

Tribe	Number of Indians visited in								
	Pacific coast cities			Los Angeles and Torrance			Tacoma, Salem, Sacramento		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
All groups	131	55	76	105	41	64	26	14	12
Apache	2	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Cherokee	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..
Chippewa	4	2	2	1	1	..	3	1	2
Choctaw	4	2	2	4	2	2	..	..	..
Hopi	2	..	2	2	..	2	..	..	..
Klamath	2	..	2	2	..	2	..	..	..
Mission <sup>a</sup>	15	8	7	15	8	7	..	..	..
Mojave	7	3	4	7	3	4	..	..	..
Navajo	10	5	5	10	5	5	..	..	..
Onondaga	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..
Paiute	4	..	4	3	..	3	1	..	1
Papago	10	4	6	10	4	6	..	..	..
Pima	9	1	8	9	1	8	..	..	..
Pueblo	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..
Puyallup	8	5	3	..	..	..	8	5	3
Sioux	2	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
Skokomish	2	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
Yakima	2	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Yuma	3	..	3	3	..	3	..	..	..
Other tribes <sup>b</sup>	14	4	10	7	1	6	7	3	4
Tribe not reported	11	..	11	11	..	11	..	..	..
Non-Indian	14	12	2	10	8	2	4	4	..

<sup>a</sup> Not otherwise specified.

<sup>b</sup> One person in each of the following tribes: Aleute, Assiniboin, Mohawk, Oneida, Pauma, Pit River, Quinalt, Rogue River, Seneca, Sac and Fox, Tuscarora, Ute, Walapai, Wintun.

Los Angeles is credited by Indians and others concerned with Indian affairs with an Indian population of from 800 to 1000. This estimate seems to be roughly confirmed by an official record of thirteen births registered where both parents were reported Indian and of twenty more births with one parent so reported. Visits in and near Los Angeles included more than one hundred Indians. Full blood California Indians predominated among those visited, but members and descendants of tribes living in New York, Oregon, the Dakotas, and other distant states have some representation, as appears in the foregoing table.

As a place of residence Los Angeles appeals to Indians in Southern California for various reasons. It is fairly accessible to Sherman Institute at Riverside, one of the largest Indian schools in the country, of which the Indians or their friends are in many cases graduates or ex-students. More Indian girls are placed "on outing" in and near Los Angeles than in any other place. Los Angeles

offers many industrial opportunities and is the seat of the motion picture industry, which employs Indians.

About fifteen Indian families live in Torrance, a few miles south of Los Angeles. Several hundred Indians were brought to Torrance during the world war to work in the steel industry. They were allowed to settle as squatters on land of one of the steel companies. A few years ago the camp was broken up for sanitary reasons, industrial needs and conditions of the town changed, and only a few Indian families remain.

Indians are scattered all over the enormous area that is covered by the city of Los Angeles. Their homes show complete adaptation to white American standards, but almost as great a range as do the homes of white families selected at random, with probably comparatively fewer examples at the extremes of wealth and poverty. They are scattered about in every type of neighborhood, including expensive residential sections and poorer working class neighborhoods. Neighborhood segregation is slight. Once in a while an individual landlord is reported to have refused tenancy to an Indian on the grounds that he bars all "dark races," but plenty of good homes are available and occupied by Indians, homes as attractive as those which well-to-do educated whites of the business and professional class would desire in the good residential sections of any city. Books, ancestral portraits, oriental rugs, and other high-grade furnishings were found in a few such homes.

The Indians remaining in Torrance are families of skilled intelligent workers ranging from 25 to 35 years of age, who, without exception seem ambitious to succeed in their work and to secure a permanent foothold in civic and industrial life apart from their reservations. They are well housed in attractive bungalows which they rent or have bought in pleasant working class sections. In addition, a few detached Indian men and one married couple live in a row of half a dozen rooms in a sort of box-car-like structure. Charges of carousing in this little group are made by other Indians.

The Torrance Indians mentioned discrimination in the past in the matter of securing homes. They attribute this to the fact that some years ago the Indian employees of the steel mill were huddled in a camp devoid of sanitation, police protection, and other services necessary to maintain any semblance of decency and health. This camp was abolished, it is reported, because Indians from Los Angeles exerted pressure on health and other authorities at Tor-

rance. Some of the whites, made aware of unfavorable conditions by the publicity incidental to the breaking up of the camp, were alarmed over the prospect of persons with low standards of life coming into their neighborhoods and into the public schools. The Indians then had difficulty in buying or renting suitable places on account of the state of public opinion and could no longer tolerate in the newly acquired homes the idle Indians who had formerly "sponged" on the camp dwellers. Torrance Indians say the sentiment against them as neighbors has practically disappeared.

Not a single Indian family visited in Los Angeles was found to be living at a standard definitely below the level of health and decency, or in the primitive Indian style typical of homes on reservations or in the Indian camps heretofore discussed. Housing is satisfactory in all cases, and well built homes are in some instances owned by the Indian occupants. All houses indicate permanent residence in a white civilization. Every home has furniture of some kind, and most of them are furnished with taste, though with little display of Indian arts and crafts. Every family eats from a table while seated on chairs; all have beds and bed linen; all cook indoors on regular stoves. Some poverty was found, but no slum conditions. Good housekeeping is general and in only one case was extravagance or reckless living indicated. Food habits and food preparation revealed nothing peculiarly Indian, excepting an occasional Indian dish as a treat for friends from the reservation or upon some special occasion.

None of the men interviewed is engaged in the learned professions, but some are in mercantile and clerical pursuits, and about the same number work in skilled trades or occupations. The occupations of the forty-one men interviewed are:

Skilled steel workers .....	5
Building trades .....	5
Clerks <sup>a</sup> and salesmen.....	4
Drivers and baggage handlers .....	4
Motion picture actors .....	3
Factory and laundry workers .....	3
Laborers .....	3
Printers .....	2
Proprietors of curio shops .....	2
Other occupations <sup>b</sup> .....	6
Students .....	3
Retired .....	1

<sup>a</sup> The two clerks are a stenographer in a bank and a draftsman with the city engineer.

<sup>b</sup> One person in each of the following occupations: Tailor, policeman, motorman, gas station helper, gardener, and boy "on outing."

An "Indian motion picture colony" is sometimes referred to in Los Angeles, but, according to the casting directors of the motion picture industry, scarcely a dozen Indians are engaged exclusively in this work. Motion picture work has as much lure for the Indians as for the younger whites in and near Los Angeles, and they like to claim the occupation even though by their own statements and the official records of employment, only a few days' work a year is available. Having had a taste of motion picture work, Indians, like whites, want in some instances to do nothing else. An Indian from New York refuses everything except motion picture work, even though he has long periods of idleness, because, as he expresses it, "It would be a come-down to take laboring work when all my friends know I am a motion picture artist." His hard working friends finance him between jobs.

