

Indian property itemized for jurisdictions studied by survey staff: 1926—Continued

Jurisdictions	Tribal property			Individual property							
	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber and stock	Balance of funds in treasury	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber	Funds in banks and in hands of superintendents	Homes, furniture, barns, etc.	Wagons, implements, etc.	Stock, poultry, and miscellaneous
Oklahoma—Continued											
Seger	\$59,109	\$5,000	.....	\$54,109	\$1,522,334	\$1,207,103	.....	\$159,379	\$193,000	.....	\$115,852
Shawnee	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,654,395	1,996,205	.....	338,175	.....	.....	\$83,998
Oregon											
Klamath	31,738,621	1,200,000	\$30,000,000	538,621	4,026,488	1,041,000	\$2,100,000	255,488	200,000	280,000	150,000
Siletz	77,985	20,136	57,849	.....	108,797	31,000	250,000	21,842	8,700	5,800	10,455
Umatilla	86,010	.....	.....	86,010	3,643,038	3,190,507	30,450	76,907	107,000	30,000	200,114
Warm Springs	6,849,821	350,000	6,499,821	.....	953,141	250,000	566,862	11,764	40,000	30,000	114,515
South Dakota											
Cheyenne River	2,888,510	1,478,480	.....	1,410,030	3,398,612	2,662,040	.....	281,447	141,400	65,125	248,600
Pine Ridge	1,125,405	207,556	417,873	500,036	13,124,682	12,240,000	181,700	432,682	105,000	52,000	53,000
Rosebud	514,520	100,000	.....	414,520	22,727,048	19,558,750	.....	1,692,668	740,250	285,350	450,000
Sisseton	4,598	.....	.....	4,598	5,367,143	4,590,025	.....	179,102	121,590	33,769	442,297
Yankton	16,573	.....	.....	16,573	2,650,417	1,970,793	.....	345,593	200,000	30,000	104,031
Utah											
Uintah and Ouray	1,089,392	745,000	34,000	310,392	3,434,333	2,500,000	.....	148,238	168,300	102,000	515,796
Washington											
Colville	5,695,908	1,555,000	4,000,000	140,908	2,434,821	500,000	1,000,000	194,821	250,000	500,000	890,000
Neah Bay	851,853	29,850	675,000	147,003	3,141,175	23,635	108,459	3,932	209,000	32,100	37,050
Taholah	8,844,250	93,470	8,750,000	760	3,333,917	243,203	2,730,600	286,374	49,900	21,040	12,800
Tulalip	187,662	.....	.....	187,662	3,193,130	2,688,020	69,500	476,459	239,550	149,600	46,460
Yakima	5,999,910	1,466,153	4,486,670	47,087	3,281,213	454,798	999,670	377,045	800,000	400,000	339,700
Wisconsin											
Keshena	10,490,065	3,453,590	4,043,137	2,993,338	775,957	.....	.....	595,957	150,000	40,000	80,000
Wyoming											
Shoshone	2,730,613	1,668,246	755,035	367,332	1,251,156	815,024	.....	57,718	28,828	47,141	302,446

NOTE.—The detailed figures do not add across to the total figures in the following reservations: Winnemago, Carson, Walker River, Fort Totten, Shawnee, Siletz, Sisseton, Uintah and Ouray, Colville, Neah Bay, Tulalip and Shoshone. All the figures in this table have been copied from Table 4 in the 1926 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. As it is impossible to know which figures are correct, no effort has been made to adjust them.

CHAPTER XI

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE AND THE ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

A relatively small number of Indians make the transition from primitive to civilized life successfully; the great majority tend to shift from primitive ways to the ways of the poorest and least enterprising of the white population.

The standards of living in nearly all Indian communities are low, among the men as well as among the women. The homes are characterized by poor structure, poor repair, overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and bad housekeeping. The food supply is usually lacking both in quantity and balance. Diseases of a chronic nature are prevalent. Both tuberculosis and trachoma interfere with the ability to make a living and both flourish under bad living conditions. Much extreme poverty exists and the social consequences of poverty are fully as bad in tribes with potential wealth as in tribes that possess nothing.

Though there are some exceptions the women are poor homemakers. Whether due to physical inability, lack of training, discouragement, or general shiftlessness, the idleness of the housewives of many tribes constitutes a barrier to the improvement of home conditions, especially when associated as it often is with improvidence. With the single exception of sewing, the essential household arts are relatively undeveloped even in the more progressive tribes. The proper preparation of food and the care of infants and the sick are in no tribe understood or practiced generally.

The women as a rule are poor spenders of income. Many are like children in spending without a plan and buying what strikes the fancy. The men cannot help them much, for they too spend without an understanding of what is essential to family welfare.

Few women add to the family income by wage earning. As a rule they are remote from industrial centers and few have training

for skilled occupations. Of the small number gainfully employed outside their homes the majority are in domestic service or engage seasonally in the harvesting of fruits and other farm crops. A few are employed in season in fruit, vegetable, and fish canneries.

Many women add to the family income by the sale of the products of the native arts. In some families and probably in one or two tribes as a whole the income from this source constitutes a very considerable amount of the total. Native handicrafts are to be found widely dispersed, varied, and in some localities flourishing. The general tendency, however, is for them to disappear or to degenerate in quality. They are worth encouraging both as a means of adding to otherwise insufficient income and for their social value.

Indian social structure tends to break down instead of adapting itself to the conditions of civilized life. That the family is unstable is not surprising, for it has been subjected to severe strains. Indian families like white families suffer the disintegrating effects of poverty, illness, ignorance, and inability to adjust themselves to an industrial world. Among the Indians these strains are peculiarly great because the race is undergoing a shift from primitive to modern life. They are further intensified by the condition of perpetual childhood in which the Indians have been held, for both the system of education and the type of control exercised by the government over tribal and personal property have tended to loosen family ties. So far no program of the Indian Office has included constructive work with families by workers specially trained to deal with the problems involved in family disintegration. Some work of this kind is necessary to the success of any social program for the Indians.

The fundamental importance of community life, like that of family life, has apparently never been recognized by the government in the treatment of the Indians. Communities have never been organized for the ends the government seeks to attain. Government control has, moreover, operated to break down native forms of organization. The forcible removal of whole tribes to very different physical environments resulting in the disruption of economic life, the detention of large groups as prisoners of war for long periods, the common discouragement of Indian leadership

on the reservations and in the government schools, the disrespect of white employees for native customs and ceremonies, and the assumption on the part of teachers and others in the schools that all Indian ways are bad ways, have tended to break down native social structure. Primitive organization gradually gives way in the face of white civilization and nothing takes its place. As a rule those forms of community activity have persisted that least serve the real interests of the Indians. The habit of wandering, in particular, persists, although it interferes seriously with economic prosperity and the stability of home life.

Efforts to build up the Indians physically and economically can never be highly successful so long as the social life of the people is ignored. The government should develop wholesome community life as an essential part of the process of fitting the Indians for successful life among whites. As an administrative measure community organization would prove much more effective and economical than the present policy of dealing with the Indians as isolated individuals.

The race lacks leadership on the part of the women as well as the men. Native nurses, teachers, and other social workers may hasten the process of development from the primitive state to independent existence in the presence of modern civilization, if only the schools can meet the needs of the most ambitious of the Indian school girls.

In most tribes the efforts of the government have not resulted in materially raising the standard of living, perceptibly reducing the amount of sickness, or increasing very much the Indians' ability to take care of themselves. The Indian women are not to blame for this condition. Their education has been poor. The schools have not been effective. No comprehensive plan of adult education has been tried for any tribe or on any reservation. Government service to homes has for many years been delegated largely to a force of "field matrons." Their number is by no means as large as the number of reservations. In many places, therefore, Indian women are without any help except what is to be had incidentally from the superintendent and other employees, such as clerks and teachers.

With the single exception of a small number of recently appointed field nurses very few employees, either field matrons or

others, have had specialized preparation for their tasks, whereas professional qualifications such as are required by the best white organizations are necessary to this highly difficult type of work. The Indians need specialists in the prevention of poverty as much as specialists in the prevention of disease because the two conditions are associated and each is a contributing cause of the other. In view of the large amount of family and community disintegration, for which government policies must be held in part responsible, the government has a special obligation to seek the help of people skilled in dealing with the problems that involve women in their home relations.

Many Indian girls are in public schools, but the girls of the more primitive tribes are for the most part in the boarding schools of the Service and in the government day schools on reservations. The educational service rendered by these government schools is not satisfactory. In the more advanced years of a few of the boarding schools some good home economics instruction is being given, but relatively a very small proportion of the girls remain in school long enough to get this training. The boarding schools are overcrowded and the education they offer is largely formal in character. As they are now managed their most valuable opportunities for training are overlooked. The schools themselves should represent sound standards of living if they are to inculcate sound standards. Instead of placing out Indian girls at domestic work in the homes of whites where the conditions of living are very different from those on the reservations, the boarding schools should establish a field service to the communities from which the girls come, thus fostering the relation between students and their homes.

For some time to come most of the girls will get their training in the elementary grades, if at all. This is the pre-adolescent period when parents and children should not be separated. The day schools, therefore, offer the best opportunities for reaching large numbers effectively. An added advantage of the day schools lies in the fact that their teaching may be made to fit into the local conditions of life, and the homes may be utilized directly in the educational plan.

Until recently the Indian schools have never attempted to fit girls for wage earning outside of domestic service. At a few of the

large non-reservation schools attempts are now being made to train teachers, nurses, and clerical workers, but this training does not yet equip the graduates for competition with whites from schools of recognized standing, nor does it prepare them for entrance to colleges and technical schools. So long as the schools of the service fail to offer a high school education of accredited standards the doors of colleges and technical schools will be closed to the graduates, and thus the young women will be cut off from all really professional training. School girls are beginning to feel the necessity, or at least the desirability, of self support, and the more ambitious cannot be expected to find in domestic service a solution of their vocational problems.

