

# Indian land tenure, economic status, and population trends : part 10 of the report on land planning.

United States.  
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# INDIAN LAND TENURE, ECONOMIC STATUS, AND POPULATION TRENDS

PART X  
OF THE  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE LAND PLANNING COMMITTEE  
TO THE  
NATIONAL RESOURCES BOARD



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**SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE LAND PLANNING COMMITTEE  
TO THE NATIONAL RESOURCES BOARD**

**Published in eleven separate parts**

- PART I. General Conditions and Tendencies Influencing the Nation's Land Requirements
- PART II. Agricultural Exports in Relation to Land Policy
- PART III. Agricultural Land Requirements and Available Resources
- PART IV. Land Available for Agriculture Through Reclamation
- PART V. The Problem of Soil Erosion
- PART VI. Maladjustments in Land Use
- PART VII. Certain Aspects of Land Problems and Government Land Policies
- PART VIII. Forest Land Resources, Requirements, Problems, and Policy
- PART IX. Planning for Wildlife in the United States
- PART X. Indian Land Tenure, Economic Status, and Population Trends
- PART XI. Recreational Use of Land in the United States

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# INDIAN LAND TENURE, ECONOMIC STATUS, AND POPULATION TRENDS

## PART X OF THE REPORT ON LAND PLANNING

—♦♦♦—  
THIS PART WAS PREPARED BY THE  
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

*The National Resources Board assumes no responsibility for the views  
and opinions expressed herein*

—♦♦♦—  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE . . . . . WASHINGTON, D.C. : 1935



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## P R E F A C E

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On November 28, 1934, the National Resources Board submitted to the President, in accordance with an Executive order, its report on National Planning and Public Works in Relation to Natural Resources and Including Land Use and Water Resources. Part II of that report was the Report of the Land Planning Committee. In the course of preparing part II of the above report a large volume of basic data and information was collected which could not then be included. The publication of the present report is for the purpose of making such data and information available to interested persons and organizations.

The present land report has been organized into 11 parts according to subject matter and the contributing agencies. These 11 parts are made available as 11 separate publications. Organization and publication on this basis was done because many persons and agencies are interested only in certain parts of the present report, and the necessity of purchasing the whole report in order to obtain the desired part or parts is thereby eliminated.

The present land report, when conceived as a whole, does not purport to be a complete work on the subject of land utilization, or of its related problems and proposed lines of action; neither is it designed to be a thoroughly integrated piece of work. The primary aim here has been to set forth the facts, analyses, and the recommended lines of action as developed by each of the various contributing governmental bureaus, divisions, sections, or individuals, on the problems with which each of such agencies or persons is concerned. The points of view are, therefore, those of the contributing agencies or individuals themselves. The Land Planning Committee presents the report as

information, but assumes no responsibility for the opinions expressed in it.

This report was prepared under the direction of Dr. L. C. Gray, director of the Land Section of the National Resources Board, aided by John B. Bennett, who served as administrative assistant and as secretary to the Land Planning Committee. Editing and preparation of the report for publication were under the direction of Mr. H. H. Erdmann, agricultural economist of the Land Section, National Resources Board.

Authorship by agencies and individuals is acknowledged in their respective contributions. The following governmental agencies have contributed to the whole report: The Geological Survey, the Division of Grazing Control, the Office of Indian Affairs, the National Park Service, and the Bureau of Reclamation, in the United States Department of the Interior; and the Bureau of Agricultural Engineering, the Biological Survey, the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, the Forest Service, the Soil Conservation Service, the Weather Bureau, the Divisions of Land Economics, of Farm Management and Costs, and of Farm Finance in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Land Policy Section, the Production Planning Section, the Import-Export Section, and the Agricultural-Industrial Relations Section of the Division of Program Planning of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in the United States Department of Agriculture. Credit also is due to the State agricultural experiment stations and extension services, State planning boards, commissions, and other State organizations and individuals for aid in preparation of several sections of the report.