Non-employment for an extended period was rarely encountered, owing no doubt to the fact that in the cities visited unskilled laboring jobs of short duration could nearly always be found as stop-gaps between jobs of greater permanence. Furthermore, the Indians in town with no job prospects and no credit, are likely to take their families and drive back to their reservations in their own or their friends' cars.

Industrial discrimination against Indians is charged by some who have been refused jobs with the statement: "We hire Americans only. We don't employ dark races." Others say that because they are Indians promotion does not come. Still others, however, contend that if the Indian has skill he can find a market for it, and that while such statements as "Many an Indian carpenter is forced to do pick and shovel work" may be true, it is true also of whites. The difficulty sometimes results from the fact that the vocational training in Indian schools is not a real apprenticeship; that schools do not make this clear to the boy, and so he places false evaluation on his skill; that the school has no means of really teaching trades, and the Indian gets a jolt when he discovers the truth.

Two Indians who were taught printing in the Indian schools have achieved printing offices of their own in Los Angeles, and several more are reported working as journeyman printers. Their experience, however, appears to be rather exceptional.

A successful journeyman painter and decorator, a Papago, asserts that the methods of Indian school teaching in his craft were

archaic and inadequate, and that he was much discouraged at the outset because he had to learn the trade all over again when he tried to take it up in Los Angeles.

A young Mission Indian aged 23, who had never lived on a reservation, attended public schools through the eighth grade and then went to a large Indian school for two years, where he studied painting and baking. He found himself unable to qualify in either job after his graduation from the tenth grade in 1920, and so entered upon a four years' apprenticeship in plastering. He is now just beginning to work at the plastering trade in Los Angeles.

Another young man, a Papago, aged 27, maintains himself by jobs in plastering. He had two years of this work at a non-reservation school which he left at the age of 21 in the eighth grade. He is not a skilled artisan, and takes any laboring job available.

An Indian layer-out in a steel construction plant finished eight grammar grades and then one year in public high school. Because he wanted to be an engineer, he then took vocational work in engineering in a non-reservation Indian school, from which he graduated. He states that this school failed to give him what he wanted in mechanics. Nevertheless, he got a job in a boiler shop and eventually became a skilled mechanic. For twenty-five years since leaving school he has constantly been taking correspondence courses in mechanical drafting, gas engineering, structural engineering, and similar lines. He has retained his several jobs for periods of from two to twelve years. He now earns \$2500 a year, but it was his own selection of studies and not the Indian school, he states, that helped him.

Employers without exception pay tribute to the integrity and industry of their Indian employees. The Indians on their part, suffer from a timidity and lack of aggressiveness which prevent them from seeking special recognition. As one employer puts it:

X, who came as a laborer, would have been perfectly satisfied to continue pouring sand, but I wanted to give him a chance for something better and am making a molder of him. People do not understand how to give Indians a chance. The Indian cannot sell himself into a job. He applies with quiet dignity—does not praise himself and does not cringe. He lacks initiative in his dealings with the white man. There is no feeling or discrimination against the Indian but the Indian holds back.

In a steel plant several Indians are employed to do highly skilled work. One of them regularly earns from \$10 to \$14 a day, his annual earnings being well over \$3000 a year. Their manager says:

I started in with a prejudice against Indians, but they have won my admiration and respect by their skill and their integrity.

Among the women at least six are known to be graduate nurses, even more than holding their own. Three of these were visited. One is the supervising nurse in charge of a floor in the large county hospital in Los Angeles, one is on the staff of another large hospital, one is attached to a physician's office, and the others engage in private practice at the call of Los Angeles physicians. Approximately a hundred women are employed in domestic service, but about half of these are "outing girls" attending school at the same time. A dozen or more women, although married to men getting along fairly well, are charwomen in office buildings, several go out to do day's work in private families, two are saleswomen, one is assistant in a soft drinks shop, and one a government employee. Several women visited had formerly worked in canneries. Some married women with motion picture experience not aggregating more than a month in a year, felt justified in mentioning it as their occupation. The present occupations of the sixty-four women interviewed are:

Girls "on outing" .....	24
Domestic servants .....	5
Charwomen .....	4
Graduate or student nurses .....	3
Other occupations <sup>a</sup> .....	9
No gainful occupation .....	19

<sup>a</sup> One person in each of the following occupations: Government clerk, motion picture actress, minister, writer and lecturer, merchant, saleswoman, factory worker, laundry worker, janitor.

Motion pictures, automobile trips to nearby beaches and elsewhere, and visits to friends, mostly Indian, are outstanding diversions of Los Angeles Indians. Trips back to the reservation are not reported with great frequency. Some are from reservations far away and others are "landless Indians," who have never lived on reservations, but come from sections where Indians are scattered through the general population.

In Los Angeles an important form of recreation is afforded by two Indian clubs or associations with a definite recreational purpose; namely, the Wigwam Club and the American Progressive Indian Association. Each gives an exclusively Indian dance once a month, the two clubs alternating so that the dances fall bi-weekly on Saturday nights. For these dances a hall is rented, and an admission fee of twenty-five cents is charged; soft drinks are sold. Visits to these dances gave the impression that not even the strictest principal of a high grade white school could object to anything in the behavior or dress of any of the Indians in attendance. A club member active in the dances, says:

They have more than a strictly recreational purpose. They are to teach Indians how to behave. The only other public dances open to them are "tough" and are attended by the lowest classes of whites and of the "dark races." Unless Indians have nice manners they can't progress. If the Indians don't have nice dances of their own in the cities where they live, then their young people will go off to other dances that may be "tough."

"Outing girls" who work in domestic service and attend school are not permitted by the Indian Office to go to these or any other dances. Other Indians deplore this because, as they say, these dances afford about the only frequent, regular, and thoroughly enjoyable recreation that is available for Indians. The substantial Indian residents of the city frankly say they are anxious for these school girls to meet and perhaps later marry from the group of nice intelligent young men to be met at the dances.

Los Angeles has four exclusively Indian clubs. Only one, the War Paint Club, is purely local. Membership in the other three is extended to all Indians in the United States, but club activities are practically confined to Indians in Los Angeles.

1. The American Progressive Indian Association is a dues paying organization concerned with presenting, studying, and trying to understand the problems of all American Indians. Its educational work consists of setting forth the value of citizenship and of exercising the rights thereby implied, such as voting and taking part in civic and social affairs. Its membership is made up principally of Southern California Indians, especially those in Los Angeles. The overwhelming majority have the appearance of being full bloods.