The government has been trying for many years to develop Indian families to the point of competency, but with little success. That the educational nature of the work has been too often overlooked, especially where adults have been concerned, that the system of education has so largely ignored the family and community relationships of the Indians, and that programs have as a rule been the short-lived attempts of untrained people, are sufficient reasons for the slight success attending upon long years of effort.

Any future program for the improvement of the condition of Indian homes and the preparation of the women for economic competence should include the following features:

1. The natural grouping of the population on geographic lines should be determined, and each such group on the reservation should be organized for the development of wholesome community life.
2. The girls should be taught the practical essentials of home-making in the day schools. These schools could in many cases be made centers for the health and recreation work of the community; if distances prove too great, small boarding schools from which the children can return to their homes at week ends.
3. Economic and industrial training should be provided for parents and other adults in their homes. Adult education should be undertaken with as much thoroughness as the education of children. This involves an industrial program for each reservation, which in many cases should include attention to the development of the native handicrafts. Any such program should emphasize training in the spending of money and the handling of property.

4. Problems attendant upon the disintegration of family and community life, such as dependency, divorce, sex offending and other delinquency, drug addiction, and various other types of personality difficulties should receive special attention and treatment.

5. Scholarships in colleges and technical schools should be established for the most promising Indian girls who graduate from the high schools as an essential step in developing leadership within the race. Non-reservation boarding schools for older boys and girls should offer a high school education conforming with accredited standards.

6. Although health instruction, improvement of economic conditions, and the utilization of family and community resources for the treatment of personal maladjustments are services needed everywhere, the character and amount of work to be done with the women and in the homes will vary widely with the variations in the problems of the different reservations. Expert study should be made of the needs of any given reservation before a plan of community work is formulated so that the types of service best suited to the needs of the people may be secured. State and local resources should be included in the scope of the study, since the Indians must eventually merge into general citizenship.

7. Expert help should be available from the Washington office for the initiating of local programs, and trained workers should be employed for putting such programs into effect. As a requisite for securing and maintaining a competent staff in Washington and on the reservations, salaries and working conditions in the Service should be raised to the standards customary elsewhere.

The problems on the reservations are largely social and educational and bear a strong resemblance to similar problems in the general population now in the hands of persons trained in the methods that have proved successful in the experience of the white race. The Indian Office has a few well trained employees whose work amply justifies the policy of employing this type of person in the Service, as for example the two women in general supervisory positions. Such persons are available for all the lines of work involved in the program suggested if standard salaries and working conditions can be established; they are a necessity if the Indians are to be prepared for release from tutelage.

Until the experience of the country at large in the treatment of backward groups is made available in the treatment of the Indians, they cannot justly be said to constitute a difficult or hopeless problem.

Women as Homemakers. No general statement can be made that is true of all Indian homes. There is as wide a diversity of conditions among Indians as in any other population, and the statements made here are seldom true of all tribes and probably never true of all families of a tribe. They do, however, describe conditions typical of large areas or conditions sufficiently prevalent and important to constitute a social problem throughout large areas.

The Dwellings. All kinds of Indian homes are to be found.¹ There are a few homes of distinct comfort, a few that are like the more modest homes of the white professional class, and many more that do not compare unfavorably with the homes of small wage earners in our villages. But all these are exceptional, not typical. The race in general still lives in primitive dwellings, in tents and shacks, and in small houses poorly constructed, ill kept and in bad repair. With the exception of the Pueblo dwellers and the rich Osages no tribe approximates as good home conditions as even the poorest little village of the Middle West. The nearest counterpart in the white population is the manner of living of the mountain whites of the Appalachians, the migrant families that follow the agricultural harvests, and the squatters along rivers and railroads and on the outskirts of cities.

The primitive dwellings most common in the Indian country are the wickiup of the Apaches, the hogan of the Navajos, and the brush or cactus house of the less progressive Pimas and Papagos. Pueblo dwellings, which are scarcely touched by modern influence, are the development from an earlier civilization and are very different from all other Indian homes. Among other tribes the tent, the nondescript shack usually of rough lumber, and the log house have generally replaced the earlier types of dwellings. On some reservations the government has built houses in considerable numbers. These vary according to available funds and materials from lumber shacks or log houses to attractive bungalows with

¹ For an enumeration of homes visited, by location, see Table 1, page 662.

modern improvements. In many localities a few of the more progressive Indians are to be found living in well built houses very like those of their white neighbors. The Indians in the hills of eastern Oklahoma still live like the poorer whites of the frontier of a hundred years ago. They have the one or two-room log cabin, with the stick chimney and the wide fireplace still used at times for cooking, the floor of dirt or loosely laid rough boards, and the windows small or lacking entirely. Many of these families depend on a spring or a creek for their water supply. Toilet facilities are as a rule entirely lacking.

On the basis of so wide a variety of conditions of housing only a few generalizations can be made:

1. The dirt floor is still the rule in primitive dwellings, in Pueblo homes, and in the poorer lumber and log houses. This is a source of discomfort and illness. Some of the younger Indians now regard a board floor as a necessity.

2. The most primitive structures are better ventilated than the great majority of the dwellings that have replaced them. Most houses have been built without fireplaces, and the Indians have not learned to ventilate through windows. A few of the cheaper houses have board flaps in place of glass frames, or no windows at all.

3. Most houses are better lighted than either hogans or wickiups, where the light comes through a hole in the roof. Even if windows are small a side light is superior for most purposes. Houses, however, are seldom as light as the tents they sometimes replace, and on health grounds most families need far more light than the dwellings afford.

4. Throughout the Indian country a familiar sight is the arbor, a roof of brush or reeds supported on upright posts. This serves the purpose of outdoor work room and living room. It is a primitive contrivance worthy of preservation for reasons of health.

5. It is a question whether the building of houses has improved sanitary conditions. When primitive dwellings become foul they may be burned or abandoned, since they are easily replaced, while tents may be moved to a clean location. But houses being permanent need greater constant care than most Indians seem to know how to give. Throughout vast regions water for household purposes is scarce and is to be had only at the cost of much effort. As a rule toilet accommodations are conspicuous by their absence.

6. There is a high degree of room congestion, owing partly to the fact that dwellings are small and partly to the fact that whole families visit their friends and stay indefinitely while their own homes stand vacant.

The Food of the Family. Indians have a very restricted diet. Of the race as a whole it can be said that the diet consists largely of meat or fish, bread, beans, sugar, and coffee or tea, and is lacking almost entirely in milk and leafy vegetables. In many tribes wild foods, such as roots, nuts, and small fruits, are still in use, and nearly all Indians use some corn and have squash and melons in season. All tribes use some canned goods, but excepting in localities where tomatoes are popular this is seldom well chosen to supplement their other food. Some tribes, notably the Hopis and Cherokees, raise fruits and vegetables in considerable variety and amount and can or dry and store them for use out of season. With the exception of the Navajos few desert Indians keep milk goats. Here and there in the sections where pasture is good, families with milk cows are to be found, but cows are not the rule, even in eastern Oklahoma where the Indians live under conditions more nearly approaching those of their white neighbors. Few of the families who own cows take the trouble to milk them regularly, and in few, if any, of the localities visited is the use of fresh milk the custom of the tribe.²

The diet is often faulty with respect to quantity as well as variety. Some Indians never have enough to eat. Others alternate between starving and gormandizing, a primitive habit that is not discouraged by the government system of rationing. The ration as issued is never satisfactory with respect to food balance and seldom with respect to quantity. The recipients are half starved when they get their semi-monthly supply, and it would require much foresight and self-control to distribute the food evenly throughout the fortnight. The presence of hungry visitors is likely to add to the difficulty, and the result is a feast and then a famine. In some parts of the Indian country there are periods of starvation when the people are reduced to the use of horseflesh. There is much feeling against this. For example one says: "I think horse meat makes us

² Samples of the diets of two tribes are given in Table 5, page 665. These families spent on an average three and one-half times as much for coffee as for milk and cheese.

sick. A great many spit blood and lots of people die." Some of the poorest Indians report that as a last resort they eat animals that they find dead.

Much food is not well prepared. The cooking in many tribes is the hasty kind and likely to be unwholesome. In a great many sections of the Indian country a bread made of flour, baking powder and water fried in deep fat is the staple article of diet and is eaten either hot or cold. Meats and other foods are exposed to the flies during the drying process. Ordinarily food preparation is unsanitary and methods of serving and eating equally so.

The restricted diet is due in part to low income and lack of agricultural resources. Much more important, however, is the fact that the food habits of the Indians are poor. Like the people of other races, Indians are conservative when it comes to adopting new foods. Added to this is the distaste for unfamiliar food characteristic of the undernourished and the sick of all races. Among the people of some tribes superstition still further restricts their tastes. For example, the Navajos are restrained by their fears from eating eggs, one of the most nutritious of foods. Although food habits are difficult to change, the government has had two excellent opportunities to form good habits, namely, the boarding school table and the ration. That these opportunities have been for the most part neglected is due largely to lack of funds but partly also to the fact that the formation of good food habits was not formerly recognized as an important part of education. In the few boarding schools where the children have been given plenty of milk, fresh vegetables, and fruit, it has been amply demonstrated that the taste for these things can be developed.

Very few Indian families understand the relation between faulty diet and ill health. But here and there the young women from boarding school or the children in the day school are attempting to carry the lessons of the classroom into effect, and occasionally an ex-patient from a tuberculosis sanatorium tries to follow at home the regimen of the institution. Some educational work has been done in connection with the Five-Year Industrial Program. A farm chapter member among the Sioux, a worn-looking man of about 60 who had weathered a severe winter with difficulty, said in describing his starved condition: "I'm a great fellow to build air castles, but what I wish most is that I had a good milk cow."

Another Sioux, the father of six small children, said: "If we could get one good milk cow, that is half the living."