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# INDIAN LAND TENURE, ECONOMIC STATUS AND POPULATION TRENDS

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## Contents

	PAGE
Preface.	III
SECTION I. Complexities of Indian Land Tenure Arising From the Allotment System.	1
Past policy of land liquidation and its results—Unenrolled landless Indians—Heirship complexities of Indian land estates—High cost of administering allotted lands—Readjustment of Indian land tenure—Detailed explanatory notes on unenrolled landless Indians.	
SECTION II. Social and Economic Survey of Selected Indian Reservations.	47
Introduction—The Indian as a producer and his income—Indebtedness—Homes, clothing, bedding—Buildings, implements, and furniture—Education and agricultural training—Incapacitating physical defects—Transportation—Membership in farm organizations—Land—Summary.	
SECTION III. Agricultural Credit Needs of the Indians.	58
Historic background—Indian loan funds—Indian debt ration low—Estimates of amount of credit needed by Indians—Principles of an Indian credit program—Specific recommendations.	
SECTION IV. The Trend of Indian Population.	62
Indians variously defined—Census Bureau figures unreliable—Indian Office "counts" largely estimates—A new registration area for Indian population—An accelerating upward trend discovered—Broadening the bases of trend computations—Growth rates of Indian, Negro, and White populations—Negative research into the eighties and nineties—The three century decline in population—Exaggerated estimates in colonial times—Increasing admixture of white blood—Future Indian population and the pressure upon land—Letters of comment on Indian population study.	

v

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## SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE LAND PLANNING COMMITTEE

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## SECTION I

# COMPLEXITIES OF INDIAN LAND TENURE ARISING FROM THE ALLOTMENT SYSTEM<sup>1</sup>

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### Preface

In the fast-moving drama of American land use and abuse, the Indian has always played the tragic role. The white man found him in possession of a continent whose resources the Indian had barely touched. Not 1 percent of the immense area of agriculturally valuable topsoil, virgin timber, and mineral resources was used intensively by the indigenous Indian population. On the vast reaches of grass-covered plains a finely adjusted equilibrium had been established between the herds of bison, antelope, and deer on one side; the Indians and the predatory carnivora on the other; and the safe carrying capacity of the range on the third side of the triangle.

Into this balanced, almost untouched natural economy crashed the aggressive white culture, with its constantly improving technological equipment for exploitation. The Indian had to go. Unable, unwilling to use more than 1 percent of the continental resources, he had to yield to the race which was willing and able to exploit, consume, waste, or dissipate, in two centuries, the accretions of the historic and geologic past.

The Indian did go. He was dispossessed, reduced in numbers, squeezed into reservations whose area, while more than ample to support an equivalent number of white persons, for the Indian was tragically small. Clinging pertinaciously to his primitive economy, to the harvesting of that which nature produced mainly without human aid, he managed to eke out a scant living, until the pressure of the white population burst through the reservation barriers and added the bulk of the best reservation lands to the area intensively exploited by the conquering race.

The Indian lost two-thirds of his reservation lands largely because he could not adapt his culture and economy fast enough to conform to the white methods of exploiting the continental natural resources. Where he made the adaptation, where he proceeded to exploit the natural resources in his possession commercially by and for himself, there he retained possession of his lands. But this commercial exploitation of the land and other resources by Indians produced exactly the same results as similar exploitation by white persons. The 25,000 square miles of the Navajo Reservation, overgrazed by the increasing commercial flocks of the Indians for decades, presents one of the worst examples of accelerated soil erosion in the country.

<sup>1</sup> Sec. I prepared by Allan G. Harper, preface by Walter V. Woelike.

Taking the Indian group as a whole, probably two-thirds of its members are either completely landless or own insufficient land on which to make a living on a subsistence level. Through wrong use a large percentage of the land remaining in Indian ownership has been rendered partly unproductive, with the result that almost the entire Indian population needs rehabilitation, and the bulk of Indian land lies within problem areas.

The problem of the Indian, of his land, and of the use of his land affects 26 States. It involves a racial group of almost 330,000 persons in various stages of assimilation, a group which during the last two decades shows an upward trend at the approximate rate of 1 percent per year after a long period of steady decline.