Younger educated Indians are the most active in this group. The older Indians in some instances tend to dwell much upon past Indian history and particularly upon the methods by which the race has been robbed and otherwise wronged. The younger people contend that this is a useless procedure, and that the only thing to do is to "forget that you are Indian"; to "get away from the reservation and take your place alongside the white man in his own stronghold." They say, "If the Indians on the reservation are starving, why don't they get off it and come to town?" They are committed to the ideals of the self-made, and are impatient of lack of aggressiveness in the economic fight to make a living and find a place in the community. Some, however, want more than the assurance of a steady wage in their newly acquired type of life; they would like to live on their own native lands. Although those with this point of view are represented in this Association, yet the most obvious activity is in meeting local recreational needs and developing personality.

The leaders are ethical, intelligent, and far seeing. They are race conscious in a fine sense and are interested in group action looking toward an equitable solution of many peculiarly Indian problems. They realize that a knowledge of the causes of present problems and of the various methods of dealing with them in the past, together with the dishonesties and unfairnesses on the one hand and benefits and gains to the Indian on the other, is essential in dealing with conditions as they exist today and in preventing waste and futility in the future. They concern themselves with bringing Indian life up to a higher plane and breaking down abnormal race consciousness. One of the officers says:

The Indians can secure recognition only if they are articulate and organized. Every Indian has the problem of re-education of himself after he leaves the government school, which is merely a refined extension of the reservation where he is always made to feel "Indian." While he is race conscious he can't compete.

Another of the officers says:

I never got away from being *Indian* until I made the first payment in buying my home. Before then I never could approach a white man and put out my hand and say "How do you do."

This association definitely works to break down race consciousness and to have the Indians put behind them customs and practices that bar them from the benefits available to the dominant race. This attitude is criticized by a white "friend of the Indians," who deplors their "losing their picturesqueness," and adds: "I don't care for the Los Angeles Indians; they want to be like whites."

2. The Wa-tha-huck (Brings Light) Club is affiliated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs and is said to be the first club organized for American Indian Women in the world. It is still in its infancy, but has high hopes for promoting culture among Indian women.

The articles of incorporation state its purpose as follows:

1st. To establish and maintain a non-profitable association and to encourage the progressive development and education of American Indian Women.

2d. To cooperate with such constructive movements as have for their purpose the obtaining of the proper social and political status of the American Indian Woman as a citizen of the United States of America.

3d. To supervise and conduct all of the business and financial affairs of the Club and other incidentals thereto.

4th. To raise and receive money by contribution or by any other legitimate means.

5th. To purchase, take in exchange, or to lease, hire, or otherwise acquire any estate or interest in any building, lands, easements, concessions, privileges, real and personal property of any kind wheresoever situated, necessary or convenient for the carrying on of the Club's business.

3. The Wigwam Club of America, in one of its circulars, is described as follows:

The Wigwam Club of America is a social and beneficial organization, composed of American Indians. Motto: "Friendship—Morality—Brotherly Love."

It is founded on the principles of looking to the welfare of Indian boys and girls, supplying all aid within its means to worthy Indians, and to assist in the education of Indians of rare talent.

The Club's only means of raising funds is through giving socials and dances and supplying talent for various entertainments at all times, so long as it is Indian talent desired.

This can be accomplished through the Wigwam Club of America.

This organization is financed by one or two Indians. Its most obvious activity is announced in hand bills as "a great Indian summer picnic, held on the last Sunday of October" at a municipal picnic park of Los Angeles.

Indians of all tribes are specially requested to attend. No admission fee. Monstrous program of speaking and music. Free coffee. Free green corn. Bring your lunch and cup. Picnic starts early in morning and lasts all day.

This picnic draws nearly a thousand Indians from Los Angeles and vicinity, and is participated in by whites who flock in large numbers to the festivities. Native costume and adaptations of Indian dances are given. Some Indians work for months ahead, making curios and objects of Indian art to be sold at the picnic. Orators of the day include not only Indian leaders but other men prominent in public life.

4. The War Paint Club is an organization of Indians who work in the motion picture industry. It serves as a sort of registry or employment agency, and the several studios at Hollywood look to it as a source of supply for Indians to serve as "extras" or to play "bits." It is a dues paying organization, and is concerned with guarding Indians from exploitation in their work and with trying to supply a large number of genuine Indians to play Indian parts that are now often played by Orientals, Mexicans, and others in Indian costumes.

The Indians generally here as elsewhere are opposed to strictly Indian schools conducted by the government or missions. Some, however, choose Indian schools, mainly for economic reasons, but in some instances because they believe in vocational training. The training in athletics and in domestic arts in the larger non-reservation schools was commended.

No public school discrimination whatever was reported. The comments of several principals in schools attended by outing girls generally indicated interest in Indian pupils:

We have three Indian girls in this building. I have never been disturbed by what passes as stolidity of Indians when they enter a group which is strange to them. When they first came to our school I instructed teachers not to push them as I knew they would

soon thaw out. They did and are willing and cheerful in all their school duties. The Indians freely mix with the other girls on the playground, but the terms of the government supervision do not permit of their visiting white homes. The Indian girls here recently gave a tableau as part of a school program. They worked without direction and created a perfect atmosphere for their subject which was "Indians in Arizona."

The two Indian girls here constitute no problem. They stay together a good deal. Both are well adjusted and have no school problems.

The three Indian girls in this school chum together, but the other pupils do not at all discriminate against them. The little Indian girls taught the others an Indian dance. Our Japanese girls are quicker, more alert, and less timid than the Indian girls. But the Indians are steady and their performance is more uniform.

The two Indian girls in this building fit well into the school life. Their adaptation is good, they mingle freely with others, and they are good members of the school community. If we had twenty Indian girls assigned to this school I would not object, but would first wish to have them work as a special group.

By way of contrast, a principal of a school in a fashionable section of Los Angeles says:

This school does not fit Indians at all. We have no opportunity room, but try to give Indian girls easy work. No racial discrimination is apparent on the playground, although the Indian girls tend to gravitate toward one another. One of them fits in with the life of the white girls perfectly. None of the others do. I do not see how they get much out of our school. They may be getting something, however, as they are sent here among white families primarily to be with white people to get something from white homes. From an educational standpoint, however, they get little from our school. The Indian girls are never impudent and some of their apparent sullenness may be stolidity or timidity.

Probably a dozen Indian families live in Sacramento, but several were absent from home, and in some cases addresses were so indefinite that the families could not be located. The five men and five women interviewed were married couples. One Indian woman had a Hawaiian husband, three Indian women had white husbands;

and the fifth a half-breed, the son of one of these three couples, was married to a full-blood Indian girl.