Enough such cases exist to constitute evidence that the fundamental rules of nutrition can be taught to the Indians. But in most cases these principles cannot be carried into effect without a considerable change in the manner of life of the families. At present most of the Indians retain some vestiges of their old migratory habits. Various kinds of excursions interfere with a settled agricultural existence. Crops, gardens, cows, and poultry all are neglected when the family puts the padlock on the door and sets forth on a trip which may last from a few days to several months. Whether they go to the cranberry marshes of Wisconsin, or for pine nuts to the mountains of the Southwest, or to the fruit orchards of the Northwest, or to the camp meeting in Oklahoma, or to a rodeo, or to a tribal dance or celebration, the result is the same. When they come home they find the crops injured, the garden dried up or choked by weeds, the cow dry, and the chickens scattered and gone. Later, when food grows scarce, the simplest solution of the difficulty is to butcher the cow. One may sympathize with the desire for the free life of the excursion or tribal gathering and still recognize that the habit of wandering is a most serious obstacle to a varied diet and is, therefore, in large measure responsible for the malnutrition which results in so many cases of disease and death among the Indians.

In general the Indians may be said to understand the culture of vegetables better than the care of animals. Goats and cows often produce an inadequate supply of milk, either because they are not of good breeds or because they are not properly fed or regularly milked. The lack of milk in the diet of the Indians is especially serious because it is the one great protective food that supplements most other dietary deficiencies, but in very few cases are either men or women ready to give the regular care that a cow must have if she is to produce enough milk to supply the family.

Care of Infants and the Sick. In many localities physicians are not to be had; in many the medicine men still flourish. Most Indians are much hampered by tradition and superstition. Relatively few are reached by the nursing service of the Indian Office. Only a small proportion of the girls and young women have had lessons in the care of infants and sick while away at school. Under these

circumstances Indian women could not be expected to know how to care for the health of those dependent upon them or what precautions to take during pregnancy. As a matter of fact, doctors and nurses find them sadly lacking in judgment. The result is that babies die, young children are infected unnecessarily, and the old and hopelessly ill suffer needless discomfort.

To stay at home from excursions because a baby is expected is not generally considered necessary, so that births are a common occurrence at tribal gatherings. The routine of life is little interrupted in any respect by pregnancy. Hopi women often lose their first child because of the long hours of work in the posture assumed in grinding the corn to repay their neighbors for the community contribution to the wedding celebration. On most reservations the majority of deliveries occur without the aid of a doctor or a nurse. The old women who officiate know nothing of sanitary methods, are often needlessly rough, and are helpless in abnormal cases.

Babies are not nursed regularly but are fed when they cry. They are nursed indefinitely, usually for a year or more, sometimes for two or three years, and occasionally for an even longer period. The time of weaning seems to be the crisis in an Indian baby's life, though statistics on this point are too meager to be trustworthy. The process is often a sudden change from the mother's milk to hard food of all sorts, with no milk of any kind in the diet. For example, Pueblo mothers give babies chili, beans, green fruits, or anything they ask for, especially melons in season; the Sioux, especially the full-bloods, put the children on meats and other heavy foods; Cheyenne mothers offer the child a nursing bottle filled with coffee or tea if it frets. Very few children are shifted gradually to soft foods and cow's or goat's milk. The use of condensed milk has, however, become common in some localities, and although this is objectionable, it is better than the more primitive method. In some localities the drinking water is never free from colon bacilli. It is not surprising that a great many Indian babies fail to survive long when breast-feeding ceases.

Other points of child care are very commonly neglected, including proper clothing, regularity of habits, and protection from infection and parasites. The custom of swaddling or wrapping and binding to boards or cradles is still widely practiced. This has the advantage of keeping the baby from sudden chilling, but it does not

allow the free play of the muscles of the back, legs, and arms that the child needs for its normal development. A nurse of wide experience among the Indians says that on the whole the mothers care more for their own personal cleanliness than for the condition of their children. It is not unusual to see sleeping babies very dirty and covered with flies.

Very young children and sick children are taken on long trips or into camp for extended celebrations, with resulting sickness and loss of life. Half-grown children and adolescents are encouraged to attend or to take part in tribal dances, sometimes with serious injury to their health, and persons with tuberculosis are frequently permitted to dance even though they have been warned against it. Excursions to cranberry marshes, where the pickers stand in the water to work, and to the maple sugar camps, where there is much exposure to inclement weather, frequently result in deaths from pneumonia. Even when families are at home and nothing unusual is going on, sleeping and eating lack regularity.

Little is done to make sick or aged people comfortable or to protect the well from them. This is especially serious in view of the fact that tuberculosis and trachoma are prevalent. An old man complains:

If I had a floor in my house I could see better. The dust from the dirt floor gets in my eyes and helps make me blind. I get dust in my mouth and nose and ears.

In many homes it would seem impossible for any member of the family to escape tuberculosis infection under the conditions of living. Often the whole family eats from a common dish, using the fingers; or they may have two or three spoons and cups for the use of everyone. A Navajo school boy, writing about his home, says:

The dishes we possess are usually cups, spoons, and others but they don't wash them right away after using them till it's time to use them again.

Crowded living quarters make the isolation of the sick a difficult problem, and the difficulty is increased by the fact that the Indians are rather sensitive about isolation. If doctors and nurses are accessible the Indians are inclined, like most white people, to ask

them for medicine when what they need is instruction in simple preventive measures.

A custom which no doubt operates to lessen the amount of infection from tuberculosis arises out of superstition. When an Apache or a Navajo dies, the wickiup or hogan is burned with the belongings of the deceased. If the place of residence is a house, it is abandoned. The motive is ghost fear, but some of the Indians uphold the custom on sanitary grounds. A Navajo said in council:

There are too many epidemics of diseases here in schools. I think it is caused by the beds being full of germs. The beds are used too long and too often. Out on the reservation when one of our people dies we destroy his bedding and even his hogan for fear he may have had a catching disease. We destroy everything used by the person. We even destroy the dishes, spoons, knives and forks used by the one who died because we fear the disease that caused his death.

The Hopis give their adobe dwelling a thorough cleaning after a death has occurred, whitewashing the walls and putting new clay on the floor. This is a part of the death ceremonies.

Cleanliness and Order. The majority of Indian homes are characterized by dirt and confusion. On every reservation, however, there are exceptions, and among some Indians the exceptions are many. The Hopis, Zunis, and especially the Rio Grande Pueblos value neatness and order and make much of the condition of their walls and floors. Whitewashing is a frequent process, and pictures, rugs, and bedding are cleaned or aired when the walls and floors are treated. The better homes are very attractive. But many of these same families are not sanitary in their food habits. The women of every tribe are in need of instruction and stimulation to greater effort.

In justice to Indian housewives it must be said that the conditions under which most of them live make cleanliness and order difficult to achieve. Poor housing conditions are in many cases the result of extreme poverty and are beyond the control of the Indians. The structure and state of repair of dwellings is unfavorable to good housekeeping. Houses are dark, walls are rough, roofs leak, and flies have free access to the dwelling. Dirt floors in particular are a handicap, for they soon become uneven and dusty with use. Most homes are entirely without sanitary facili-

ties, and it is difficult to keep clean where water is hard to get. Even where it is not scarce the supply is often at an inconvenient distance. Many Indians haul all the water for household use. Many others depend entirely on creeks and rivers for their supply.

Homes are small and there is much overcrowding both of belongings and of people. It would be impossible to make some of the homes look neat, not because the owners have too many things but because there is too little space for any scheme of convenient arrangement. Where all the household processes must take place in one or even two small rooms, it is not easy to plan a good working arrangement under any circumstances. When these rooms are crowded with people, as they often are in cool weather, the task of performing household duties and of keeping things either clean or orderly must be beyond the powers of anyone.

The degree of room overcrowding in Indian homes is greater than among the whites of the tenement districts of our large cities.³ Of the 366 homes visited on or near reservations by members of the survey staff, for which the number of rooms and the number of persons living in them were secured:

199, or 54.5 per cent,	averaged two or more persons per room
120, or 32.8 per cent,	averaged three or more persons per room
85, or 23.2 per cent,	averaged four or more persons per room
62, or 16.9 per cent,	averaged five or more persons per room
42, or 11.5 per cent,	averaged six or more persons per room

This high degree of room congestion is due partly to the fact that Indian homes are small. More than one-fourth of all these dwellings consisted of only one room, and a larger number of Indians lived in one room dwellings than in homes of any other size. Homes of one and two rooms constituted more than half of the entire number, and homes of one, two, and three rooms, together made up more than three-fourths of the total.

Indian households are apparently somewhat larger than white. Over one-fourth of those visited consisted of seven persons or more. The average number of persons per household was 5.1. This figure does not indicate that families are larger than in the general population, but rather that the Indians share their homes with relatives and friends.

³ See Tables 2, 3, and 4, pages 663 and 664.

The number of persons who can be crowded into small space seems almost unlimited. Ten of the one-room homes were occupied by seven persons each, seven had eight occupants, six had nine, three had ten, and two had eleven. Most of these one-room homes are small. A wickiup with an eight foot radius is not a commodious sleeping place for six or eight people, but it is as roomy as some of the one-room lumber shacks. Two houseboats visited on an inlet of the Pacific were no larger than box cars. In each ten people were living at the time of the visit. In one a 12-year-old girl was dying of tuberculosis. It was impossible to isolate her from the babies of the family. The mother of the other family had lost just half of the children she had borne. She and her husband and six children had two visitors making the kind of indefinite stay so common among Indians. Where they all slept was a mystery. Some houses visited had so little floor space per occupant that the arrangement when all lay down must have required some ingenuity. In hot weather, however, the custom of sleeping out-of-doors is common, and in some localities bedsteads are to be seen outside the year round.

Primitive habits of life still persist. It is the Indian custom to eat, sleep, and sit on the floor. There is little regularity or ceremony as among the whites, in eating and sleeping, their ceremonial observances being a community rather than a family matter. The blanket or skin or quilt on which the Indian sleeps at night often becomes his seat during the day. In wickiups and hogans and tents and sometimes in houses, meals are eaten on or near these floor beds and bits of food are scattered about. Many Indians are adopting bedsteads and occasionally bed linen, but when visitors arrive pallets are made up on the floor in any number desired. Under such conditions it is easy to understand why so many people are afflicted with headlice and other parasites and with so highly infectious a skin disease as impetigo. It is customary among many tribes to air and sun their bed clothing frequently, and this of course somewhat lessens the danger from infections.

