library service, as a function of education, is a treaty right of American Indians.

Appendix E: Strategic Plan for the Development of Library and Information Services to Native Americans, 1991

Executive Summary

SERVICE

I. Extend and improve community and school library services to the Native American community including the blind and physically handicapped, showing sensitivity to diverse cultural and social components existent in communities and continually involving Native Americans and tribal governments in planning, operating, and evaluating library programs.

A. Promote access to information upon which Native Americans can make responsible, informed decisions when participating in internal and external activities by the end of 1992.

B. Provide a comprehensive service delivery system for Native Americans both on and off reservations with a strategy designed to include both administrative and legislative factors and cooperate with federal agencies and private organizations by the end of 1993.

II . Reinforce tribal identity, cultural values, and self-determination by providing a bicultural view of Native American history and culture through services and materials that meet the informational and educational needs of this community including the blind and physically handicapped.

A. Effect the development, expansion, and improvement of historically and culturally oriented library services and materials to better serve the information needs of Native Americans by the end of 1993.

B. Develop library programs, outreach, and delivery systems and services that will insure rapid access to information in a manner compatible with the community's cultural milieu and preserve archival information and records of the past, present, and future relating to all Native Americans by the end of 1995.

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

III. Develop a program for coordination, cooperation, and complementary utilization of resources for planning, operation, maintenance, and evaluation of Native American libraries.

A. Promote an environment conducive to interlibrary cooperation and resource sharing among all types of libraries in order to enhance library and information services to the Native American community by the end of 1995.

IV. Foster literacy and life long learning for the Native American community including the blind and physically handicapped through the medium of a library.

A. Develop strategies to remediate the full range of literacy issues from reading deficiency to information illiteracy by the end of 1994.

B. Provide educational and training opportunities for Native Americans to enable them to assist indirectly or indirectly providing library services to the Native American community by the end of 1995.

V. Provide technical assistance to local Native American libraries, tribal governments, and other involved library institutions to assist them in improving library services to Native Americans.

A. Promote knowledgeable Native American representation concerning provision of library and information services to Indian communities by the end of 1992.

VI. Strengthen and expand the economic opportunities for development of library services in Native American communities and Native American schools.

A. Develop continuing, long-term funding sources for library and information services for Native American libraries by the end of 1995.

ADMINISTRATION OR DIRECTION

VII. Serve as a directional guide for Native American libraries and inter-agency and private sector cooperative ventures as they relate to provision of library services to the Native American community including the blind and physically handicapped.

A. Assist the Native American communities, leaders, residents, and representatives to promote, advance, advocate, and express their desire to improve and develop the provision of library and information services to the Native American community by the end of 1992.

B. Develop policies, procedures, guidelines, and standards that reflect the needs and goals of Native Americans in order to provide a transition from current Native American community and school library services to improved, nondiscriminatory, better coordinated library services by the end of 1992.

VIII. Evaluate Native American information needs and the effectiveness with which these needs are being met to ensure continued efficiency and effectiveness of programs and activities.

A. Establish a framework for evaluating Native American library programs by the end of 1992.

B. Measure the effectiveness of newly implemented and ongoing programs designed to improve library and information services to the Native American community by the end of 1995.

ORGANIZATION

IX . Promote coordination among organizations involved in provision of library services and access to information for the Native American community including the blind and physically handicapped.

A. Define roles and responsibilities of specific federal, state, and local government and private sector organizational units involved in the provision of library services and access to information for the Native American community by the end of 1995.

B. Establish processes to ensure coordination of various disparate national , state, and local programs, institutions, and resources so that these activities interact to maximize efficiency and effectiveness of library service program efforts provided to the Native American community by the end of 1993.

Appendix F: The People of Tribal Library Development

The following list of people appeared in documents and in conversations about tribal library development from the 1970s-1990s. The attendees of these conferences were activists, educators, leaders in Indian education and policy making. Listed next to each name is the tribal affiliation and titles that were given at the time of their appointments or work on projects. Some names appear multiple times.

National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Library Project

- **Will Antell** (Chippewa), Library Project Policy Committee President (as listed in 1972)
- **Dillion Platero** (Navajo) Library Project Policy Committee 1st VP (as listed in 1972)
- **John Winchester** (Potawatoni) Library Project Policy Committee 2nd VP (as listed in 1972)
- **Elgie Raymond** (Sioux) Library Project Policy Committee 3rd VP (as listed in 1972)
- **William Demmert Jr.** (Tlingit) Library Project Policy Committee Treasurer (as listed in 1972)
- **Rosemary Christenson** (Chippewa) Library Project Policy Committee Secretary (as listed in 1972)
- **Loretta V. Ellis** (Oneida) Project ILSTAC Director (N.D.)
- **Cheryl Metoyer** (Cherokee) Project ILSTAC Director (N.D.)
- **Margaret Tetoh:** Standing Rock librarian, NIEA Library project
- **Margaret Jacobs, Anna Rourke, Beatrice Cole, and Mary Lou Philips,** Akwesasne Cultural Center Librarians
- **Charles Townley:** NIEA Library Project Director

National Commission on Libraries and Information Science Leadership

- **Mary Alice Reszetar,** NCLIS Associate Director
- **Bessie B. Moore,** NCLIS Commissioner and Deputy Chair
- **Charles Reid,** Chaired NCLIS Committee on Library and Information Services to Native Americans and Program Review Committee, 1990