In all cases these families lived up to the standards of whites in the corresponding economic classes. In one family the white husband of a half-blood wife who had been educated in public schools was for years unaware of his wife's Indian blood. They lived in accordance with the best standards of comfort. Only one home suggested an Indian origin. This family had been in the carnival business, and its several members still made and sold bead work, arrows, and war bonnets, and occasionally joined Indian shows and carnivals. In all cases these Sacramento families participate in the social and civic life generally available to others in their own economic group. The belief was expressed by both Indians and whites that Indian blood in itself is no bar to any industrial or civic opportunity. The few Indians visited said they knew of no Indian associations or clubs in or near Sacramento. Separately they were interested in general problems affecting Indian rights, and had resorted to the individual employment of attorneys to handle their relations with the government. By this procedure they said they had secured property rights previously denied by Indian agents.

In Salem, Oregon, fewer Indians were found than reports had indicated. Only four were visited. An Alaska Indian, who was trained as a tailor in a government school, is successfully working on his own account and mingles socially with whites by reason of his pleasing personality and through his trade union and fraternal society connections. Another Indian interviewed was a cabinet maker; he showed no trace of Indian blood, and was completely assimilated into the city life. The two other families seen were both indigent. One showed no trace of Indian blood.

It is stated that Indians pass through Salem from time to time and get jobs. The United States Employment Service in this section of Oregon places about fifty Indian agricultural workers a year. Aside from the statement of employment agencies and lumber companies that the Indians of this section "are not built for logging," Indians seem to have as free a chance as whites in all phases of industrial, civic, and social life, unless individual educational and economic limitations create a barrier.

Reservations have been broken up in the section around the city of Tacoma, and Puyallup Indians are scattered throughout the Puyallup Valley, working the lands. Closer to the coast, some engage in fishing and in selling dog fish oil, a lubricant, to corporations. Of nine Indian families located near Tacoma, only one lives within the limits of the city. No Indian segregation or camp life exists about here, although some tendency may exist for Indians to locate where a few others are already in the neighborhood.

Seven of the twelve Indians interviewed were Puyallups. A successful merchant, a couple of rich land owners, a steel worker, and a dairyman were visited. Three of the families enjoyed a good measure of prosperity and even prominence because of the position they have made for themselves, their interest in public school matters, and their membership on rural school boards. Their homes are well kept according to modern American standards. They include in their furnishings examples of Indian crafts, such as baskets and bead work. In three of the nine families visited it was asserted that race prejudice bars the Indian from certain occupational opportunities. But others who had had a little more education denied that their race is a bar to economic progress and cited Indians in the State of Washington who not only had been successful but had attained a certain prominence, two being in the legislature, one the mayor of Aberdeen, one a county commissioner, and one a bank officer. They cited also an Indian woman rural mail carrier, who was president of the rural carriers' association. One of the successful and intelligent Indian women near Tacoma said:

Indians properly educated have pretty nearly, if not wholly, as good chance as whites. I would go without bread to give my children an education in public schools, for otherwise they will have to take a back seat. If the Indians secure the same education as whites they can compete with whites, but not otherwise.

Relief amounting to about \$330 a year is extended to aged indigent Indians outside of Tacoma by the County Welfare Association. The Charity Commissioner says he has tried to avoid aiding Indians, but the State Attorney General has ruled that indigent Indians are as much entitled to aid as any other indigent citizens. The Family Welfare Association in Tacoma reports that only one Indian family has ever applied for aid, and that no relief was given

because its needs were finally met by relatives. The Tacoma City Visiting Nurse Association has had in the last two years among the Indians one sick child and three expectant mothers. The Indians listed on the County Tuberculosis Records all live outside of Tacoma.

The Superior Court Judge, who also sits as Juvenile Court Judge, has not had an Indian case in two years of incumbency. He has been for twenty years a resident of Tacoma and is interested in Indians. He believes that they have less tendency toward delinquency and crime than whites.

*Cities of the Lakes and Plains.* According to the most reliable local estimates available, the Indian populations of these northern cities are as follows: Minneapolis and St. Paul, about 300 each, Duluth and Superior, from 150 to 200 each; Milwaukee, about 200; and Sioux City, from 100 to 150. Verification of these figures is impossible, but Indian birth and death reports in these cities are at least not out of harmony with these estimates.

The tribal distribution of Indian men and women visited in the cities of this group is as follows:

Tribe	Number of Indians visited in														
	Cities of the lakes and plains			Minneapolis and St. Paul			Duluth and Superior			Milwaukee			Sioux City		
	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women
All tribes .....	343	163	180	166	77	89	40	17	23	88	43	45	49	26	23
Brotherton .....	6	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chippewa .....	132	57	75	94	41	53	31	11	20	7	5	3	..	..	..
Menominee .....	4	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oneida .....	53	24	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sioux .....	32	14	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	53	24	29	..	..	..
Stockbridge .....	7	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	6	7
Winnebago .....	31	16	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	3	4	..	..	..
Other tribes <sup>a</sup> .....	10	3	7	2	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	29	14	15
Not reported .....	5	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..
Non-Indian <sup>b</sup> .....	63	38	25	46	27	19	8	6	2	8	4	4	1	1	..

<sup>a</sup> One person in each of the following tribes: Mission, Mohegan, Omaha, Ottawa, and Sac and Fox.  
<sup>b</sup> Non-Indian husband or wife of an Indian.

In Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, and Superior, and to a lesser extent, in Milwaukee, there are many mixed bloods. In fact one

gets the impression in St. Paul and Minneapolis that most of the persons claiming to be Indians have but a slight degree of Indian blood. From "lists of Indians" furnished by the several reservations, many were reached whose personal appearance indicated French or Scandinavian blood rather than Indian. In a number of cases a claim of only one-sixteenth, one-thirty-second, or one-sixty-fourth Indian blood was made, yet great insistence was put upon the right to be designated "Indian." Some of the so-called Indians were found to be persons generally believed to be white, who were living in the type of home that fairly prosperous young professional or business folk generally enjoy. In Sioux City the Indians have an essentially Indian appearance and were mostly full bloods.

At Sioux City the Indian population is in one sense less permanent than in the other cities of the group. The Winnebago Reservation is within easy reach by trolley, bus, train, automobile, or horse, and the cost of transportation is small. Some Indians make brief sojourns with a certain frequency, but the nearby reservation is home. One woman said: "We don't live here; we just stay in the city because the men can get jobs here." Most of the men engage in labor of a transient character about the packing houses and other Sioux City plants, and when out of a job go back to the reservation. The Indians live exclusively in the poorer working class and cheap lodging house sections. Structurally their houses are secure and city water is in the house or yard. But time and again their beds were found to be without linen; at times members of the family sit on the floor because they have an insufficient number of chairs; and frequently an ugly bareness prevails in the home, traceable less to poverty than to the impermanence of their residence or a lack of training for home-making. In several instances the homes indicate standards of life not much above those prevalent on reservations and in Indian camps.