Many other Indian homes in which the physical conditions are somewhat better than those just described are equally lacking in the beauties of cleanliness and neatness. This is not because Indian women have no feeling for beauty. Very attractive articles of hand manufacture are seen on display or in the process of making in

homes where they serve to accentuate the dreariness of the house itself. The difficulty seems to be that most of the Indians, excepting the Pueblo dwellers, lack the conception of the home as an object of beauty. Wall decoration is their nearest approach to this conception. Some poor hogans and log cabins have their walls covered with canvas or pieces of corrugated boxes as a background for pictures from catalogs, lithographs of religious subjects, photographs of friends, and choice pieces of beadwork or basketry. The Crows sometimes offer a prize at their celebrations for the best looking tepees, whereupon the walls of the tepees are lined with silk and decorated with pieces of native art, chiefly beadwork. It is quite possible that order and cleanliness might be achieved in many families through association with home decoration. It might prove easier to stimulate an effort toward the beautiful than toward the sanitary.

Here and there evidences are to be seen that health education in the schools and on the reservations, although as yet it is not very thorough-going, is having some effect. Some of the younger Indians know of the relation that exists between bad sanitary conditions and disease, and some improvements are being made in home conditions. Returned students are occasionally instrumental in getting board floors laid, windows enlarged, and houses screened.

Industry in the Home. Considering the economic condition of most Indians it is highly desirable that the homes should be centers of industry. It is true among Indians, as among whites, that where the living depends upon agriculture it is as important for the women as for the men to be able to do many kinds of work, both inside and outside the house. In general it cannot be said that Indian women are either very competent or very industrious, although the women of some tribes, notably the Hopis and the Navajos, know how to do many things and are usually found busy at their tasks. But in many other tribes the industrious housewife is the exception, and there is much sitting about in idleness.

The structure of most primitive dwellings is not favorable to indoor occupations, nor are many of the lumber shacks and log cabins sufficiently lighted to permit of much close work, but on the other hand among the southern Indians various tasks can be done as well out of doors or under the arbor as in the house. Many homes are too crowded with people and possessions to make work

easy. Then, too, equipment and materials for various kinds of work are lacking. Nevertheless, much more could be done to increase the comfort and well being of families everywhere if the desire to work were not lacking, and some observers believe that the women are even less inclined to steady habits of industry than the men.

This is not to say that the Indians are lazy, but rather that they are still primitive in their habits, given to great exertion at times and then to long periods of rest, impatient of routine labor, impatient of direction, and excited to effort only by the need of the moment.

As a race Indians are little concerned about the future. They lack foresight. On the whole the government has encouraged this primitive characteristic and has in some measure developed it by relying upon material relief rather than upon instruction and other forms of personal service in the treatment of poverty. Dependence on the ration in emergencies such as crop failures may be said to have become traditional in some tribes. A part of the difficulty is, of course, the Indians' ignorance of the consequences of intermittent industry. As has been noted already, they seldom understand the relation between diet or sanitation and ill health, nor do they realize that they cannot have a satisfactory food supply or hygienic conditions of life without continuous labor. If a family here or there develops higher standards than their improvident relatives and neighbors, the rules of hospitality operate to reduce their status to the common level.

Like the poor of other races the Indians are caught in a vicious circle. It is sometimes said that the chief cause of poverty is poverty. Indians are subject to the diseases of malnutrition because they are poor; they lack energy because they are sick and undernourished; lacking energy they cannot produce the essentials of life. A Montana Indian states the case as he sees it:

The man who works must eat. If you feed animals well they work well. A person is the same way. He is small and must have good food. It is not because we are stubborn and do not want to work. We do try. The Superintendent knows we try.

No one who has experienced tuberculosis even in the incipient stage can fail to understand that a tuberculous father cannot make

a living nor can a tuberculous mother protect her children from the disease through her own efforts. The vicious circle must be broken by help from outside the family. Even in families in which disease does not complicate the situation, outside help is needed in order to bring the members of the family face to face with their true condition and to supply incentives to industry or to furnish the tools of production.

In the shift from primitive ways to those of the whites there is confusion of values. It is difficult to choose the best from both cultures. Some primitive forms of labor are still practiced although unprofitable, while other desirable household arts are falling into disuse. Reference has been made to the long excursions in search of native foods. These foods are mostly fruits, nuts, and roots, and are therefore desirable to supplement a restricted diet, but they do not compare in dependability of supply or in variety with the food from domestic animals and gardens, which can be had only at the price of constant care in a settled place of abode. Yeast bread is rather popular with Indians and has to some extent replaced the less healthful fried bread, but on the other hand the home-ground flour or meal, which retains some food elements very necessary to a restricted diet, is being replaced by the less nutritious bolted flour from the trader's store. Sewing machines are owned and used to good advantage, but the beautiful old handicrafts are fast disappearing, though the products are still treasured in many families.

The sewing machine is an appliance of the white household which is much appreciated by Indian women and is to be found even amid the most primitive conditions. Indian women sew very well. In various tribes it is necessary to sew at home if the tribal costume is to be worn at all, and some of the women's costumes require a great amount of stitching. Fifteen or twenty yards of material is used in making the dress of the San Carlos Apache, and braid is usually stitched on the ruffles of the voluminous skirt; hence the sewing machine out in the sand near the wickiup. Women who belong to tribes that do not wear a distinctive costume use paper patterns with surprising success. Occasionally a copy of a woman's magazine or of a mail order catalog is to be seen in some homes where it is used as a guide to the fashions. Men's and children's clothing, however, are bought ready made to a far greater extent than women's, often by wives who need to save by making them at home.

That women are more proficient at sewing than at cooking is not surprising, for before they had sewing machines they were used to infinitely painstaking work in the production of objects of utility and beauty. The products of these efforts, such as the bead mocasins or the water jar, are a much more obvious result of labor than are those forms of human welfare that result from the practice of the routine daily tasks of cleaning and cooking, and therefore the handicrafts more easily engage the interest of primitive people.

The fundamental cause of idleness seems to be a low standard of living. The conscious wants of most Indians are few and easily satisfied. This is true of the men as well as of the women, for the men as a rule do not assume their share of the labor involved in making comfortable homes. Houses need painting and screening; roofs and chimneys need mending; floors need renewing. Water and toilet facilities could in many cases be provided or improved. Homes could be enlarged by the building of other rooms. Many homes could be made more attractive by the removal of debris from their vicinity or by planting flowers, shrubs, trees, or gardens. In driving along the road in mixed Indian and white communities it is usually possible to tell which homes the Indians occupy, not because they are different in structure but because they look peculiarly neglected and forlorn.

Superintendents and others who have tried to develop habits of industry sometimes say that if only they could create the desire for material possessions the problem of Indian welfare would be solved. Some of them believe that the automobile is a good thing for the Indians because working to support it sometimes develops steady habits. As a Pima woman put it:

You don't have to work much for food and clothing. You can get along somehow. But when a tire gives out there is nothing to do but go to work.

The problem is hardly so simple as this. Happiness is not to be confused with the possession of many things. Indians can teach whites some lessons in non-material values. But any plane of living must be considered essentially sub-standard so long as ill-health prevails and parents do not strive for better conditions for their children than they themselves have had. What Indian women

need more than a desire for things is a vision of health and the solid enjoyments of life that can be realized in relatively simple surroundings but only at the price of consistent and continuous effort.

The Home in Relation to Industrial Efficiency. Women as homemakers have an indirect relation to industrial efficiency that is no less important than the direct contribution they make through their own labors. Other members of the family are dependent upon the home in great degree for the ability to do effective work. For husband and children the home should supply two needs: first, rest and refreshment of spirit, a renewal for the next day's work; and second, incentive to effort.

How far the home serves the first of these two purposes it is difficult to judge. The difference between Indians and whites in underlying philosophy of life must be taken into account. To the Indian the white man's emphasis on material possessions is probably as strange as the white man finds the Indian's love of leisure and dislike of routine. The Indian's wider sense of close relationship as well as his feeling of responsibility for all the members of his clan and race may be a fundamental spiritual necessity even though it results in crowding his home with relatives and friends and making it anything but a place of peace and quiet. The tie between parent and child is strong and the reverence for elders is great, so it may be that the close mingling of the several generations does not create so much difficulty as among whites; but there is plenty of evidence that the presence of collateral relatives and persons not related complicates family life and frequently results in the loosening of marital ties. Indians can find near at hand both solitude and the enjoyment of beauty in nature, so that the psychological effects of overcrowded households may not be as bad as we know them to be in cities, but congested living does produce sickness and the presence of sickness has a bad effect on the nervous state of those not sick.

To a limited extent the Indians are undergoing a psychological adjustment to white standards of living, as evidenced particularly by the fact that returned students do not fit into their former life. The home is the place of conflict between the old and the new. In some cases the gap between the ideals of the generations is wide and the parents are placed in the difficult position of mediators

between the young people and the grandparents. The clash is much less likely to be severe if the grandparents live in their own separate dwellings. In some localities there has grown up the custom of giving a grandparent complete control of one grandchild with the understanding that the parents shall be left undisturbed in their relations with the other children. Occasionally local conditions have operated to develop progressive ways of living in one sex more than in the other. When the women lag behind the men, as is more often the case, the home does not fulfill its function of renewal of energy as it should.

Too many homes do not supply the second of these two needs. They do not furnish incentives to effort. They fail to generate ambition. Compared with the homes of an earlier generation there has been progress in many tribes. Parents whose own parents were hostile to the schools are willing and often eager for their children to have an education, and this is not always because the schools subsidize the families by furnishing food and clothing. Some parents see that an education is necessary to success in life and wish success for their children. Children with exceptional talents or ambitions sometimes find a sympathetic attitude at home, although seldom a plan for securing further education. But many parents are not so wise. A Sioux criticized his fellows in council as follows:

I'm going to tell the faults of these Indians. Everyone has a fault. They complain not because they are mean but because they are illiterate. Their object in raising children is this: To keep them from hard labor, drudgery of all sorts, to dress up, look neat, to wear cowboy boots and big hat and ride all the neighboring communities horseback idling away profitable time. They forget that the white man works from daylight till dark, putting pleasures aside.