Bureau of Indian Affairs (part of the Interior Dept.) Leadership

- **Mary A. Huffer:** Director of the U.S. Department of the Interior (DOI) Library

ALA Leadership

- **Jean E. Coleman,** director of the Office for Library Outreach Services
- **Eileen D. Cooke,** Director of the ALA Washington Office

Planning Committee for the 1978 White House Pre-Conference:

- **William Denmert** (Tlingit-Sioux), University of Washington School of Public Affairs; formally director, Office of Indian Education Programs, BIA
- **Maxine Edmo** (Shoshone-Bannock): Ft. Hall Education Council, Ft. Hall, Idaho
- **Anthony D. Genia** (Ottawa/Choctaw): Minnesota Indian Consortium for Higher Education, Hamline University, St. Paul
- **David Gipp** (Sioux), Educational and Technical Center, United Tribes of North Dakota
- **Joseph Hardy** (Navajo): Navajo Small Business Development Corporation, Ft. Defiance, Arizona
- **Calvin Isaac** (Choctaw), Chairman, Choctaw Tribe, Philadelphia Mississippi
- **Cheryl Metoyer** (Cherokee), School of Library and Information Science, University of California at Los Angeles
- **David Risling** (Hoopa), Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University, Davis, California
- **Joseph “Bud” Sahmaunt** (Kiowa), Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- **Lotsee Smith** (Comanche), College of Education, University of New Mexico
- **Pete Soto** (Cocopah), Phoenix Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs
- **Minerva C. White** (Mohawk): Native American Special Services, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York
- **Marilyn Youngbird** (Arikara): Colorado Commission on Indian Affairs, Denver, Colorado
- **Virginia H. Mathews** (Osage): Chairman of the Pre-Conference and planning committee, Director of Gaylord Professional Publications, Syracuse, New York
- **Mary Huffer**, Director of the U.S. Department of the Interior Library, Co-coordinator of Pre-Conference

Resource Persons Appointed to the 1978 White House Pre-Conference Planning Committee

- **Nellie Buffalomeat** (Cherokee), Sequoyah High School Library, BIA, Tahlequah, OK
- Jean E. Coleman, Office for Library Outreach Services, ALA
- Norman Higgins, Arizona State University, Dept of Educational Technology and Library Science
- Paul Janaske, Office of Libraries and Learning Resources, U.S. Office of Education
- Marian Leith, NCLIS Commissioner, State Library, Raleigh, NC
- Ronald Linehan, NCLIS, Washington, D.C.
- Bessie Boehm Moore, NCLIS Commissioner, State Department of Education, Little Rock AR
- Mary Alice Reszetar, Associate Director, NCLIS, Washington, DC
- Roderick G. Swartz, State Librarian, Washington State Library, Olympia, WA and representative to the Council of State Library Agencies (COSLA)
- Charles Townley, Library Planner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI
- Dulcie Wolf (Assiniboine/Chippewa), Office of Indian Education Programs, BIA, Washington, DC

Delegates and Alternates Elected to Represent Native Americans at the 1979 White House Conference:

- **Joseph “Bud” Sahmaunt** (Kiowa), Professor, Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- **Calvin Isaac** (Choctaw), Chairman, Mississippi Choctaw Tribe, Philadelphia Mississippi
- **Forest Cuch** (Ute), U and O Tribal Business Council, Fr. Duchesne, Utah
- **Dr. Cheryl Metoyer** (Cherokee): Library School Professor, University of California at Los Angeles
- **Sister Kateri Cooper** (Papago): Papago Education Office, Sells, Arizona (Alternate)
- **Lucy Covington** (Colville), Councilwoman, Colville Tribal Council, Nespelem, Washginton (Alternate)
- **Joseph Hardy** (Navajo): Director, Navajo Small Business Development Corporation, Inc., Ft. Defiance, Arizona (Alternate)
- **Mary Alice Tsosie** (Navajo): Library, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point (Alternate)
- **Lotsee Smith** (Comanche): Texas Women’s University, Denton, Texas (Alternate)

Background Papers presented to 1978 White House Pre-Conference Delegates:

- “Profiles of Four Indian Library/Information Programs.” By **Nellie Buffalomeat, Maxine Edmo, Lotsee Smith, and Minerva White.**
- “Strategies for Funding of Library, Media, and Information Services on Indian Reservations.” By P. **Sam Deloria.** (distributed at the WH Pre-Conference, according to the conference report)
- “The Right to Know.” By **Vine Deloria, Jr.**
- “The Potential Role of Libraries/Information Centers in Indian Economic Development and Political Self-Determination.” By **Jack D. Forbes.**
- “The Role of Libraries/Information Centers in Indian Economic Development and Political Self-Determination.” By **Joseph R. Hardy.**
- “Library Education and the Development of Library Services in Indian Communities.” By **Norman Higgins.**
- “Planning Libraries and Information/Media Services for American Indians from the Tribal Chairman’s Point of View.” By **Calvin J. Isaac.**
- “Community Information Needs and Library Potentials.” By **Cheryl Metoyer-Duran.**
- “Traditional and Hard-to-Find Information Required by Members of American Indian Communities: What to Collect; How to Collect it; and Appropriate Format and Use.” By **Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz (with Simon Ortiz).**
- “American Indian Library Service.” By **Charles Townley** and published in *Advances in Librarianship*, 8. (distributed 8 weeks before the pre-conference)
- “Bureau of Indian Affairs Plan for the Improvement of Library, Media, and Information Programs”
- “Opportunities and Needs: The Current State of Funding for American Indian Library and Information Services On or Near Reservations.” By **Virginia H. Mathews.**