Settlement in the Wisconsin and Minnesota cities indicates a much sharper break from the reservation and involves an adjustment to the need for making a permanent home. Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Milwaukee are likewise within comparatively easy access of several reservations, but have a number of industries that constantly call for large numbers of unskilled laborers. All varieties of economic condition are therefore to be found, from the poverty of the newly arrived unskilled worker to the comparative affluence of the successful old resident.

The range in standards of living follows economic rather than racial lines. Indians newly arrived are found in cheaply furnished rooming houses with rents comparatively high, or scattered through low rent neighborhoods in cheap flats of one, two, or three rooms in buildings where conditions are somewhat below a reasonable standard of living. Numbers of other well established wage earners are rather attractively housed in pleasant one- or two-family dwellings in better sections. Some of the more successful have attractive homes in the less expensive suburbs.

Indians with much white blood, or to state it in another way, whites whose dash of Indian blood permits their enrollment as Indians, have as a rule spent their childhood or youth in the city where they now reside or in some other white community and usually have been educated wholly or partly in white schools. By academic education and personality development they are stronger in the industrial struggle than recent arrivals from the reservations. Their homes generally show their economic and educational superiority. In some cases they live in homes of some luxury, even exceeding the best homes visited in Los Angeles.

The majority of wives visited are not gainfully employed, but remain at home to care for their households. Excepting in Sioux City their homes were as a rule reasonably well kept.

The occupational distribution of Indians in this group of cities is somewhat similar to that of a new group of foreign immigrants in any of the large cities of America. Many Indians, particularly full-bloods, are "alien" to the white civilization of their native land, and hence are on the lowest rung of the industrial ladder when they first move to the city. A few, however, are climbing up from the bottom. A lawyer, a physician, and a dentist were found living in the cities visited. Several men are high grade salesmen, insurance agents, and the like. Others are draftsmen, stenographers, and clerks. One is a contractor, a few own their own printing or paint shops, some are skilled machinists, and others have been employed for several years in skilled and semi-skilled occupations in large industries. Some, however, even though equipped to do higher grade work, are still unskilled laborers.

Among those interviewed nearly one-eighth were in professional, clerical, and mercantile pursuits. The occupations of the Indians visited in these cities are presented in the following statement:

Occupation	Indians visited in				
	Cities of the lakes and plains	Minneapolis and St. Paul	Duluth and Superior	Milwaukee	Sioux City
All occupations.	163	77	17	43	26
Laborer .....	31	9	5	13	4
Factory operative .	30	10	1	5	14
Carpenter .....	12	6	2	3	1
Other building trades	8	6	2	..	..
Auto mechanic ....	7	3	..	4	..
Merchant .....	6	5	1	..	..
Railroad employee .	6	5	1	..	..
Clerk and salesman.	5	5	..	..	..
Electrician .....	4	1	..	2	1
Stationary engineer.	4	2	..	1	1
Trucker .....	4	2	..	2	..
Tailor .....	4	4	..	..	..
Lawyer .....	3	1	..	2	..
Janitor .....	3	2	1	..	..
Medicine manufac- turer .....	3	1	..	2	..
Pharmacist .....	2	1	1	..	..
Baker .....	2	2	..	..	..
Farmer .....	2	1	..	..	1
Other occupation <sup>a</sup> .	11	6	1	4	..
Not reported .....	5	4	1	..	..
None .....	11	1	1	5	4

<sup>a</sup> One person in each of the following occupations: Auditor, barber, chef, machinist, machinist's helper, molder, motorman, policeman, printer, stationary fireman, taxi owner.

The term laborer covers many industrial workers who have been for years in the employ of city departments; telephone, gas, or electric light companies; and other concerns which require steadiness and intelligence as well as brawn.

In the Twin Cities factory operatives included workers in packing houses and several other kinds of manufacture. In Milwaukee the factory operatives were in automobile plants, as machinists, assembling man, and so on. In Sioux City all factory operatives were in the packing houses. In each city of this group some of the men were doing highly skilled work.

In the packing houses rates of pay range from 42 cents to 50 cents an hour, and weekly earnings run from \$10 to \$30 a week.

In the occupation of laborer, regular wages as high as \$25 a week were reported in a few cases. Several laborers reporting this amount said they earned high wages because their work digging trenches for a gas company was dangerous. Skilled workers in the automobile industry earn up to 90 cents an hour. Information on earnings and steadiness of employment is not available.

An Indian in Milwaukee characterized the industrial prospects of his people as follows:

Indians never have trouble to get work in Milwaukee. The Oneidas all know from childhood that they will have to work to support themselves. Most Indian reservations have no work for Indians better than digging ditches, so those of all tribes who want to be anything must go to cities.

Seventy of the 180 women visited in this group of cities, or nearly four out of ten, were found to be gainfully employed. Their occupations are:

Factory operatives .....	14
Domestic servants .....	13
Charwomen .....	10
Clerks or stenographers.....	6
Seamstresses .....	4
Laundry workers .....	4
Saleswomen .....	3
Graduate nurses .....	2
Merchants .....	2
Telephone operators .....	2
Boarding house keepers .....	2
Bead workers .....	2
Other occupation <sup>a</sup> .....	6

<sup>a</sup> One person in each of the following occupations: Practical nurse, high school teacher, food demonstrator, manager of beauty parlor, manager of cafeteria, and janitor.

In the cities where mixed bloods are relatively numerous, the Indians like other people develop their recreational activities in accordance with their own tastes. Apparently they are not isolated nor are they barred from participation in the social or recreational life that their economic condition permits. They frequent amusement parks, beaches, motion picture theaters, and other commercial amusement places as freely as they desire. Bridge parties and other evening gatherings in Indian homes are sometimes exclusively Indian, but not always. Home entertaining is facilitated by pianos, phonographs, and radios, which are not uncommon in these city homes.

In all these northern cities a very considerable proportion of the Indians visited are automobile owners. Used cars are bought for as little as \$25. Repairs and tinkering by the owner keep them going for a time, but fairly frequently one sees broken parts, such as radiators, seats, and even motors, lying about yards. Good new cars, however, are in many cases bought as soon as money for a first payment is secured. In cases where a too optimistic view is taken of the steadiness of a job, the car is lost for non-payment of monthly installments.