Between husbands and wives the situation is less satisfactory than between parents and children. Apparently little pressure is brought to bear upon the husband by the wife to increase the income, or upon the wife by the husband to disburse it more wisely. A government worker with a wide acquaintance among Indians says that they are complete individualists in running no risk of blame. Husband and wife will therefore take no responsibility for each other's actions, for if they refrain from advice they are left free to quarrel by slurring each other. Mutual distrust is evidenced

by the custom of the wife's accompanying the husband everywhere. Personal relations might be happier were it not for poverty of interests at home.

The Spending of Money. The inability to spend is as serious a handicap as the inability to earn. Some persons and tribes are exceptions, but as a rule Indians are not good spenders. Many of the women do not know the value of money from having earned it. Neither have they the family training and traditions that are so great a help to white women in determining values of commodities. Many are the first generation of shoppers, and as a rule their husbands have little more experience than they themselves. As a Cheyenne River Sioux said:

White people are taught as children the value of money and how to spend it, but we were brought up in a different way. We ate lots of beef. If we see any meat anywhere we are bound to buy it, no matter what it costs.

To many Indians a melon is irresistible, even if it costs five cents a pound and they have little else to eat. There is no plan for the week or month and often no plan for the day's shopping. Some of the more primitive Indians, like the Apaches, buy an article at a time and pay for it, continuing the process until the money is gone. A child's whim may determine a purchase. There is much haphazard spending.

While some merchants and traders help their Indian customers to spend wisely, others take advantage of their ignorance and lack of skill. It is often asserted that local merchants have two prices, one to whites and another to Indians. Some of the Osages believe this to be true and resent it, refusing to buy in their place of residence. Most Indians buy in a very restricted market and few have as yet discovered the advantages of patronizing the mail order houses.

The home economics courses in the Indian schools, especially in the later years of the curriculum, cover some of the fundamental facts underlying intelligent purchasing, such as food values and standards in clothing. But comparatively few women have been reached by these courses, and outside the schools little has been done to educate either adults or children in the spending of income. The government system of doling out individual money has dis-

couraged planning. Then, also, many Indians are convinced that the government misspends tribal funds and have a resentful rather than a teachable attitude of mind. Particularly they dislike the "yellow paper which can be used at only one store" because they "can buy only at the trader's price and not at the market price," and because they must spend it all at one time. Some government employees proceed on the assumption that the Indians are not teachable, while the Indians resent being treated like children. On a northern reservation an old Indian said:

If you had money and did any purchasing you would buy what you wanted and keep the rest in your pocket. But we have to take an order and spend the whole thing. We Indians know how to take care of money too.

His field matron, when asked about this feature of the order system, laughed and said, "Oh, an Indian always spends it all. That's the way with an Indian." If white people were restrained from exercising their judgment in spending money, if they could not experiment and learn from their mistakes, there would be even more poor spenders among them than there are today.

Family Relations. Indian families are subject to the same maladjustments within the family group as are white families. Husbands and wives fall out and separate, children are incorrigible, parents are unreasonable, and other relatives interfere and intensify the difficulties of these primary relationships. It can be said as truly of Indians as of white families that "these maladjustments in the (family) group arise from physical and mental ills, bad habits, ignorances, legal entanglements, together with the element of resourcelessness,"⁴ a resourcelessness not merely material but mental and spiritual as well. Like many poor white families the Indians themselves are often sensible only of their economic and health needs, so that these things constitute the immediate and practical points of approach to the somewhat less obvious but fully as fundamental problems of the adjustments of the members of the family in their relations to each other and of the family to the larger social group.

⁴ Unpublished report of the Committee on Content of Family Social Work at the Annual Meeting of the National Conference on Social Work, Cleveland, May 26, 1926.

Those ills consequent upon industrial strain and upon life amid the congestion of large cities have scarcely touched the Indians. But the shift to cities and to non-agricultural industries is beginning, and here and there the strain upon family life is apparent. A few women are entering wage earning occupations and deferring marriage. In localities near towns and cities some married women find it easy to earn by working in the homes of white people and some husbands find it easy to let them furnish the main support for the family. Indian men are seldom trained for the more interesting occupations and, as has been said before, they are impatient of routine, a characteristic more marked in the men than in the women. Occasionally interracial antagonism constitutes a barrier to desirable occupations. Unemployment or underemployment of the husband, whether from inability to find work or from dislike of available jobs, tends to disintegrate the family the same as in other populations.

In general the family relations of Indians may be said to suffer strain through contact with whites. This is because most interracial contacts are not with white men and women who represent the higher white standards. Here and there Indians have had intimate acquaintance with the more substantial class of white people who have come to them either as missionaries or government employees or who have known them as neighbors, and these Indians have greatly profited by sincere friendships devoid of condescension. Many interracial marriages have proved successful. Far more frequent, however, are the contacts with whites who are trying to exploit the Indians, or who are superior and patronizing or brutal, or who are merely curious.

The Indian has his own code of ethics. It differs in some particulars from the white man's, especially in matters that have to do with family life, Indians are taught one set of principles in the schools and missions and see a very different set in operation. They are told that it is wrong to lie and steal; they hear the gospel of love. But they are victims of lies and broken promises. Both tribes and individuals have been cheated out of their property by white people. Wealthy Indians are even victimized in marriage by whites. White dope and liquor peddlers have demoralized whole communities. In some localities the whites hold the Indians in contempt;

they encourage back door begging and dispense old clothing as a charity.

Under these influences the whole moral tone of the Indian's life suffers. In particular the effects are bad when whites are known not to practice the principles of sex purity that the race professes. Under primitive conditions the tribal customs restrict individuals severely from infringing upon the code, but with the shift from tribal to state control the individual knows a new freedom and may choose to follow neither the old nor the new ethics of family life. Then the cases of illegitimacy and desertion tend to take on the same economic and social significance as in other populations, for with the relaxing of clan authority comes the weakening of clan responsibility for dependent women and children.

Differences Between Indian and White Families. The primitive Indian family differs from ours in two significant particulars:

1. The two-generation family composed only of husband, wife, and children is relatively less significant than in our social organization. The several generations mingle more intimately in the households and the camps, and the grandparents, particularly grandmothers, occupy a more influential position than in white families. The family has a relatively greater obligation to the larger group than among whites. Home life is not so exclusive as with us. Hospitality and guest privileges must be extended even though they interfere with family obligations. Even where these customs are breaking down the form outlives the spirit of hospitality, and guests are offered food even when the members of the family resent the visit and maintain strict silence.

2. The family is less stable than ours. Informal separation and remarriage is common and apparently does little if any damage to social status. Many Indians ignore legal forms and polygamous marriage has not entirely disappeared. In some localities the custom of dismissing husbands is said still to survive in its primitive form; on many reservations the adjustment differs little from desertion and remarriage among whites; among the Osages large property interests have made it necessary to legalize both proceedings. Since Indians are wards of the national government many states do not take jurisdiction in domestic relations, but even if there were state jurisdiction few Indians would have the money to pay for divorce.

Government Treatment of Family Difficulties. Most family troubles and sex irregularities come to the reservation superintendent for adjustment. In some cases the superintendent is able to utilize the Indian court to good advantage in handling such matters. This plan has the merit of bringing the offenders face to face with the public opinion of their own race, although on reservations where factions exist among the Indians the force of Indian sentiment is largely lost. Much or little use may be made of the tribal court. On one of the Sioux reservations in a period of a little over a year 148 of the 271 cases before the court were concerned with domestic relations, nearly all having to do with the marriage relation or with delinquency on the part of children. On some other reservations just as populous comparatively few cases of this nature are brought into the court. For various reasons the superintendents should be relieved of the duty of handling the routine of these matters. They have far too many other duties to be able to give these personality difficulties the study they deserve, and besides they have not the necessary training for this specialized kind of work. A trained assistant working with the Indian court would probably prove a desirable arrangement until such time as the states shall take over this responsibility.

The special treatment of unadjusted or delinquent children has not yet been undertaken by the government, though many employees recognize the need of such work. Lacking specially trained workers the Indian Office has been slow to perceive the fundamental problems underlying the obvious problems of vice and crime. Efforts to correct these disintegrating things are therefore superficial and ineffective. Delinquent children have been sent indiscriminately to the boarding schools where they increase the difficulty of handling all children, not only because their influence on the others is bad, but also because these few difficult ones have fixed the type of discipline for the whole school to the detriment of the many who need little control.

Strains Imposed by the System of Education. Indian families are subjected to peculiar strains growing out of their relation to the government. Some of the projects of the government, notably the appointment of field workers to deal with home conditions, have tended to strengthen family bonds. But on the whole government

practices may be said to have operated against the development of wholesome family life.

Chief of these is the long continued policy of educating the children in boarding schools far from their homes, taking them from their parents when small and keeping them away until parents and children become strangers to each other. The theory was once held that the problem of the race could be solved by educating the children, not to return to the reservation, but to be absorbed one by one into the white population. This plan involved the permanent breaking of family ties, but provided for the children a substitute for their own family life by placing them in good homes of whites for vacations and sometimes longer, the so-called "outing system." The plan failed, partly because it was weak on the vocational side, but largely by reason of its artificiality. Nevertheless, this worst of its features still persists, and many children today have not seen their parents or brothers and sisters in years. A Hopi boy describing his home says:

We used to have lots of fun when we were little fellows. Of course we sometimes get into fight, but since then I never have seen my sisters for seven years, they both away from home like me, so I hope we will all see each other some day.

A Navajo mother said: "I hated to send this boy to school. I knew I was saying goodbye. He would come back a stranger."