There are startling disparities in the distribution of the assets among the component parts of the entire group. A comparatively small number of tribes own the bulk of productive assets; even the comparatively wealthy tribes have thousands of members who own nothing at all. Many of the tribes have assets which are not in usable form through the checkerboarding of the land by sale to white persons and through other title complications. Still others own land rendered practically unproductive through overgrazing, erosion, or destructive logging.

Equally startling is the diversity of use made by the Indians of their land assets, as, for instance, the intensive corn culture of the Hopis in the center of the Navajo sheep area; the wide differences in the methods of exploiting Indian timber; or the desert type of agriculture developed by the Papagos compared with the intensive irrigation farming of their cousins, the Pimas.

But out of the mass of diverse and sometimes contradictory data the facts listed below arise in clear outline as guides to future policy.

Even though there is at present in possession of the Indian racial group a total of 52,000,000 acres of land, this amount of land is insufficient to support the Indian population on a standard of living only slightly above the subsistence level.

The bulk of the Indian population always has lived, and now lives and functions, in rural areas. It is plainly evident that it is neither possible nor desirable to make an effort to transplant any part of it to urban industrial centers. Their future lies on the land. Though several of the tribes have land which, if

properly used, would be ample, and in some cases more than ample, to support them in a fair degree of comfort, the investigations of the Indian land unit of the National Resources Board have demonstrated that even with efficient use of the available land resources, the majority of the tribes show a real deficiency.

In 1887 the Indian population, smaller than at present, owned almost 130,000,000 acres of land. Since that time 80,000,000 acres have passed out of Indian ownership. Now it is estimated that approximately 100,000 Indians are totally landless, and in many cases homeless.

It is necessary to emphasize that the Federal Government, through the Office of Indian Affairs, does not undertake to support and has not given support to able-bodied members of the Indian racial group or their dependents. There has survived from the seventies and eighties—the period when the plains Indians were facing starvation due to the killing of the buffalo herds—the impression that the Government is continuing on a vast scale to supply rations to the general Indian population. This is a wholly erroneous impression. The indiscriminate rationing of Indians ceased long ago. For at least two decades the Federal Government has given very meager rations only to the aged, the sick, and the acutely indigent Indians. So far as a direct and continuous Federal dole is concerned, the mass of the Indian population has been on its own resources for many years.

This does not mean that the entire Indian population has been able to earn its own living by its own efforts. Unfortunately, it has been the policy of the Federal Government for more than half a century to dispose of the Indian capital assets, such as land and timber, and to pay the proceeds in cash to the individual Indians. It has also been the policy of the Federal Government to break up Indian reservations, to vest in individual Indians title to individual pieces of property, and to allow the owners of these tracts to sell or lease them to white farmers. Thus the Indians became a race of petty landlords and of small capitalists who were conditioned to continue their idleness by the unearned income they derived from the sale or lease of their capital assets.

Now nearly all of the fairly liquid assets of the Indian groups have been dissipated. The income from the lease of farm lands declined almost to the vanishing point during the long agricultural depression. It was only through the expenditure of millions of dollars for emergency conservation and other types of work relief on Indian reservations that a majority of the able-bodied Indians have been able to support themselves during the latter part of the depression.

For the purposes of the report of the National Resources Board on land planning, a study was made, reservation by reservation, of the land needs of all Indian groups under Federal jurisdiction. As a result

of this survey,<sup>2</sup> it was shown that there was needed a total of 25,581,522 additional acres in order to create an adequate productive basis upon which the Indians as a whole might become self-supporting on a level equal to that of the average rural white family in 1926. While both the acreage recommended for purchase, and the cost—\$103,283,000—may seem large, their proportions shrink when they are placed alongside the area and value of the 80,000,000 acres which have passed out of Indian ownership since 1887.

This recommendation was based on the assumption that steps will be taken by the Office of Indian Affairs not only to make all the land now in Indian ownership available for Indian use, but also to raise the efficiency of Indian agricultural effort. In order to make all Indian land available for Indian use, it will be necessary to change the present inheritance procedure.