Since most Indians hold to old friendships with the Indian associates of their childhood and youth, the ownership of cars is necessary to free intercourse with friends in remote neighborhoods of the same city. Automobiles also make possible to the owner and his friends the frequent visits back to the reservation at holidays and on other occasions.

Associations designed to deal definitely with enrollment rights and property rights have been formed by the Indians in Minneapolis and St. Paul. The Indians in the other Minnesota cities are interested in the Twin Cities councils, but have their separate groups, less formally organized.

Milwaukee Indians show their interest in civic and political matters in groups of a less formal character. Two or three leaders occasionally summon others of their respective tribes to confer on these matters and sometimes appoint one or more of their number to call upon the superintendents on their respective reservations or even to go to Washington and ask to be heard at congressional hearings. Upon such occasions the city Indians generally work in harmony with one or another of contending groups on the reservation.

Attempts have been made by the Protestant Episcopal and the Roman Catholic churches in Milwaukee to foster associations among Indians, the membership following denominational lines and affording such recreation as is inherent in the meetings themselves. Friendships or friendly feelings between individual Indians and whites active in the Indian associations have been thus generated.

Associations created by Indians themselves for religious expression were not found. The religious expression of the Indians of these northern cities is to some extent involved in Indian cere-

monials participated in once a year and also by occasional attendance at Christian churches, generally of the same denomination as that most closely identified with Indian schools or missions previously attended. But the religious activities of schools or missionaries do not always result in the Indian's continuance as a member of the denomination with which he was identified in school. Active church membership is more generally continued among Indians in Minnesota cities and Milwaukee than in Los Angeles. In the two eastern cities both Catholic and Protestant white church folk are active in fostering the clubs and associations along denominational lines. No complaint, however, was ever heard of coercion in religious matters on the part of any denomination.

Roman Catholic Indians were found to cling more firmly than Protestants to their denomination and to send their children to day and Sunday schools of that faith, although even here neighborhood conditions sometimes have their effect and Catholic children are sent to the nearest Protestant Sunday school. Discussions concerning old Indian beliefs and ethics indicate a slight leaning toward the older faith and customs of Indians, even among the better educated who were longest exposed to missionary activities in school.

The school records of Minneapolis show that some children recognized as Indians are in attendance at eleven of the thirty city schools. A total of twenty-nine Indian children were found enrolled. Two of these children are in high school, six in one of the grade school buildings, five each in two other buildings, four in another, two in still another, and one each in the five remaining buildings. Records of Indian school attendance in the other cities of this group were not available excepting in Sioux City, where the enrollment varies from about twelve to twenty-five, fourteen being in attendance on the day the inquiry was made. In all these cities excepting Sioux City some children attend Catholic parochial day schools. Sioux City families resort to Indian boarding schools to a greater extent than do those in the other five cities of this group. In no place were Indian children reported as creating any scholastic or behavior problems.

**Migrated Indians as Citizens.** The number of Indians in cities and industrial centers is comparatively small, the number represented by this brief study still smaller, but from it the significant fact appears that Indians, full-blood members of primitive tribes,

have been found demonstrating the ability to compete in the modern industrial world successfully. They work alongside white men in various occupations and hold their own.

Employers in the several localities, even where the Indians live in camps, testify that they have the solid qualities of dependability and honesty and other characteristics of satisfactory performance. They lack aggressiveness, however. They are even timid. Anyone familiar with the Indian schools would expect to find this disability, for these schools do not cultivate the qualities of leadership. Few Indians were found in the professions or in positions of large responsibility, but not many can be expected to travel the long road from reservation life to a prominent place in white civilization in a single generation.

Primitive Indian ways, except in the squatter camps, are seldom found in cities. The Indians have houses and furniture like those of the whites in the neighborhoods where they live. They sleep in beds, sit on chairs, eat at tables. They eat much the same selection of food as whites. They generally clothe their children like white children and send them to the public schools if possible. They seek much the same kinds of recreation as white people in corresponding economic positions.

Only when their migration to industrial centers is artificially stimulated do they tend to live in colonies. The significance of this fact is great. In nearly all our large centers of population we have Little Italys, Chinatowns, and similar cities within cities where alien language restricts social intercourse to the colony and constitutes an effective barrier to the adoption of American ways. The government schools have to a great extent broken down the language barrier for the younger Indians. Many speak English more freely than their native tongue. Like whites, they can choose their place of residence for its convenience and depend upon the automobile or other conveyance for keeping them in touch with Indian friends in distant neighborhoods. Their children are growing up habituated to the ways of modern life followed by the general population.

*Community Reaction to Indians.* In not a single city visited did representatives of civic, social, or industrial agencies look upon the Indians in their midst as a special problem to be dealt with in any sense apart from other races. Excepting in Sioux City accessible

records of arrest either did not generally specify the race of the offender, or Indian arrests were said not to have been made. General testimony was that Indians do not tend to become criminal. The worst said of them was that they might become disorderly when drunk. The Indian arrests at Sioux City were practically all for drunkenness or disorderly conduct, and rarely if ever for anything more serious. In other places arrests, even for drunkenness were comparatively rare. Never a bootlegger himself, the Indian is reported to buy liquor with somewhat less frequency than other workers, but to be peculiarly susceptible to the influence of small amounts.

Social and civic organizations in the cities visited expressed an interest in Indians and a willingness to extend to them their respective services. Some county agencies dispensing public funds attempt to deny to Indian citizens in their midst the benefits granted other citizens, under the mistaken impression that "the government supports the Indian." It was reported in California and Washington that legal decisions had been rendered requiring county officers to provide for the wants of indigent Indians as well as indigent whites. In St. Paul and Minneapolis official and private agencies recently considered the advisability of creating organizations especially to minister to the social needs of Indians. After several conferences, representatives of civic, social, and religious organizations decided that special work for Indians would tend to emphasize "differences" between them and others, and that Indian families needing material relief and detached Indian boys and girls at work or seeking work and in need of recreation, all face hazards no different fundamentally from those which confront whites.

Public schools in some cases deny the children of Indian residents and citizens the freedom of public school privileges, privileges that Mexican and other foreign-born groups are penalized for refusing when temporarily or permanently residents of a community. In cities where public schools deny these rights to children of Indian citizens, the government often takes money from tribal funds to pay tuition for children of Indians who live and work in a community. This denial of a right accorded other citizens and this use of tribal funds is bitterly resented by the Indians concerned, especially when they pay land tax.