Key Lawmakers

- US Sen. **Paul Simon** (D-IL)
- US Sen. **Daniel Inouye** (D-HI)
- New Mexico State Sen. **Leonard Tsosie** (D-Crownpoint)

Delegates Selected for the 1991 White House Conference on Library and Information Services

- General Public – **Harold Tarbell** with **David Gipp** as alternate
- Government Official – **Kimberly Craven** with **Rodreick E. Obi, Sr.**, as alternate
- Library or Information Professional – **Dr. Lotsee Patterson** with **Dr. James May** as alternate
- Library or Information Supporter – **Irving Nelson** with **Ann Medicine** as alternate

Appendix E: Timeline

This timeline contextualizes the development of tribal libraries within the history of US-Native history. Dates were verified by external resources when available.

- 1820s-60s** Removal Period, especially after Andrew Jackson is elected US president in 1828
- 1830s** Federal control of Indian Education
- 1860s** Reservation schools established under Christian organizations
- 1871** Treaties end between the US and tribes.
- 1878** The first off-reservation boarding school, established at the Hampton Institute in Virginia, reflects the goal of assimilation and civilization of Indians through education.
- 1911** Society of American Indians founded in Columbus, Ohio
- 1928** Meriam Report (“The Problem of Indian Administration”) criticizes federal Indian policy, including Indian Education. The report set the stage for a new era of Indian policy.
- 1934** Johnson O’Malley (JOM) Act gave authorization to the Secretary of the Interior to contract with states and other agencies to provide educational services to Indian children, especially those living outside of reservations and those attending public schools. The 1969 Kennedy Report critiqued the effectiveness of JOM funding adequately reaching Indian students in public schools, as many schools were using the funding to supplement their operating budget, rather than focusing the funding on the needs of Indian students. JOM funding has been, and continues to be used, to provide supplemental funding to schools serving American Indian and Alaska Native students.
- 1941** First library established on Navajo Reservation, by the Window Rock Homemaker’s Club, used primarily by Anglo families²⁰
- 1944** National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) founded in Denver, Colorado
- 1953** US Termination period begins (1953-1962). During this time, 13 tribes were terminated.
- 1956** New Mexico State Library Extension Service sends books to Gallup dormitory²¹

²⁰ (Gallegos & Kammerlocher, 1991; Grant, 1991)

²¹ (Peck, 1958)

- 1956** The Library Services Act of 1956 was designed to assist the development of library services in under served areas. This act was particularly important for rural areas. It was the first time the federal government provided grants to support library and information services in the United States, though it did not include provisions for Indian libraries
- 1957** Library Extension Service (LES) federal legislation to provide library services to rural areas.²²
- 1957** New Mexico State Library first brought library services to Indians via federal funds²³, including 16 day schools and boarding schools²⁴. Bookmobile services to northern Pueblos in NM, beginning with San Juan Pueblo.²⁵
- 1958-59** Bookmobile services continue in New Mexico, adding Santa Clara and San Ildefonso²⁶
- 1958** Colorado River Indian Tribal Library (CRIT) established in Parker, Arizona by a community development project spearheaded by the Hatch family. The library is known nationally as the first tribal library in the United States.
- 1961** CRIT Tribal Council set aside tribal funds to run a library and hire a librarian. The first librarian was Tony Stone, Sr.
- 1961** National Indian Youth Council founded
- 1961** Chicago Pan-Indian Conference
- 1964** “War on Poverty” declared by President LBJ on Jan 8. Office of Economic Opportunity created
- 1964** Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) passed by US Congress, signed by President LBJ. It initially provides \$40,000 to each state. “includes urban libraries and construction projects. Services to those with special needs, outreach programs, and interlibrary resource sharing were also included.”
- 1964** Menominee establish community library services
- 1964** Shoshone-Bannock Library and Media Center established
- 1965** Title II-B (Library Research and Demonstration Programs) of the Higher Education Act passed. This title was used to fund the first major initiative to develop libraries in

²² (Gallegos & Kammerlocher, 1991)

²³ (Farrington, 1969)

²⁴ (Peck, 1958)

²⁵ (Peck, 1958)

²⁶ (Peck, 1958)

Indian Country (the NIEA Library Projects) and “numerous institutes for American Indian librarians”²⁷

- 1966** Rough Rock Demonstration School established, the first Indian-controlled school in the US
- 1966** Red Cloud Indian School (Pine Ridge Reservation, SC) adapts its library services to meet needs of Lakota people.²⁸
- 1967** Bookmobile service begins for Fond du Lac Reservation in Minnesota²⁹
- 1968** Termination period ends
- 1968** American Indian Movement (AIM) founded
- 1968** Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968
- 1968** South Dakota State Library obtains JOM funds + LSCA funds to provide library services on reservations: 1st target was the Rose Bud Reservation³⁰
- 1968** Bookmobile service begins for Leech Lake Indian Reservation³¹
- 1968** First tribal college established: Navajo Community College
- 1969** Alcatraz Indian Occupation begins
- 1969** Kennedy Report calls Indian education policy a “national tragedy”
- 1969** Oneida Nation establish library services
- 1969** Navajo Community College Library established³²
- 1969** Nett Lake Indian Reservation and Grand Portage receives bookmobile service from Arrowhead Library System (Minnesota)³³
- 1969** Native American Student Organization establishes a community library on the Potawatomi pow-wow grounds.³⁴