But parents know a worse fear than this. On many reservations there is distress because children die away at school. An Apache voiced the general sentiment in a speech in council:

I know the results of the reservation school but when we send our children to non-reservation schools we do not see these children for a long time, and sometimes they die. The reservation school is what we want.

A Hopi, speaking in council, said:

I wish to speak about students educated in non-reservation schools. In the matter of transfer of pupils to other schools, climatic conditions are often different and the child gets sick and yet parents are not notified. We all have children, as you may have, and we are all interested in these children. If a child is taken sick and brought home dead we feel very bad. Often in the case

of sickness parents watch closely. If notified the child might be saved. Parents know the health conditions of the child. We all want our children educated, every one of us, but health comes first. I hope if the child gets sick in a different climate he may be returned home. I wonder if the grades may not be made higher at the day school, for such cases of sick children who have been sent home.

A Ute girl in one of the larger schools writes of conditions on her reservation as follows:

A lot of the young Ute girls that went away to school have gone home and died and the old Ute Indians don't want for us to go away to school and are having trouble about it, most of the girls died from T. B. and there are hardly any young girls on the Ute reservation and old people, they think that soon their will be hardly any more of this tribe and I think one of the nicest things to be done would be for them to have a hospital around Ignacio to care for the sick so they could get well.

Sometimes of course it is the parents or brothers or sisters who die, as in the case described by a girl of the Aricari and Pawnee tribes:

My mother died while I was away at school. Three of my other sisters died with flue that same winter. And so there was just my father and a little sister two years old and a little brother five years old, left at home. When vacation time came I went home to see the folks that remained. But I could not stand to stay at this home. I was always lonely without my mother and the three sisters, and every time I went from one room into another I thought of them and it made me more lonesome than ever.

The real tragedy, however, is not loss by death but the disruption of family life and its effect on the character of both parents and children. The personal care of helpless offspring is the natural expression of affection no less among Indians than among parents of other races. No observer can doubt that Indian parents are very fond of their children, and though the care that they give may be from the point of view of white parents far from adequate, yet the emotional needs of both parents and children are satisfied.

Effects of the System upon Parents. A normal emotional life is essential to the development of parents to full adult responsibility.

In relieving them of the care of their children the government robs them of one of the strongest and most fundamental of the economic motives, thereby keeping them in the state of childhood. One of the most common remarks to be heard in the Indian Service is that the Indians are like children. Certainly most of them retain their primitive characteristics of improvidence. Since the avowed purpose of the government has been to develop the race to the point of full adult competence, it seems strange that the greatest incentive to industry and to provision for the future should have been overlooked. Evidences are not lacking that many tribes are today less industrious, less able to fit themselves to their environment than they were fifty years ago; that they were in some ways better off in their primitive state. Insofar as the government has sacrificed real and vital adult education to the formal education of children in institutions it has handicapped a primitive people in their development, and the Indians have little to show to repay them for the sorrows of broken homes. The loss of children tends still further to disrupt the family through the loosening of marital ties. Normally husband and wife have a strong bond in their common responsibility for children. To take away this responsibility is to encourage a series of unions with all the bad social consequences that accompany impermanence of marital relations.

Effects of the System upon Children. The effects of early deprivation of family life are apparent in the children. They too are the victims of an arrested development. The experience of the white race abundantly demonstrates that institutional children, even with the best of care, have greater health and personality difficulties than children in families. Affection of an intimate sort is essential to normal development. Recognizing this fact the better societies for the care of dependent white children have for many years been placing their wards out in families as rapidly as the very delicate adjustment involved can be made. Even in institutions for the care of dependent white children the children are there because they have no homes or because normal home life is impossible, and very few are taken forcibly from their parents. But many children are in Indian schools as the result of coercion of one kind or another and they suffer under a sense of separation from home and parents. Since initiative and independence are not

developed under the rigid routine of the school, the whole system increases the child's sentiment for dependence on parental decisions and children in their teens go back to their mother with a six-year old's feeling for her.

Under normal conditions the experience of family life is of itself a preparation of the children for future parenthood. Without this experience of the parent-child relation throughout the developmental period Indian young people must suffer under a serious disability in their relations with their own children. No kind of formal training can possibly make up for this lack, nor can the outing system when the child is half grown supplement what he has missed in his own family and with his own race in earlier years.

Sex Morality and the Schools. The boarding schools assume the parental function of moral control but fail in large measure in the attempt to develop sex morality. An underlying difficulty is the wholesale handling of the children, which makes intimate personal contact with individuals impossible. No one can stand in parental relation to two hundred or even to one hundred girls. Then, too, most of the employees are familiar only with mass methods of education and are satisfied with negative rather than constructive means of getting results. They are intent upon preventing irregularities of conduct and attain their ends by forcible restraint. The children are housed in large dormitories, each of which is in the charge of a matron who exercises disciplinary functions. In addition each school has an officer called a disciplinarian. Neither matrons nor disciplinarians are required to have the educational qualifications of a member of the teaching staff. Although here and there these positions are held by employees of good personality, the work is rarely regarded as being fundamentally educational.

Moral education in Indian schools, like health education, is therefore a matter of precept, not training. The children have their twenty-four hours so systematized that there is little opportunity to exercise any power of choice. A graduate of one of the largest schools, speaking of the occasional sex offending of Indian girls engaged in domestic service in cities, said:

At school a girl does everything to the sound of a bell. You eat by a bell; you study by a bell; you work by a bell; you go to bed and you get up in the morning when you hear the bell. Then the

girl goes to the city to work, and she goes out in the evening; and at ten o'clock when it is time for her to go home the bell doesn't ring.

In a number of schools the girls sleep at night like prisoners with the windows nailed down and the door to the fire escape locked,⁵ so that by no chance may boys enter or girls leave the building. We have long ago learned in white schools that we do better without many prohibitions; that in the eyes of students rules exist chiefly for the adventure of breaking them. As a matter of fact some of the Indian schools do not nail down the windows or lock the doors to the fire escape, but attempt instead to put the girls on their own responsibility in this matter. The instances of disaster under this system are no more frequent than under the other and the effect on character is immeasurably better. A Pueblo girl who had attended two non-reservation schools contrasted them with respect to discipline:

Miss A. at B. was like a mother. The girls would go to her and tell her everything. And if they heard that anything was going wrong they would tell her. They were not locked in. Here the girls can't tell Miss C. anything. If they know other girls are going to do anything they won't give them away. The girls talk among themselves and they know they are not trusted and they just seem to want to show people that they can't be trusted. It puts that kind of a spirit in them. They are locked in.

There is no way to develop moral fiber without exercise. Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, writing in the little volume, "Concerning Parents," makes this clear:

The child must come into control of his own emotional forces. This process is as necessary as learning to walk and difficulties and dangers are involved. We do not, however, prevent the child from learning to walk for fear it will fall in the fire or down the stairs. . . . Learning to walk involves the possibility of death or of serious permanent crippling. This is not so true in adolescence though it may appear even more so. These possibilities are at times involved, but if parents will examine closely those activities on the part of adolescents which give them such great concern, they will find, I think, that seldom is either of these dangers involved. At

⁵ The Indian Office has taken steps to correct this practice in those schools where it obtained.

most what is involved—and it is this that is the real cause of the concern, although the parents may not be aware of it—is the possible embarrassment and "disgrace" to themselves growing out of these activities rather than any very great likelihood of serious danger to the child. At least this is clear—whatever the danger, whether to parent or child, the danger in the opposite direction, so far as the child is concerned, is surer and greater.

Many Indian school officers, like the parents referred to by Dr. Williams, seem to feel a personal hazard in the conduct of pupils. Again and again matrons and others say that although some of the girls have had illegitimate children the offense was not committed at the school but while they were at home on vacation or after they had left school, apparently not realizing that the function of education is to fit the children for life and that the test is not what they do under surveillance at the school but rather how they conduct their affairs when put on their own resources.

Many of the school children come from tribes with primitive sex customs not countenanced by whites and in some cases not understood by white employees. Under such circumstances it is doubtful whether direct attempts at wholesale sex education are of any value. More promising would be the study of the elements of the organic sciences, for without this the children can hardly be expected to develop an intelligent respect for the functioning of sex in their own lives.

Attitude of Returned Students Toward Parents. School children long separated from their homes and families lose their sense of reality and tend to idealize their former life. This fact is apparent from the way in which they write of their homes. In the meantime they live under strict discipline that not only fails to accomplish its purpose of moral training but in many cases contributes to an attitude of conflict with authority of any sort. When they return to the reservation many students are bitterly disappointed in their homes and are then faced with a dilemma. As a successful city dwelling Indian puts it:

The child goes back to his home, and then his family will not fit into his ideas of culture. If he gets a home in town among whites, the elder members of his own family will not fit into it.

Many returned students, however, are ill prepared for success in the cities. They have really no choice but to fit into the reservation

life as well as possible. Their elders are sensitive to criticism; they themselves are sensitive to ridicule. It is small wonder that so many of them fail to work out any satisfactory solution of their personal problems and develop into ne'er-do-wells or agitators, or that others escape conflict in a childlike attitude of dependence upon the judgment of their elders.

Strains Caused by Failure to Educate Parents for Economic Independence. In its effect on family life another government practice, though less directly operative, has probably been as unfortunate as that of breaking up families in the name of education. Families have suffered strain because Indian parents have been kept in a state of perpetual childhood in relation to their economic life. Various government practices seem to have had their origin in an implicit belief that Indians are unteachable. Too many people see only two possible ways of handling Indian property; on the one hand with the complete control necessary in the case of a half grown child; on the other hand as a complete release to the Indians to be dissipated straightway. In some jurisdictions the government officers have in effect interpreted their function of guardianship to be a guardianship of funds rather than a responsibility for the training of the wards for an independent economic existence.