Education in public schools is the goal of the majority of families visited in cities, excepting the Indians in the camp cities. Educational discrimination against Indian children, which took the form of segregation with Mexicans and other "dark races," was the reason for one family moving to Los Angeles from the city in which they had at first settled. In some cases children are for economic reasons sent to Indian school, even when the parents prefer public schools and such schools are accessible. Approval of or preference for Indian schools was met but rarely. Bitter complaints were made against the system of discipline, the limitation to a half day for academic work, and the requirement of heavy labor by children in the government school. On the other hand, praise of athletics and the teaching of domestic arts was heard on every side.

*Reasons for Migration.* Inquiry into the reasons for migration from the reservation was almost invariably met with the answer, in one form or another, from every migrated Indian man questioned: "No way to make a living on the reservation." The alternative was starvation or pauperism. Sometimes extreme aridity made reservation farming impossible; sometimes it was said the Indian Office denied to Indians the right to work their own land because it was to be leased to whites. The Indians, even if inclined to enjoy such enforced idleness, often found it impossible to live on the lease money. In some cases the lessor would hire the Indians to work their own land, many times at a compensation inadequate to meet the cost of reservation living. Their motive in migrating is almost wholly economic. Returned students, even though little more than children themselves, and despite the best will in the world to "uplift" their race, in many cases see the hopelessness of attempting self support when handicapped by the limited opportunities on their reservations. These former students sometimes over estimate the value of their vocational training or general education in trying to market their ability in a white civilization. The Indian increasingly seeks opportunities away from his people and away from the land granted him by the government in exchange for other lands and other privileges which he and his people have relinquished.

Girls who had worked under the outing system or who had been trained in domestic arts in the Indian schools often found themselves unable to stand the mode of life of the reservation or to

improve it. They "didn't want to stay home and have to marry an ignorant reservation Indian," or "didn't want to be forced to wear the ugly Indian dress," or "had girl friends working in the city." Marriage to an Indian already in the city of course brought some girls from the reservation.

*Permanence of City Residence.* Many Indians look upon their city residence as temporary. They hope to maintain themselves and their families in the city only until such time as they may secure a fee patent to their lands or a permit to work them, or until they realize on pending claims, or until they can save enough capital to go back and operate a farm on the lands of their own people. Some still hold rights or titles to their lands, which are in many cases worked by relatives and friends or to which they return from time to time to put in crops, acquire stock, and so on. Such Indians look forward to the time when they will have enough money to put the land in good shape, buy implements, build homes, and some day retire to the enjoyment of these homes. Love for the lands of their forebears is often expressed. Were it possible to do so, many would create homes for themselves and their families on the reservation, but they assert that the apparently arbitrary and unreasonable restrictions upon the development of farms and homes imposed by employees on the reservation has proved intolerable. Once in the city for an extended period, nearly all Indians regard public school facilities for their children as an urgent reason for their staying there.

The majority of Indians visited, however, are definitely committed to city life and its better economic and educational opportunities and greater comfort in living as well as its freedom from reservation or Pueblo restriction.

They purchase city homes; they acquire furnishings; they find their friends in cities and satisfy their social needs; and they educate their children in the public schools. Especially do they appreciate the city schools, since they wish their children to be better fitted for self support than were they themselves.

*Evaluation of Educational Facilities.* The educational needs of his people probably have as great a place in the migrated Indian's thoughts as economic needs or property rights. In the face of white civilization and competition he considers his own background and the training he has received and finds it inadequate. He has his

children with him in his home, and he recalls that his own family life was practically destroyed and that for many years he was deprived of association with other members of his family. He compares the teaching and rate of progress of his children in public schools with that of children in government or mission schools and finds the government schools lacking. He recalls his experience when he and other Indians attempted to market their skill in competition with persons differently trained, in positions as unskilled, semi-skilled, or skilled laborers. An Indian who has successfully made his way in the city says:

For children like mine, raised with high standards of civilization, the Indian schools do not fit. Schools should be schools and not just Indian schools. Only in this way can the Indian get rid of the terrible self-consciousness from which he suffers. While a man is self-conscious he cannot compete. The government should help the Indians get rid of this self-consciousness in early life.

The quality of the food and clothing furnished in the Indian schools, although supplied mostly without direct charge to the individual families of the recipients, does not escape the criticism of the Indians who have gone out into the world and have had a chance to exercise selection themselves. They claim that the food is often poor or inadequate and the garments unsuitable and unclean. Reference is often made to foot disorders produced by ill-fitting shoes worn in Indian schools.

School discipline and the type of personnel encountered in Indian schools are often recalled by parents with great bitterness and a determination is expressed that their own children shall have something better. They contend that since the government exercised its guardianship by seizing the children and placing them in institutions, it was under obligation to give full consideration to their welfare.

*Social and Family Needs.* The general social and family needs of their people on the reservation are matters of great concern to the migrated Indians. They are concerned either because they still retain homes on the reservation to which they may some day return, or because some of their children may still be on the reservation in the care of relatives, or because, although they themselves never intend to return to the reservation, they cannot relinquish interest in their own people. A successful city Indian says:

The Indian Bureau concerns itself with the money and property of the Indian but gives no thought to his welfare. By welfare, I mean what the Indian feels, his loneliness, his isolation, and his morals in a real sense. An Indian girl was left without parents and no one was interested in her. She went from pillar to post on the reservation but could get no help or interest from the agent. Finally oil was found on her allotment and then the Indian Bureau said she needed a guardian.

*The Attitude Toward Enrollment Policies.* The right to be an enrolled member of a tribe has never been clearly defined for several tribes. Certain Indians in Minnesota and Wisconsin, born away from the reservation to which a parent or grandparent had some claim, contend that such parent or grandparent left the reservation to avoid starvation or in compliance with the injunction of government officers to give up their tribal life and take on white man's culture. On doing this the Indian and his children who were born away from the reservation, under the government ruling were not entitled to tribal lands or funds awarded Indians who had disregarded governmental injunction and remained on the reservation to accept doles and otherwise refuse to obey the government and accept civilization for themselves and their children.

Many Indians recognize that the right to enrollment is a nice legal question and that requirements for enrollment differ among the several tribes because old customs provide that the tribes themselves establish requirements. They contend that, such being the case, the government should years ago have rendered an authoritative decision that would have settled this question once and for all.

Some Indians characterize the enrollment problem, upon which so many property claims rest, as "fights between full bloods and mixed bloods," charging that their reservations were invaded by whites who secured land and timber rights and developed industries there. Full bloods state that many mixed bloods claim Indian descent only for selfish reasons and that many have secured enrollment right through fraud. Descendants of mixed bloods in cities reared wholly under white auspices sometimes claim their rights as Indians but ask that their Indian descent be concealed.