²⁷ (Galvin, 1992, pp. 446–447)

²⁸ (Townley, 1978)

²⁹ (W. Gordon, 1969)

³⁰ (Cunningham, 1969)

³¹ (W. Gordon, 1969)

³² (Richardson, 1970)

³³ (W. Gordon, 1969)

³⁴ (Evans, 1969)

- 1969** Vine Deloria, Jr.(Standing Rock Sioux) publishes *Custer Dies for Your Sins*; N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa) wins Pulitzer Prize for *House Made of Dawn*, the first Native American author to receive this recognition.
- 1970** National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) established by Congress as a permanent agency of the federal government (PL 91-345) to advise the President and Congress on national and international library and information policies
- 1970** National Indian Education Association (NIEA) incorporated in Minneapolis, Minnesota
- 1970** Four Corners Mobile Library Project (1970-73), funds from LES and the Four Corners Regional Commission³⁵
- 1970** Papago library established in railroad boxcars³⁶
- 1971** National Indian Education Association (NIEA) submits proposal for the Library Project to the Bureau of Libraries and Educational Technology in the spring of 1971
- 1971** Akwesasne Library Cultural Center opens
- 1971** Lotsee Patterson, Charles Townley, and Virginia Mathews form Task Force on American Indians within the American Library Association's Social Responsibilities Round Table.
- 1971** Sanford Berman publishes *Prejudices and antipathies: a tract on the LC subject heads concerning people* (1971) criticizing, among other groups, the LCSH used for Native people
- 1971** Occupation of Alcatraz ends
- 1971/72** ALA Advisory Committee in Office for Library Services to the Disadvantaged establishes Committee on Library Service for American Indian People. Charles Townley serves as first chair.
- 1972** Indian Education Act of 1972 passed. Establishes the Office of Indian Education and the National Advisory Council on Indian Education
- 1972** National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Library Project launched, funded by Library and Technology Bureau of US Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
- 1972** Standing Rock Tribal Library opens³⁷

³⁵ (Gallegos & Kammerlocher, 1991)

³⁶ (Gallegos & Kammerlocher, 1991)

- 1972** National Tribal Chairman’s Association founded
- 1972** AIM leads the “Trail of Broken Treaties” caravan and occupation of BIA offices in Washington, D.C.
- 1973-74** Indian Graduate Library Institute established at the University of Arizona.³⁸ 18 positions for people from the southwest
- 1973** Library Training Institute (4 yr program) established at Arizona State University in June 1973 under the direction of Dr. Norman Higgins; training 11 Indian people to be media specialists in schools.³⁹
- 1973** Grant given to the Native American Rights Fund to develop a National Indian Law Library
- 1973** NIEA and ALA issue joint policy statement, “Goals for Indian Library and Information Service”. A “slide tape show” of the NIEA Library Project was shared with ALA Members.⁴⁰
- 1973** Project MEDIA (Materials Evaluation and Dissemination by Indian Americans) begins as a division of NIEA
- 1974** Indian Action Council of Northern California established its Indian Library in Eureka, CA
- 1974** NCLIS holds Mountain-Plains and Southwest regional hearings with testimony on state of American Indian information services
- 1974** NIEA Library Project approaches GLITC and Wisconsin Division of Library Services “to join in a statewide planning effort to develop viable and cohesive state plan for Indian library service.” Approved letter of agreement.
- 1974** Lotsee Patterson applied for and received a HEA IIB, Division of Libraries and Information Resources grant - “Library Aide Training Institute for American Indians.” The project was designed to provide on-site library training for fourteen American Indians in New Mexico.
- 1975** Window Rock Public Library transferred to the Navajo tribe⁴¹
- 1975** Council of Energy Resource Tribes founded

³⁷ (National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, 1977)

³⁸ (Wood, 1973)

³⁹ (Wood, 1973)

⁴⁰ (Townley, 1975)

⁴¹ (Grant, 1991)

- 1975** Statewide Plan for the Development of Indian Library Services in Wisconsin created by NIEA, Wisconsin Dept of Public Instruction/Division of Library Services, and Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council, Inc.
- 1975** As result of initial Wisconsin statewide plan, the Indian Library Training Program was funded by the Indian Technical Assistance Center in 1975. Trainees received continuing education credits and were certified as Grade II librarians.⁴²
- 1975** The American Indian Community Library Demonstration Project was funded to establish libraries in the New Mexico Pueblos of Zuni, Acoma, Jemez, Canyoncito, Laguna, Santa Clara, Zia, and San Ildefonso. Funded by a US Office of Education's HEA IIB for a library demonstration grant. Developed by Lotsee Patterson
- 1975** Report and Recommendations to the NCLIS Relating to the Improvement of Opportunities for American Indians, study by Virginia Mathews⁴³
- 1975** Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (Public Law 93-638)
- 1975** Mary Nieball (Apache), PhD graduates from Texas Woman's University. The first Native American to earn a PhD in LIS. Dissertation title: "A comparative Analysis of Library-Learning Resources Programs in the Public Junior Colleges of Texas"
- 1975** American Indian Higher Education Consortium established
- 1976** *American Indian Libraries Newsletter* established
- 1976** BIA Library Workshop held in Albuquerque, NM, July 13-14, 1976⁴⁴
- 1976** Indian Pueblo Cultural Center Library and Archives founded in Albuquerque, NM
- 1976** Commissioner of the BIA requested that the department of Interior's Office of Library and Information Services develop a long-range plan for the development of library programs in American Indian communities.⁴⁵
- 1976** Wisconsin Statewide Plan emphasis on establishing libraries for each reservation as a component to the training program. Small general collections were developed for these libraries though Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) Title I monies.
- 1976** Lotsee Patterson applied for a second federal Library Demonstration Project grant to set up new libraries in the Pueblos of Cochiti and Santa Domingo and to further implement programs and develop model tribal library initiatives at Acoma and Laguna