It is probable that a very large part of the millstone of mortgage debts now bending the shoulders of American agriculture is due to inheritance procedure. It has been the custom among the white farm population, upon the death of the owner of farm property, to bequeath the farm and its improvements to one heir, who usually undertakes to pay off the other heirs in cash. In most instances the necessary cash is raised by a loan secured by a mortgage. In the case of Indian lands, surrounded by restrictions against alienation, this method was not possible. The land either had to be partitioned among the heirs, or, where such partitioning was not possible, it had to be sold and the proceeds divided among the heirs. Some 6,000,000 acres of Indian trust lands are now in the heirship status, and in the course of time all the individually owned allotted Indian trust land will reach this status. Some method will have to be worked out to remedy the situation. For the purposes of this report, it was assumed that such a remedy would be found, and that the 6,000,000 acres now in heirship status would be made fully available for Indian use.

It has also been assumed that efforts would be made to supply the land needs of various Indian groups, at least in part, from the public domain, and, with the cooperation of the United States Forest Service and the Biological Survey, from other Federally owned areas. The largest part of the Indian population is located in the semiarid and arid regions of the Great Plains, the intermountain, and far western country. Almost all the reservations in this region abut on or are surrounded by public lands. But on this federally owned land there have been established numerous private claims of use which must be considered and weighed against the necessities of the Indians. While theoretically a large part of the Indian land needs could be satisfied from the public domain, the needs and the resistance of

<sup>2</sup> See sec. III, ch. VI, Report of the Land Planning Committee of the National Resources Board, Dec. 1, 1934.

white interests—stockmen, miners, water users, and lumber interests—make it difficult to add sizable portions from the public domain to Indian reservations.

This opposition to the withdrawal of parts of the public domain for Indian use is so strong that, as in the case of Arizona, no such additions can be made by Executive order, but must have the sanction of Congress. It has been evident for a number of years that one of the largest and fastest growing tribes of Indians in the United States, the Navajos, must have additional land in terms of millions of acres if the tribe is to continue sheep raising on its present scale, but the opposition of the adjacent white population has made transfer of the public domain to these Indians difficult. Even the purchase of privately owned white land outside the boundaries of the Navajo Reservation is meeting with resistance on the plea that such purchases will withdraw more land from local taxation and render difficult the financing of local, particularly county, government.

The withdrawal of land, either publicly or privately owned, from local taxation has been the principal reason given in the past for the bitter opposition against the enlargement of Indian reservations, or even against the maintenance of the status quo. However, the tax exemption of Indian land is losing its potency as a factor influencing the creation of an adequate productive Indian land base. There is a distinct tendency to drift away from the obsolete system of making static wealth, principally land, the main source of local tax revenue. Everywhere there is a tendency to shift the tax burden from static wealth to the dynamic functions of wealth, a tendency which should in time do away with the principal reason for resisting the expansion of Indian reservations. In addition to the general trend toward improved land use, with the resultant shifting of populations, is the trend gradually to bring about the consolidation of local tax-supported governmental units. This consolidation of units should be accompanied by a drastic reduction in the cost of local government.

A very large area of land now in Indian possession is practically sterilized by the complexities of title and ownership arising out of the inheritance process. Some 6,000,000 acres are now comprised in inherited Indian estates, and a large portion of this area produces neither crops nor income for the Indian heirs. A still larger portion is diverted from Indian use by the system of leasing. This paralysis of productive land is confined entirely to those areas in which individual pieces of land came into individual Indian ownership through the system of allotting the reservations. Since the partitioning of relatively small parcels of land among numerous heirs and title to fractions of various sizes proved impracticable, and since the sale of these parcels to white bidders has ceased, leasing of the inherited

lands became the practical necessity. However, very frequently there were no bidders even for a lease, and in some instances, as on the Pima Reservation in Arizona, the tribal will prohibited the leasing of any land to outsiders, with the result that three to four thousand acres of highly productive land are constantly lying fallow.