*Personal Contacts with Agency Employees.* City Indians generally complain that agency officers deny them the right to explanation of uncomprehended procedures; that policies are subject to

arbitrary reversal; and that discourtesy and an utter lack of sympathy are often in evidence when an Indian as a ward seeks to present his views and discuss his problems with his guardian. These things, they state, sometimes force them to organize associations through which they may make conditions known to the public.

Most Indians believe that connivance of Indian Service officers in exploiting and cheating Indians is now a thing of the past, but, because of certain past lapses in integrity and because of the present refusal of several agency officers to give adequate explanation to Indians on matters of importance to them, they still have feelings of suspicion and resentment, even though they have left the reservation and have become city dwellers.

*Lack of Confidence in Agency Personnel.* Press disclosures of dishonesty of federal and state officers and the failure of the courts to punish those in high positions are constantly commented upon and cited as a justification for the despair of the Indians in their hope for final justice. They do not believe that the matter of broken treaties and broken promises on the part of the government should be of interest only as an historical fact, but that such obligations as the government entered into with the Indians should never be outlawed. They look to some sort of future organization or association of Indians to open up these matters.

Migrated Indians state that the agency seeks to prevent them from presenting an Indian viewpoint to officers of the Indian Office and other visitors to the reservation, even though they have been requested by their less sophisticated reservation brethren to speak for them. Refusal is made on the ground that they "do not belong on the reservation any more" or that they are "agitators," and often, they say, the superintendent bars them, even if the reservation Indians wish them to act, because they refuse to side with the agency. Whenever government officers visit the reservation, city Indians in Minnesota and Wisconsin send representatives as hearers and speakers, and for this reason claim that they need organizations and associations of their own.

*Susceptibility to White Leadership.* The migrated Indians have on the average more education than the reservation Indians, but they are not immune to the influence of glib talkers who attempt to secure their support for plans to submit statements of Indian rights to magazines, newspapers, or the League of Nations. They are at

the mercy of all kinds of attorneys who assure them of the validity of various apparently fantastic claims.

City Indians even with some education are as susceptible as are reservation Indians to any leadership which offers itself with expressions of kindness or partisanship. As one expressed it, "the Indians have confidence in those who damn the people they damn, and the people the Indians damn are those in the Indian Bureau." Because they play upon past wrongs in the handling of Indian affairs and can cite present instances of injustice, unscrupulous persons without intention to deal with present problems, or incompetent persons who can get no further than talk and agitation have practically as much chance to secure leadership as have intelligent, interested Indians and whites with the intention, ability, and resources for the study and prosecution of legitimate claims through proper channels.

*Indian Theories for Speeding Up Civilization.* Many who are race conscious in a fine sense, spiritually tied to their people back on the reservation or in the pueblo, realize that it is a confession of indifference or blindness to a very big economic and social problem to offer the crystallized solutions implied by such statements as: "Give all Indians their fee patents"; "Pay them all off and let those who haven't sense enough to hold their money lose it right away"; "Abolish the Indian Bureau." They claim that Indian problems have their present complexities and dimensions because in the past they have been met by considerations of expediency and haste without regard to terms of treaties and other facts, as well as because guardianship has been exercised largely on the power principle, enjoining restraint in property and other matters, while seldom if ever affording intelligent guidance, discussion, and participation in personal, social, or economic problems.

Some, however, impatient of the initial delay for a well thought-out program, urge the compulsory removal of children from reservation life so that the next generation may go forward with less strain. To the query: "Would you break up the home?" the reply was often in effect, as it once was actually: "The homes that are broken up are either unfit or practically non-existent. Some have dirt floors. There is no alternative to a ruthless breaking away, although the Indian who successfully makes the break should feel an obligation to help those left behind."

Many Indians mentioned that Congress designates a certain portion of the Indian appropriation "for civilization purposes." They have their own theories as to how the not-yet-achieved end may be hastened. Their pessimism as to the acceptance by the government of any Indian ideas which involve real innovation or reconstruction makes them contend that in coöperation with their brothers on the reservation they must seek by group action and expression to correct certain existing wrongs. The objectives most frequently set forth may be listed without discussion of their merits:

1. Set aside the present denial of the Indian's right to a dignified means of presenting to the agency or department his views and problems on matters affecting his welfare.
2. Prevent the very general discourtesy, harshness, and unsympathetic attitude on the part of agency employees.
3. Break down the refusal to explain to Indians the uncomprehended procedures and inconsistent policies subject to arbitrary reversal.
4. Secure a determination of general or individual enrollment rights, without Indians being saddled with court costs, and with such decisiveness that the arbitrary charges and reversals of the government in the past may not reoccur, and this by some other means than the government's present proposal that Indians incur the expense of legal counsel so that the government may ascertain the Indian's legal status and the accuracy of government solicitors' opinions heretofore accepted by the government and sometimes later set aside.
5. Do away with the present practice of forcing the Indians to lease land they desire to farm; or at least prevent leases and grazing permits at less than current rates in the same locality.
6. Demand reliable bondsmen of lessors and provide for adequate procedures to collect bond for breach of contract.
7. Secure the restriction of non-Indian cattle to the designated leased area so as to prevent devastation of Indian ranges, and authorize the sale of predatory horses that consume Indian ranges.

## CHAPTER XIII

## LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM

The study of the legal aspects of the Indian problem has been confined to broad matters having an important bearing on the social and economic conditions of the Indians. The major findings and recommendations will be briefly presented at the outset and will be followed by the more detailed considerations.

The present situation with respect to the maintenance of order and the administration of justice among restricted Indians on the reservation is unsatisfactory. The United States courts have jurisdiction over them with respect only to certain crimes specifically designated by Congress. Other crimes and misdemeanors if punishable at all are under the jurisdiction of the Courts of Indian Offenses or of the superintendent if no such court has been established. In some instances the state courts have assumed some jurisdiction over restricted Indians, but generally they have withdrawn when their jurisdiction has been challenged. The situation has been briefly characterized by an Idaho court as "government in spots."

The subject of marriage and divorce has been left without statutory regulation, except that children of marriages by Indian custom are declared legitimate for purposes of inheritance. The old Indian tribal forms and tribal morality have apparently largely disappeared, and the present situation among the younger Indians seems to be one of freedom which may at times lead to license. At present the main restraining influences appear to be the Courts of Indian Offenses and the superintendents, who use such powers and persuasion as they possess.

Such great differences exist among the several jurisdictions with respect to such vital matters as the degree of economic and social advancement of the Indians, their homogeneity, and their proximity to white civilization, that no specific act of Congress either conferring jurisdiction on state courts or providing a legal code and placing jurisdiction in the United States courts appears practicable. The law and the system of judicial administration, to be