⁴² (Tsosie, 1976)

⁴³ (Mathews, 1975)

⁴⁴ (Townley, Anderson, & Stambaugh, 1978)

⁴⁵ (Biggs, 2000)

- 1976** Cheryl Metoyer (Cherokee), PhD graduates from Indiana University. The second Native American to earn a PhD in LIS. Dissertation title: “Perceptions of the Mohawk Elementary Students of Library Services Provided by the National Indian Education Association Library Project as Conducted on the Akwesasne (St. Regis) Mohawk Reservation”
- 1976** ALA Office for Library Personnel Resources (OLPR) Minority-Recruitment Subcommittee formed
- 1976** November 1976, Office of Library Personnel Resources of the ALA lists fifteen Native American librarians in the country.⁴⁶
- 1977-78** The Wisconsin Indian Library Services Project was funded by LSCA to continue collection development, establish and maintain tribal libraries and provide audiovisual equipment and materials. The Indian Library Training Program continued the educational aspect and provided technical assistance.
- 1977** New York “Indian Library Bill” passed⁴⁷ New York State Legislature enacts law, the “Indian Library Bill” to provide permanent support for Indian Libraries. Signed into law on August 1, 1977 by Governor Hugh Carey. Senate Bill 3045-A, Chapter 476 is “an act to amend the education law, in relation to Indian libraries, making an appropriation therefor.”⁴⁸ Supports libraries on three reservations: “the Mohawk’s Akwesasne Library and Cultural Center in St. Regis; the Seneca Nation’s library, serving the Allegany Reservation in Salamanca, the Cattaraugus Reservation in Irving, and the Tonawanda Community Library, serving the Seneca Nation members in Akron.”⁴⁹ Initial appropriation was \$1000,000.⁵⁰
- 1977** Wisconsin State Planning Committee on Indian Library Service established
- 1977** Bureau of Indian Affairs Plan for the Improvement of Library/Media/Information Programs. Draft
- 1977** President Carter signs appropriations bill providing \$3.5 million to NCLIS for White House Conference, May 4, 1977
- 1977** NCLIS adopts a resolution in support of the development of an effective library and information science program that will serve the needs and desires of Native Americans. A Pre-White House Conference for American Indians living on

⁴⁶ (Salabiye, 1978)

⁴⁷ (Shubert, 1991)

⁴⁸ (Editor, 1977)

⁴⁹ (Patterson, 2003) (Patterson, 2003, p. 161)

⁵⁰ (Mautino, 1980)

reservations is approved at the first meeting of the White House Conference on Library and Information Services Advisory Committee (March 21, 1977).⁵¹

- 1977** First meeting of the Advisory Committee of the White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services on or Near Reservations held in Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 12-19.
- 1978** Second meeting of the Advisory Committee of the White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services on or Near Reservations held, Feb 2-4, Denver, CO.
- 1978** “Improving the Adult Use of American Indian Community Libraries on Selected New Mexico Reservations” program started with a National Endowment for the Humanities grant. Initially led by Lotsee Patterson.
- 1978** Library Training Institute: University of North Dakota
- 1978** White House Pre-Conference on Indian Library and Information Services On or Near Reservations, October 19-22, 1978, held in Denver. (Chaired by Virginia Mathews). Major outcome is the “National Indian Omnibus Library Bill”
- 1978** President Carter signs the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act (P.L. 95-471) allowing tribes to receive additional federal support to operate their own community colleges. Carter also signs the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (P.L. 95-341) and the Indian Child Welfare Act (P.L. 95-608).
- 1978** P.L. 95-561 Title XI of the Indian Basic Education Act of 1978 includes a requirement for BIA and contract schools to have school library media programs⁵²
- 1978** Akwesasne Library and Cultural Center officially became a public library and a member of the Clinton-Essex-Franklin Library System of New York, August 4, 1978.
- 1978** William T. Hagan writes, “to be an Indian is to have non-Indians control your documents from which other non-Indians write their versions of your history.”⁵³
- 1979** National Indian Omnibus Library Bill (NIOLB) passed by delegates at the 1979 White House Conference on Library and Information Services. To be forwarded to the president and Congress.
- 1979** American Indian Libraries Resolution” passed by the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) on December 1, 1979 at its meeting in Denver, CO⁵⁴

⁵¹ (Mathews, 1977)

⁵² (McCauley, 1991)

⁵³ (Hagan, 1978)