After the passage of the general allotment act of 1887, resulting in the break-up of community land ownership of many Indian reservations, and the allotment of individual pieces of land to individual Indians, these new farm land owners had neither the capital, the driving incentive, nor the guiding direction necessary to transform land into productive farms. Following the line of least resistance, successive Indian Commissioners and Congress allowed the leasing of individual and tribal Indian lands to white farmers and stockmen. These leasing operations were enlarged, with increasing complications, as larger areas of allotted land passed into the heirship status. As a result of these conditions, the Office of Indian Affairs has for 30 years been doing an enormous real-estate business, selling and leasing the lands of its wards—with the income from the operations constantly decreasing while the cost of the real-estate transactions multiplied.

The obstacles that prevented the average Indian landowner from making full productive use of his land persist to this day. Most important of these obstacles is the lack of capital and credit on the part of individual Indians, whose land is held in trust with restrictions against alienation, rendering it unavailable as a basis for credit. The Office of Indian Affairs expects to overcome this obstacle by virtue of new legislation which authorizes the creation of a revolving loan fund of \$10,000,000 for Indian use.

In the past there has been made available to Indians a total of approximately \$5,000,000 in so-called "reimbursable loans" for productive purposes. These loans began more than 20 years ago, when the unearned revenue of Indians from land sales and land leases was still so high that individual effort was discouraged. At the same time insufficient effort was made to guide and direct the productive activities of Indians along sound lines.

If large areas of newly acquired lands are added to the acreage now available for Indian use, and if sufficient capital and credit are supplied to make these lands productive, there will still be needed a greatly increased force of trained and experienced Agricultural Extension agents to guide and direct the Indians along productive lines. At the present time the Agricultural Extension force of the Indian Service is entirely inadequate for even the routine tasks confronting it. This inadequacy will become more pronounced as Indian lands increase in area and Indian farmers increase in number. In fact, the Indian Agricultural Extension

force should be increased to four or five times its present number if Indians are to derive the full benefit from the new land acquisition and productive credit program now planned for them.

Through the allotment of individual pieces of land to individual Indians, millions of acres have been lost to Indians in the past. Through the inevitable process of death and inheritance, the entire Indian landed estate will vanish with mathematical certainty unless the system of land tenure is changed as contemplated by the Indian Reorganization Act, passed by the Seventy-third Congress in 1934. This act prescribes that title to all lands acquired for Indians shall remain in the United States, and it provides various methods by which the individual owners of allotments may voluntarily transfer their title to the United States or to the tribe as a protective measure.

It is, or should be, obvious to the lumber industry that it would be in a far sounder economic condition today if it had allowed title to the far western timberland to remain in the United States, leaving the burden of administrative and protective cost on the broad shoulders of the Federal Government, and acquiring from the Government only those amounts of stumpage at current prices to satisfy its current needs. It is likewise becoming obvious to hundreds of thousands of owners of grazing and dry-farm lands in the Middle and far West that they also would be in a sounder economic position if they had never applied for patents to their homestead claims, but rather had allowed this title to remain in the United States, while they, the claimants, continued to have full use and occupancy of the lands, with the smallest possible tax burden, and with complete security against loss through alienation.

It will be the task of the Office of Indian Affairs to make clear to the Indian owners of individual allotments that there is no safety for them or their children, unless as a measure of protection title of allotment has been transferred to the United States. Fortunately, the Indian Reorganization Act, which authorizes the appropriation of \$2,000,000 annually for purchase of land for Indians, also stipulates that title to such lands must remain in the United States in trust for any tribe for which land was acquired. This policy of basing land occupancy on beneficial use was derived from the example of those Indian reservations which had not been broken up and allotted, reservations in which all of the land remained in common ownership, hence was safe against loss, while the Indian had the right to use and occupy as much of the tribal land as he could beneficially employ. Those reservations on which this system of land tenure prevailed lost no part of their land, while many of them actually increased their areas.

However, the great difficulty in reintroducing this system of land tenure on allotted or individualized reservations will hamper the rate at which the presently owned or newly acquired lands are put to actual productive use by the Indians. The habit of relying upon the unearned income derived from land sales and leases has taken deep root. Unless Indian initiative, ambition, and self-reliance are recreated rapidly by means of developing Indian leadership, the program of Indian rural rehabilitation, through land acquisition and extension of credit, may be greatly impeded.