Local officers, however, differ greatly in this respect. Some superintendents are men of sympathetic imagination who realize that the Indians like to understand what is done with their property and are capable of understanding. At the other extreme are superintendents who have little respect for the intelligence of their clients. These men do not seem to realize that Indians share with whites in all the essential characteristics of human nature and that it would be not only kind but politic to satisfy them with information in regard to their financial affairs. On reservations where the office is secretive or where the officers are merely arbitrary and do not take the trouble to explain business affairs to their clients, distrust, suspicion, antagonism, and lack of respect for the government and the white race all develop among the Indians.

Lack of Control of Tribal Finances. Spending tribal moneys without the consent and often against the best judgment of the tribe is a particular grievance. Farsighted Indians look forward with concern to the time when tribal funds will be exhausted. The

following statements were made in the council meetings of various tribes:

In the name of our people I ask this commission to use every effort to try to get for us a surgical building for operations. We want it equipped with all modern devices of hospitals up-to-date; we want an X-ray machine and we ask for a trained surgeon who can perform operations. We would like also to have a trained nurse. In order to get a surgeon of the caliber we need we must pay more. These people have a tribal income and some of this can be applied to the salary of a surgeon. This tribal income is small and is paid out in different channels so we do not feel the benefit of it, but if used for a surgeon it will be money well spent.

These children have no income and are denied use of tribal funds. Instead money is taken from these unfortunate children to support agencies in luxury of Solomon while Indians are denied comforts.

When I was a small boy I heard of treaties between Indians and whites: grandfather told us we were to live among white people. Government going to give you rations. I saw agency put up. They issued crackers. Indians got flour they threw away because they didn't know how to use it. You can realize how ignorant we were. It has been one continued waste up to the present time. We have never seen much money and our funds are getting lower and much has been wasted. I've never received money from tribal funds. I wonder if when funds are exhausted they will tell us now we are independent. And these children will be up against it for a start. I suppose the schools will be closed. I wish my share to be set aside so that if I die my children will have it. If they don't these children will take to tramping.

The Indian Bureau makes out plans for us to make a living and we do as they ask. We understand that these plans or experiments are carried on with tribal funds. A matter came up lately that I've been thinking a whole lot about. If they keep draining tribal funds for different plans and experiments that some one thinks of, there will be nothing left. We all have a share in a 3 per cent fund now in the Treasury. But if a child dies he loses his share. I think tribal funds should be individualized and placed to the credit of members. We hear that salaries of many employees in the Indian Service are paid from tribal funds. In this way funds won't last long it appears to me. After funds are exhausted we will lose farms, superintendents, employees, and everything. Amounts are appropriated every year from tribal funds, but we don't get the benefits we are expected to get.

Lack of Control of Family Finances. A note of exasperated helplessness runs through the speeches in several of the councils.

Nothing is so irritating to the more ambitious Indians as to be ignored with respect to their own affairs. To set down the discontent of the Indians merely to the influence of agitators as some superintendents do, is a tactical blunder. Some of the following complaints come from highly intelligent Indians.

Indians are citizens and are held responsible by the state for any crimes they may commit. Then why shouldn't they have a right to administer their own affairs.

Indians are not even permitted to know how much land they have. They are kept in ignorance of transactions with the Washington Office. Concealing information from Indians requiring them to accept orders on the strength of it, by what authority does he get away with it anyway? Indians with no influence with this office have to ask for authority from Washington. Recent storms injured barns and other buildings and we have to wait months for permission from Washington. In the meantime another storm may blow them entirely down.

If the Indian is incompetent the government will protect him. It would be better to teach the Indian to take care of his own.

The U. S. Government has extended protection to the Indians by extending the trust period for 25 years, then for a year and then for 25 years again. This is desirable because Indians are not competent though we may look competent on the surface. The Office has done all this for us and we have no business experience.

The superintendent here rules with iron hand and does not furnish sympathetic aid and help. He does business for the Indians instead of helping them and teaching them to do business for themselves. He will not let an Indian make his own lease but makes it for him. He wants them to let the superintendent make all leases for them. I feel that the agency should be a school to build Indians up to the point where they can take care of themselves. It is wrong not to give a man a chance to run his own business, if he feels he has learned something. But don't wait until he gets his competency and then find out if he is able to run his own business.*

* Again attention should be called to the fact that the variation between the best practice in the Indian field service and the poorest is wide. Criticisms of this character from the Indians at some of the less well administered jurisdictions seemed justified. Such criticisms were by no means universal. They were not made against the better superintendents who regard their task as educational and endeavor to make the Indians understand their economic affairs and to stimulate them to economic activity.

In some cases the more intelligent and energetic Indians, who would like to have some freedom to experiment like their white neighbors, do not find a sympathetic response at the agency. They are in effect treated as completely incompetent till the day they are declared competent. Some officers seem not to know that the natural result of arbitrariness on the part of the guardian is incompetence on the part of the ward. They blame the Indians for squandering money, failing to realize that they themselves are at fault for not regarding their jobs as primarily educational and the chief object of their efforts as the development of the qualities of character necessary to success when government control is withdrawn.

Repressive Character of Interracial Relationships. At some reservations lack of courtesy and consideration for Indians coming to the office to transact business adds to the feeling of discontent. At reservation offices well organized and well staffed, the feeling between Indians and employees is good, and this is apparent to the observer. But equally apparent is the bad atmosphere in other offices where the routine of work is ill-managed and where the clients of the office, even old people, are subjected to very unnecessary hardships and inexcusably long delays in transacting necessary business. The Indians deeply resent an overbearing office attitude, particularly where old people are involved. The following are two of several such complaints:

They use profanity to the Indians and this should not exist. We are human beings and expect to be treated as such. Complaints to Washington result in greater animosity on the part of the superintendent and others. Indians would like a place where they could complain and get justice.

Everyone who goes into the Indian Service should like the Indians and should visit homes once in a while. If they hate the Indians and are afraid to shake hands they cannot get anywhere with them. There is no interpreter at the office and the old people come away hurt.

Such interracial relationships on account of their repressive character are a barrier rather than an aid to progress. When Indians are antagonized by white employees they do not attempt to ingratiate themselves by imitating white customs. The tendency is rather

to cling to the old Indian ways and to assert that these ways are good because they are Indian.

Results in Personality. To say that the Indians are a frustrated race may be an overstatement. It may be true, as some superintendents say, that visitors are likely to be over-impressed by agitators. But after many contacts both with those considered disturbingly active and with those adjudged hopelessly passive, there is a clear impression of a vast amount of frustration resulting on the one hand in revolt or agitation on the part of some of the more intelligent and energetic, or the more restless, and on the other hand in withdrawal into the refuge of primitive ways, a kind of passive resistance.

Results in Family Relations. Whatever injures personality injures family relations. The individual cannot be a good husband, wife, father, mother, or child without being a fairly well balanced person. In these most intimate and fundamental relations the thwarted personality does not function normally and the result is likely to be disintegration of family life.

Most white families have a strong bond in the common financial interests and plans of the members. Husbands and wives assume definite obligations for their children and for each other. Financial plans are made for the future involving personal sacrifices. Ambitions develop for the family as a whole and the welfare of all the others is the concern of each member. Withdraw from many white families their freedom of handling their private finances as they see fit, rob them of their economic motive, and the result would be a great loss to family solidarity.

Strains Due to the System of Relief. How far the Indians are pauperized it would be impossible to say. Practically everywhere there is industrial maladjustment, with little evidence of a keen desire to work. Very commonly the old customs of hospitality are degraded by some Indians who avoid effort by "sponging" off of others. On many reservations there is a strong demand for rations. In some towns and cities the Indians are begging from the whites. A subtle form of begging is developing in the Pueblos where the government has arranged to permit tourists to visit one or two of the most picturesque villages, thus making people and homes the objects of casual curiosity. No home should be a spectacle. Already

little children hardly more than babies approach strangers and offer to dance for pay.

In some places the Indians expect too much help, or rather the wrong kind of help, from the field matrons. Two cases will illustrate this tendency, one reported by a teacher, the other by a nurse:

At A. they had no matron for several months and one of the men from the village came down to the day school and asked when they were going to get a field matron. The teacher asked why they wanted a matron. He said, "We want someone to give us things."

My experience, thus far, in trying to teach individual women in their homes has not been at all satisfactory. One incident may make this statement clearer. A woman whom I had helped to can beets last month (and I understand that she had had help from the field matron before) sent me a note a few days ago asking me to come up and teach her how to can beets. Her idea of being "taught" seems to be that of having a "servant" each time she cans beets. When I tried to show her that she should try and do the work alone this time she only laughed and said, "No, no," . . . I have noticed this tendency to expect the "matrons" to do the work in other homes. Others complain because "they do not bring us food, blankets, and soap as they used to." When I suggest certain foods for the sick, they say, "Got no money," or "Why don't you bring us some?"

Such attitudes of mind are produced by the methods of untrained workers who supply obvious needs of a material nature instead of taking the slower and more difficult course of developing resourcefulness by the process of education.

Rations. Family responsibility has been weakened by the way in which relief has been administered on reservations. The government still pursues policies long since recognized as pauperizing to white families. Rations are a most undesirable form of help and are useless except for the immediate purpose of relieving suffering. To give the same supply of food to each applicant is essentially a haphazard process, since applicants have very different needs. To give without investigation to determine the need is to give unwisely in most cases and unnecessarily in some. To give habitually without a working plan for the social and economic future of the family is to lose the opportunity for constructive work that the occasion offers. The evils of rationing are increased by dispensing the food

publicly at the agency, for this encourages a begging attitude on the part of the Indians.

Government Support of School Children. Another form of relief widely practiced is the support of children in the schools. Unquestionably some school children are without resources and must be supported wholly or in part by the government. But in general the responsibility for the education and support of the children is lifted from the parents far more than is good for them. Even in some of the day schools the children are clothed by the government. Mrs. Elsie E. Newton of the Indian Office reported after her inspection of a South Dakota School in 1919:

At a meeting with the girls I made inquiry as to how many could supply a part or all of their clothing if necessary and three-fourths to four-fifths of all girls present held up their hands. Many now are bringing their own hats, shoes, coats, and sweaters. Since the cost of clothing has soared, our Indian children clothed at government expense do not look very well, especially the boys. They look pretty seedy; the girls because they dress in cotton look neater at less cost.