- 1979** National Library Act (S. 1124, May 14, 1979) introduced by Senators Javits (R-New York) and Edward Kennedy (D-Mass). Criticism: no mention of Native American Library services
- 1979** American Indian Library Association (AILA) established in Dallas, TX
- 1979** Wisconsin Division for Library Services in cooperation with the Indian Library Services Project, sponsored an all-day conference: "Indian Tribal Libraries: Past, Present, and Future." June 13, 1979, Wausau, Wisconsin, Howard Johnson Motel⁵⁵
- 1979** Lotsee Patterson Smith (Comanche), PhD in Educational Technology, graduates from University of Oklahoma. Dissertation title: "A Study of Perceived Media Competencies of School Librarians in the State of New Mexico"
- 1979** Milwaukee Public Library's Native American Library Project begins with an LSCA Title I grant.
- 1979** American Indian Resource Center (AIRC) was established with the Los Angeles County and Kern County Public Libraries, using a LSCA grant. Originally named Project AmerInd-Library Services to American Indians; shortened to Library Service to American Indians⁵⁶
- 1980** First meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Implementation of the White House Conference Resolution. (The committee of 118). Sept 15-17, 1980. Minneapolis. Their charge was to follow-up on the implementation of the WH Conference resolutions.⁵⁷
- 1980** NCLIS establishes Cultural Minorities Task Forces
- 1980** March 11-12: Eight reps from AZ Indian reservations met at the Fiesta Inn, Tempe, AZ to discuss problems and issues facing Indian community libraries. Nine recommendations, including: training, task force to create plan with AZ State library, secure position for library consultant⁵⁸
- 1980** Native American Information Center at Bacone College in Muskogee, Oklahoma opened September 1980
- 1980** 61 American Indian librarians in the United States⁵⁹

⁵⁴ (National Advisory Council on Indian Education, 1980)

⁵⁵ (Ross, 1980)

⁵⁶ (Reed, 1981)

⁵⁷ ("Ad Hoc Committee on Implementation of the White House Conference Resolutions (The Committee of 118)," 1981)

⁵⁸ (Editor, 1980)

⁵⁹ (Reed, 1981)

- 1981** Statewide Plan for Development of Indian Library Services in the State of Wisconsin Revised
- 1983** AILA advocates for Title IV
- 1983** American Native Press Archives begins at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock
- 1984** Title IV of the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) of 1984, the Library Services for Indian Tribes and Hawaiian Natives Program authorized the Secretary of Education to award Basic and Special Projects Grants to federally recognized Indian tribes and organizations serving Hawaiian natives.⁶⁰ The legislation incorporates 22 resolutions from the WHCLIS, including the National Indian Omnibus Library Bill. Signed by President Ronald Reagan.
- 1984** *Native American Archives: An Introduction* by John A. Fleckner is published by the SAA
- 1985** NCLIS hearings began to be held that revealed improvement and deterioration since LSCA Title IV implementation⁶¹
- 1985** Rhonda Harris Taylor, PhD completed. “The Usefulness of Quantitative and Qualitative Criteria in Library Standards as Perceived by Two-Year College Library Directors and Institutions Accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.” Texas Woman’s University⁶²
- 1985** AILA became an affiliate of the American Library Association (ALA)
- 1985-87** “TRAILS--Training and Assistance for Indian Library Services,” funded by Department of Education Higher Education Act, Title II B. Led by Lotsee Patterson
- 1986** 2nd year of grant money for Indian Tribes and Hawaiian Natives. \$606,177 used to make 185 grants; and \$1,052,073 supported 17 special project grants⁶³
- 1986** Montana Indian Tribal Libraries Group (MITLG) formed by the seven tribal college libraries in Montana⁶⁴
- 1987** January 10, 1987. TRAILS program ends after conducting 12 workshops in 7 states and assisting 74 Indian libraries and Alaskan villages.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ (Biggs, 2000; Mathews & Patterson, 1988)

⁶¹ (Biggs, 2000)

⁶² (Patterson, n.d.)

⁶³ (Mathews & Patterson, 1988)

⁶⁴ AILN Vol 16 No 4 Summer 1994

⁶⁵ (Patterson, 1986)

- 1987** San Diego County Library Outreach Division gets LSCA grant for the Indian Library Services Project (ILSP)
- 1988** Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act Amendments of 1988, reduce bureaucratic and funding difficulties
- 1989** National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) Act, Public Law 101–185
- 1989-91** NCLIS holds five hearings on Native American information services; they find improvement and deterioration of services since implementation of title IV
- 1990** Tribal College Librarians Institute begins at Montana State University
- 1990** LSCA Amendments of 1990 (reauthorization) signed by president on March 15, 1990, effective October 1. Provides separate funding for basic grants and special projects grants.
- 1990** Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) (P.L. 101-601) and Native American Languages Act of 1990 (P.L. 101-477) signed in to law by President George H. W. Bush
- 1990** Robin Kickingbird (Kiowa) named first ALA Minority Fellow. “Building a network of tribal libraries, preservation of tribal archives, and educational opportunities for tribal librarians are among her priorities.”⁶⁶
- 1991** ALA Office of Library Personnel Resources reports 91 Native American employees working in libraries⁶⁷
- 1991** 2nd Pre-White House Conference on Native American Library and Information Services in cooperation with the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). Held March 1-3, 1991. (co-chaired by Lotsee Patterson and Harold Tarbell of NCAI)⁶⁸. Theme is “Indian Libraries: Reclaiming our History, Designing Our Future”
- 1991** NCLIS and National Indian Policy Center hold Forum on Native American Library, Information, and Archival Services, May, 22-23, 1991. Select Committee on Indian Affairs, U.S. Senate: Oversight Hearings on Native American Libraries, Archives and Information Services, Washington, DC. May 23, 1991. Senator Daniel Inouye, Chair.⁶⁹
- 1991** NCLIS releases *Strategic Plan for the Development of Library and Information Services to Native Americans*

⁶⁶ (“Kickingbird Named First ALA Minority Fellow,” 1990)

⁶⁷ (Roy, 1999)

⁶⁸ (Biggs, 2000)

⁶⁹ (Patterson, n.d.)