The following paper does not constitute a complete statement of the new Indian land policy and program. The factual data on which to base a complete program do not exist, and can be acquired only by intensive field survey and planning. The paper here presented deals only with past land policies and the complexities of tenure and of administration that they have produced, with the economic status of the Indians, with their agricultural credit needs, and with the trends of Indian population.

The proposed Indian land acquisition and development program has already been presented in outline form in "Indian Land Problems and Policies" in the Report of the Land Planning Committee of the National Resources Board, section III, chapter VI, December 1, 1934. The studies now presented were also made under the auspices of the National Resources Board.

These documents, taken together, must be regarded as preliminary contributions toward a new social and economic order for the Indians. The ultimate solution of the problem, based on the general principles here advanced, must come from a far wider application of constructive research and planning than have hitherto been developed in Indian administration.

#### Past Policy of Land Liquidation and Its Results

*Brief Review of Indian Land History.*—When the United States was organized under the Articles of Confederation, the Indians had been largely displaced in the area east of the Appalachian Mountains. The new government, though it succeeded to the title asserted by Great Britain to all lands occupied by the Indians, nevertheless proceeded by formal treaty to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy.<sup>3</sup> Most of the territory of the original Thirteen Colonies, indeed, had been similarly acquired. In pursuing this policy the United States in effect recognized the tribes as quasi-sovereign nations. It acted from no respect of Indian rights, but through force of necessity. The Indians asserted claims to vast territories, and there ensued a long history of treaty-making and land cession, with consequences which persist today.

<sup>3</sup> Royce, Charles C., *Indian Land Cessions, Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1889, pp. 527-643.

The line of the westward-moving frontier—now plunging forward into new outreaches, now turning aside to flow into unreached byways—was closely integrated to negotiations with the Indian tribes. And negotiations all too often meant open warfare. The first treaty made by the United States was with the Delawares, September 2, 1778. The practice soon developed that when a cession of claimed territory was made to the United States, a certain area would be set aside and reserved exclusively for Indian use. The various tribes of the Iroquois were the first to be confined to reservations in western New York.

By 1840 Indians had surrendered practically all the territory east of the Mississippi River. The great removals of the Five Civilized Tribes from the Southern States, over the "trail of tears" to their new home beyond the Mississippi had been in progress for about a decade and other tribes had ceded Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Indians at this period still had a foothold in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

Historically, the practice of land liquidation was monotonously repetitious. In one year cessions of great areas would be made and reservations solemnly set aside for all time. In the next year, or within a few years afterward, the reservations would be progressively diminished. Many of them were extinguished altogether. The tribes were constantly on the move from one home to another, and their general direction was always farther west.

The effect of this constant displacement, removal, and narrowing of boundaries was disastrous to the economic life and cohesion of the tribes. The greater frequency and ferocity of armed conflicts between Indians and white men after the Civil War merely reflects the critical position into which the Indian had been thrust.<sup>4</sup> Among the Plains tribes the economic basis of their existence, the buffalo, was being rapidly exterminated. Driven from one hunting ground to another, the Sioux, Cheyennes, and other Plains tribes were only striking back in self-defense. To them reservation life was intolerable to the spirit and insufficient to support existence.

The last great herds of buffalo were wiped out before 1883 with a wanton and unjustifiable slaughter. To the Plains tribes the buffalo supplied food, shelter, clothing, weapons, and fuel. The transcontinental railroads which pierced the West during the years following the Civil War created new markets for

hides, bones, and meat of the buffalo. Hunters swarmed over the Plains, and in a few years they successfully exterminated the last of the herds. After 1875, the railroads ceased to keep statistics because shipments had fallen so low.<sup>5</sup> As a consequence of this sudden destruction of the economic basis of Indian life in the Plains, the Government was driven to rationing the Indians, a practice which has had a deteriorating effect upon Indian character.