A tribal school in Oklahoma reports that in all but a few cases the parents furnish the children's clothing.

Apparently the general practice of clothing all the children in boarding schools has its origin in the official passion for uniformity and the assumption that rules and regulations may be made to take the place of trained workers. To apportion the maintenance of the children wisely with reference to parental ability would require a thorough knowledge of family circumstances impossible to get without social workers on the reservations. But if parents could have some share in the financial support of the children in the boarding schools and some voice in the control of the schools, it would promote family solidarity.

Care of Dependent Children. A common device for the care of orphans or other dependent children is to place them in boarding schools. It is not unusual even in the non-reservation boarding schools to see several little four-year-olds who are there because they have no homes. Children of this age are especially ill-fitted for the rigors of the boarding school. Even if they have older brothers or sisters in the school they are out of place among two hundred to a thousand older children. It should not be very difficult

to find homes for such children with relatives or friends of their own tribes, especially since the bonds of relationships are strong among Indians and the love of children great.

Private Social Work with Families. Remarkably little private social work has been done among the Indians. Apart from a few local efforts only the work of the mission boards, the Junior Red Cross, and the Four-H Clubs can be cited. These, while good in themselves, put the emphasis upon the child, not the family. They would be much more successful if accompanied by family work.

Opportunities to experiment, to supplement government effort at its weakest points, to demonstrate the usefulness of the various kinds of social work not employed by the government have not been utilized. An exception, however, was the demonstration of the usefulness of public health nursing among the Indians, made by the American Red Cross a few years ago. The success of this experiment, both in demonstrating the Indians' responsiveness to trained service and in its lasting effects on the work of the Indian Office is unquestioned. At present the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs is supporting two public health nurses in Rio Grande Pueblos and one at Zuni.

Missions have not utilized the opportunity to render an experimental service, but too often have merely supplemented activities already in existence. They have attempted to stabilize families by moral teachings. The use of precept in itself does no harm, but it is a direct means of control while the only effective means are indirect. In an interracial situation where two different codes of the ethics of family life are involved, it is unfortunate to tie up the teachings relating to the right and wrong of these things with sectarian doctrines. Indians become confused with the conflicting teachings of the sects and are likely to discard indiscriminately the ideal of a permanent union in marriage along with minor points of sectarian belief.

Desirable Measures to Promote Family Solidarity. The government obviously should alter those policies that are creating personality difficulties and causing strain in family relationships. Day schools should be established wherever possible and should be developed to take care of all children below high school. Indians should have a voice in determining the disposition of tribal funds.

They should be taught to handle their own finances under proper supervision. No one should be employed in a position involving personal contacts with the Indians unless he likes Indians and regards his work as fundamentally educational. Trained workers should be employed to handle the difficulties of personal adjustment growing out of the shift from primitive to civilized life or resulting from past unsuccessful government practices.

Effective methods of handling the difficulties of personal adjustment involved in family disintegration are not unknown, for they have been worked out in the general population, mostly in the large cities where the strains on families are greatest. Dependency, chronic discontent, idleness, sex irregularities, divorce, drug addiction, and crime are familiar problems to city workers. The methods of dealing with these things involve careful investigation into the underlying causes of the trouble including a study of personal relationships; a plan for the future of the family carefully worked out but subject to change as conditions change or as the worker's insight into the situation becomes clearer; and the enlistment of all available help that the community affords for the correction of unfavorable conditions and the development of wholesome family life. Within the last twenty-five years several schools of training for this type of work have been established and there are at present many trained social case workers connected with city organizations both private and public.⁷

⁷ "The chief objective of social case work is to assist individuals who need such service to achieve what may be for them as complete a measure of self-maintenance as possible. This objective might be itemized as an attempt to develop within the individual his fullest capacity for self-maintenance and at the same time to assist him in establishing for himself an environment which will be as favorable as may be to his powers and limitations.

"Failure in self-maintenance presents itself in many forms. One may be unequal to the task of earning a living, one may be unequal to his responsibilities as a parent, student, employer, employee or teacher. One may be incapacitated through sickness, helpless through lack of adult supervision, unable to withstand temptation, injuriously affected by the ordinary experiences of life. Failure does not necessarily imply fault. A large part of social case work is concerned with children who are not receiving the kind of care that for them is necessary to self-maintenance, as the term is used here, and to which the present standards of society entitle them. If any one or a combination of these and other factors prevent one from achieving an acceptable adjustment to life and its demands, there may be evidence of a greater or less degree of self-maintenance. The organizations through which

Some of the specific problems of racial groups in the general population bear a strong likeness to those of the Indians. Immigrant families are handicapped by the difficulties of an alien language. They have in some instances very different racial customs from ours. It therefore becomes essential to successful handling of their maladjustments that the social worker understand their customs and their social attitude in order to interpret our life to them and their difficulties to us. The strain between parents and children

social case work is carried on deal with human beings presenting problems such as these or others like them.

"These are not new problems in the history of mankind. They were not discovered by social case work. They have been through centuries the concern of the charitable and the benevolent, of the clergy and the medical profession. The contribution of social case work has been a contribution to a more profound understanding of their origin and implications, to the development of more far-reaching methods of studying and dealing with them, and to a better correlation of the human services of all kinds which are helpful to an individual who is struggling with them. Social case work, in other words, has become both a well-established form of expert service to human beings who have failed in the task of self-maintenance, and an important ally of other services, such as medicine, education, and the administration of justice which also deal with these human difficulties from different points of view.

* * * *

"While the difficulties that beset human beings, therefore, are not new, our understanding of them and the scope of our ability to deal with them are in many ways new. With respect to sickness and some other difficulties, this needs no demonstration. We accept without question the fact of a greater degree of expertness on the part of physicians in the treatment of sickness than a layman can be expected to have. It is not so generally recognized that with the other familiar difficulties, such as conduct, family compatibility, foster-home relationships, lack of progress in school, and failure in economic independence, expert service is possible. We are much more likely to assume that these are difficulties which can be handled through the use of such equipment as is possessed by an ordinarily intelligent human being.

"The fact is, however, that out of our experience of dealing with such difficulties in organized fashion through schools, medical practice, and social agencies, it has been clearly established that the development of human knowledge and experience enables us to bring to bear upon such difficulties a greater degree of insight, a more authoritative understanding, and more far-reaching methods of treatment than the ability and experience even the most intelligent laymen can provide. The knowledge and facility in action that constitute this relatively new form of expertness have been developed partly by educators, partly by the medical profession in general, partly by psychiatry, and over a wider area, by social case work."—From a bulletin of the American Association of Social Workers, "Vocational aspects of medical social work," pp. 7-10 (New York, 1927).

resulting from too rapid a shift from one culture to another is to trained family workers a familiar difficulty, and the methods of dealing with the resulting delinquency are well known. The strain between husband and wife growing out of poverty, inefficiency, and lack of industrial opportunity is to be met with everywhere, and in tenement districts of large cities family disintegration is not much restrained by public opinion.

Social case work with families has been undertaken in many rural communities where the problems of poverty, delinquency, and ill health are outstanding, and the methods worked out in cities have been adapted successfully to country conditions. In practice family case work develops along with rural public health work and home demonstration work, because all these things are only different ways of attacking certain fundamental causes that are due to imperfection in the social and economic structure of the communities, and the specialized workers in each field get much better results when their efforts are supplemented by other lines of work.

The principles and methods involved in family case work with whites are equally applicable to Indians. Since standard training for social case work includes the study of interracial adjustments and since successful experience is impossible without such personal qualities as tact, sympathy, resourcefulness, patience, and ability to coöperate with other workers, well equipped family case workers who have met with success elsewhere, like well trained and successful teachers, doctors, nurses, and other workers whose effectiveness depends largely upon the ability to make satisfactory social contacts, should as a rule be able to get results with the Indians. Some vestibule training is, however, as desirable for this as for other classes of workers.⁸

The difficulty in the Indian Service at present is that with a very few exceptions the government does not now have and never has had trained social workers. The specifications for the position of field matron have always been too low and the salaries have been sub-standard. The ideals of work involved in this position have been high enough, but it has been useless to promulgate them under the circumstances. On many reservations problems have been created because these untrained women have not known how to

⁸ See pages 159-160.

work constructively. The most unfortunate feature of the situation is that the conclusion has in many cases been drawn that the Indians are somehow fundamentally different from the rest of humanity and constitute a hopeless problem.

Trained workers would not be difficult to secure and hold if salaries were even approximately equal to what they can command elsewhere. Experience has shown that the Indian race has a great attraction for many white persons who work in the Service. No other fact will explain the devotion of some fine people working under untoward conditions. This attraction is explained by one of the very few trained family workers in the Service as being at least partly due to the fact that Indians are very sensitive to the opinion of anyone who is their friend and therefore easily influenced to good courses of action. Moreover many Indians are backward because they are primitive and have as yet had little chance to make successful adjustments to civilized life, whereas social work in cities is in large part with the unsuccessful and the relatively incapable members of a race long civilized.

The Field Service to Indian Homes. The Indian Bureau has long recognized the existence of the two great interrelated problems of ill health and low standards of living and has taken steps to remedy them. Besides the employment of physicians three positions have been created with a vision to improving home conditions; namely, the "Field Matron," the "Field Nurse," and the "Farmer." The field matrons and field nurses are concerned especially with the women's task of homemaking.

Field Matrons. The field matron service has existed for more than a quarter of a century. For the most part however it has been ineffective, though occasionally a matron is to be found with some definitely useful training and the personality necessary to create the desire for better conditions of life and to stimulate efforts towards its realization. The Indian Office has had high ideals for these family workers, as is evidenced by the following excerpts from a circular issued to them in 1922 and at various times previously:⁹

⁹ Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs. Education Health supplement to 1919 Health Circular. Superseding No. 992 to Field Matrons, January 5, 1922.