- 1992** NCLIS releases *Pathways to Excellence* report, a result of nationwide hearings, interviews, and visits to Indian reservations.
- 1992** Presidential Proclamation designating 1992 as the “Year of the American Indian”
- 1994** Barbara Billey (Diné, San Juan College Library) elected as the first Native American president of the New Mexico Library Association. Veronica Peynetsa (Zuni) has served her library for 17 years (in 1994), and received a Community Achievement Award at the NMLA April 1994 Conference⁷⁰
- 1994** “The NM Tribal Libraries Program was developed in 1994 in response to a call by State Senator Leonard Tsosie for improved library services and Internet access in New Mexico tribal communities. The New Mexico State Library rose to the challenge and created the Tribal Libraries Program. Funded for three years by the state legislature, the program initially provided computer equipment in tribal libraries and information centers, technology support, Internet access, and technology and Internet training workshops.”
- 1994** Lotsee Patterson is the 1994 recipient of the ALA Equity Award
- 1994** AILA has over 240 members⁷¹
- 1995** LSCA becomes Library Services and Technology Act (LSTA)
- 1995** Tribal Library Intern Project began by Bonnie Biggs, placed graduate library school interns in two CA tribal libraries⁷²
- 1996** Museum and Library Services Act of 1996 established IMLS. This Act merged the federal programs for supporting the nation’s museums and libraries, transferring the library programs out of the Dept of Education and grafting them into what had been the Institute of Museum Services.
- 1996** President Bill Clinton signs Executive Order 13021--Tribal Colleges and Universities. Reaffirms that tribal colleges and universities need to be supported by the federal government.
- 1997** The New Mexico State Library, with funding from the legislature, established a resource and training center on the Navajo Reservation and placed computer equipment in 33 communities.⁷³

⁷⁰ (AILN Vol 16 No. 4)

⁷¹ (AILN Vol 16 No 4 Summer 1994).

⁷² (Biggs, 2011)

- 1997** Gates Foundation begins their US Library Program to equip public libraries with computing “packages,”⁷⁴ This includes the Gates Native American Access to Technology Program (NAATP). The Navajo Reservation placed computer equipment in 33 communities.⁷⁵
- 1998** IMLS begins annual grant-cycle including grants specifically to Native American libraries and museums (including archival projects)
- 1998** Permanent funding of \$270,000 per year was allocated to the New Mexico State Library to ensure the continuation and growth of the Native American Libraries Project program.⁷⁶
- 1999** 198 tribes receive Basic Grants (IMLS) of \$4,500 each; 38 \$2000 Technical Assistance Grants awarded; 13 Enhancement grants awarded in amounts from \$64,126-\$150,000
- 1999** First International Indigenous Librarians Forum, Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand, November 1-5, 1999
- 2001** Knowledge River program begins at the University of AZ through an IMLS planning grant. Aimed at recruiting Native American and Hispanic MLIS students.
- 2001** First Archivist Circle founded
- 2001** 2nd International Indigenous Librarians Forum, Jokkmokk, Sápmi, Sweden
- 2002** First Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums National Conference Mesa, Arizona, funded by Arizona State Museum and Arizona State Library, Archives, and Public Records
- 2002** The Museum and Library Services Act of 1996 was reauthorized
- 2003** American Indian Records Repository (AIRR) established by a Memorandum of Understanding between the Dept of Interior and National Archives and Records Administration⁷⁷
- 2003** Reauthorization of the Museum Services Act provides new authority support for Native American tribes and organizations that primarily serve Native Hawaiians

⁷³ (Patterson, 2003, p. 161)

⁷⁴ (A. C. Gordon, Dorr, & Gordon, 2003)

⁷⁵ (Patterson, 2003, p. 161)

⁷⁶ (John, 2013)

⁷⁷ (Krebs, 2012)

- 2003** First California Library Association's Native Libraries Round Table, established on November 15, 2003, by Bonnie Biggs⁷⁸
- 2003** University of Texas at Austin iSchool receives IMLS funding for Honoring Generations program to recruit 6 Native Americans to pursue master's degrees in librarianship in their residence program
- 2003** Knowledge River at the Univ of AZ receives \$377,012 grant from IMLS to begin program.
- 2003** Summer 2003: State of CA hosted the first ever Western Archives Institute devoted to training Native American and tribal archivists.⁷⁹
- 2003** 3rd International Indigenous Librarians Forum, Santa Fe, NM, hosted by AILA
- 2004** National Museum of the America Indian (NMAI) opens in Washington, DC
- 2005** The 2005 Oregon Legislative Assembly passed HB 2674, which included tribal libraries in statutes authorizing the provision of financial assistance and resource sharing grants to Oregon libraries. The Oregon State Library supported the bill, and the State Librarian testified for it in both the House and Senate subcommittees.”⁸⁰
- 2005** SAA Council approves formation of the Native American Archives Roundtable
- 2005** First tribal libraries allowed to be federal depository libraries⁸¹
- 2005** Tribal Archives, Libraries, Museums National Conference held in Arizona
- 2005** Knowledge River at the University of AZ receives \$990,174 grant from IMLS to continue to program
- 2005** 4th IILF, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada
- 2006** Protocols for Native American Archival Materials drafted
- 2006** 1st Joint Conference of Librarians of Color – Dallas, TX
- 2007** Dr. Loriene Roy Elected ALA President, the first and only Native American to serve in this office (so far)
- 2007** Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums National Conference held in OK

⁷⁸ (California State Library, 2005)

⁷⁹ (O'Neal, 2015)

⁸⁰ (Dahlgreen, 2006)

⁸¹ (Thull, 2008)

- 2007** ALA Office for Literacy and Outreach Services funds revision of the TRAILS, Training and Assistance for Indian Library Services
- 2007** SAA Council votes to not endorse the Protocols for Native American Archival Materials
- 2007** United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by UN General Assembly. 144 countries vote in favor, but Australia, Canada, NZ, USA vote against it
- 2007** 5th IILF, Brisbane, Australia
- 2008** National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) office closes. It's work is consolidated into the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS)
- 2008** UW-Madison's School of Library and Information Studies began offering an experimental service-learning based course called Tribal Libraries, Archives, and Museums (TLAM)
- 2008** Knowledge River at the University of AZ receives \$999,860 grant from IMLS to continue to program.
- 2008** Tribal Archives, Libraries and Museums Immersion Institutes held in OK
- 2008** ALA Office of Information Technology Policy convenes meeting on development of policy for Traditional Cultural Expressions (TCEs)
- 2009** Indigenous Information Research Group (IIRG) established at the University of Washington Information School under the direction of Dr. Cheryl Metoyer
- 2009** Tribal Archives, Libraries and Museums National Conference held in Portland, Oregon
- 2009** 6th IILF, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, Ōtaki Campus, Aotearoa
- 2010** Obama declares that USA will sign United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
- 2010** UW-Madison SLIS receives funding for Convening Culture Keepers mini-conferences for WI tribal libraries, archives, and museums
- 2010** San Jose State University launches the Circle of Learning project, "the only scholarship program designed exclusively for Native students who want to earn a fully online ALA-accredited Master of Library and Information Science degree"
- 2010** ALA TCE document *Leadership and Traditional Cultural Expressions: Nurturing Understanding and Respect* presented to ALA Council
- 2010** Association of Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums (ATALM) founded

- 2011** Alaska Native Libraries, Archives, and Museums Summit
- 2011** Knowledge River celebrates 10 years of existence at the University of Arizona. Receives \$844,965 IMLS grant to continue to project.
- 2011** TCE Presidential Task Force final report and recommendations presented to ALA President. The American Indian Library Association (AILA) does not endorse the Traditional Cultural Expressions Task Force Report and expresses its disappointment in the document not acknowledging the views of Indigenous cultures. AILA urges ALA Council to seek AILA's participation in continued education of ALA members about issues involving Traditional Cultural Expressions.
- 2011** ATALM hosts Indigenous Materials Institute in Durango, CO
- 2011** ATALM in Honolulu, Hawaii with Western Museums Association
- 2011** 7th IILF, Jokkmokk, Sápmi, Sweden
- 2012** IMLS awards 14 Native American Library Services Enhancement Grants totaling \$1,644,268; \$552,000 for Native Hawaiian Library Services; \$1,666,000 for the Native American Library Services Basic Grant and Basic Grant with Education/Assessment Option Program (235 grants serving 242 tribes)
- 2012** 2nd Joint Conference of Librarians of Color - Kansas City
- 2012** ATALM Sustaining Indigenous Culture: The Structure, Activities, and Needs of Tribal Libraries, Archives, and Museums
- 2013** 8th IILF, Bellingham, WA, hosted by AILA
- 2013** Alaska Native Libraries, Archives, and Museums Summit (ANLAMS) Librarian Workshop, Anchorage
- 2013** UW-Madison's SLIS program offers Convening Great Lakes Culture Keepers regional initiative to create professional development opportunities for tribal librarians, archivists, and museum curators and Library and Information Studies (LIS) graduate students.
- 2013** ATALM hosts International Conference of Indigenous Archives, Libraries and Museums in Albuquerque, NM
- 2014** IMLS awards \$3.9 Million for library service to Native Americans and Native Hawaiians
- 2014** UW-Madison's SLIS program offers Convening Great Lakes Culture Keepers held in Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin

- 2014** Knowledge River at the Univ of AZ receives \$498,735 grant from IMLS to continue to program
- 2014** ATALM hosts International Conference of Indigenous Archives, Libraries and Museums in Palm Springs, CA
- 2014** ATALM Report: Digital Inclusion in Native Communities: The Role of Tribal Libraries
- 2015** ATALM 2015 International Conference of Indigenous Archives, Libraries and Museums held in Washington, DC
- 2015** 9th IILF held at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, CA
- 2016** ATALM 2016 International Conference of Indigenous Archives, Libraries and Museums held in Tempe, AZ
- 2018** Sandra Littletree, Ph.D. (Diné) graduates from the University of Washington Information School.

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