The whole process of wrenching land cessions from Indians has been succinctly summarized by General Howard, remembered for his pursuit and capture of Chief Joseph, the great Nez Perce leader. He wrote:

First we acknowledge and confirm to the Indians a sort of title to vast regions. Afterward, we continue, in a strictly legal manner, to do away with both the substance and the shadow of title. Wiser heads than Joseph's have been puzzled by this manner of balancing the scales.<sup>6</sup>

By 1871 Congress felt strong enough to enact a law providing that no treaties would be negotiated with any tribe as an independent nation. Henceforth the Indians were to be dealt with by simple agreement, later ratified or rejected by Congress.

*The Rise of the Reservation System and the General Allotment Act.*—The confinement of the Indian tribes to reservations increased steadily during the first half of the nineteenth century, with periods of quiescence during which the white man caught his breath in his conquest of the West. The years between 1851 and 1880 show the establishment of the greatest number of reservations. This was also the period of the fiercest armed conflict.<sup>7</sup>

A still more shattering blow was directed at the tribes in 1887 with the passage of the Allotment Act. This measure was the foundation of Indian law until 1934. Of 213 reservations which exist today, 118 have been allotted, and more than three-fourths of the Indians have been brought under the provisions of the act. Although the policy which it created was repealed by the Wheeler-Howard Act of June 18, 1934,<sup>8</sup> its material and spiritual consequences constitute the core of the problem of present Indian administration.

The General Allotment Act provided in effect that every Indian, whether he wanted it or not, would eventually be given a piece of his reservation to own in fee simple, thus giving him all the property rights and responsibilities which a white man might have. In order not to make the transition from the red to the white culture too abrupt, it was provided that for 25 years the Indian would own his land in trust, with the Government as guardian. During this period he would

<sup>4</sup> Statistics on the number of major conflicts with the Indians are as follows:

Period	No. of battles
1621-1700.....	35
1701-1800.....	46
1801-45.....	39
1846-90.....	78

Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, Carnegie Institute of Washington and American Geographical Society of New York, 1932, pls. 34 A, B, C, D.

<sup>5</sup> Brittain, E. A., *Fighting Red Cloud's Warriors*, Columbus, 1926, pp. 208-216.

<sup>6</sup> Howard, O. O., *Nez Perce Joseph*, Boston, 1881, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> See footnote 4.

<sup>8</sup> Sec. 1.

not have to pay taxes, nor could he sell his land without the Government's consent. However, he would receive a fee patent after 25 years, and then his ownership would be the same as any white man's.

When the General Allotment Act was passed in 1887, Indians still owned approximately 138,000,000 acres.<sup>9</sup> Today this huge area has shrunk to 52,000,000 acres.<sup>10</sup>

Before examining the nature and extent of present Indian landholdings, let us first summarize the principal methods by which the Indians were separated from approximately 86,000,000 acres of land in 47 years.

#### Sources of Indian Land Losses, 1887 to 1934

*"Ceded" Surpluses After Allotment.*—A practice consistently pursued was to separate all land from the reservation which was left over after a tribe was allotted in severalty, usually by remunerating the members thereof at \$1.25 an acre. Of the 118 allotted reservations, 44 were opened to homestead entry under public land laws. At least 38,000,000 acres of Indian land were disposed of<sup>11</sup> in this way, and the proceeds were consumed in per capita payments or in agency appropriations.

*Surplus Lands Open to Settlement.*—A similar practice was to throw open surplusses left over after allotment, to settlement by whites, and to remunerate the tribes as the lands were entered by homesteaders. At least 22,000,000 acres of Indian lands have thus been lost.<sup>12</sup>

*Alienation Through Fee Patents.*—The grant of fee patents at the end of the trust period and the removal of sales restrictions account for the loss of about 23,000,000 acres.<sup>13</sup> Indians who retained their land after coming into full control over it were rare exceptions. The granting of fee patents has been practically synonymous with outright alienation. It would appear that only 3 to 20 percent of the fee-patented land has remained in Indian ownership, on sampled reservations.

*Sales of Original and Heirship Allotments.*—Under the act of March 7, 1902, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to permit heirs to sell their lands instead of partitioning them physically.<sup>14</sup> (See fig. 1.) By another act, that of March 1, 1907, the Secretary was similarly authorized to permit the original allottees to dispose of their land.<sup>15</sup> Under these two acts, a total of 3,730,265 acres of the best land was alienated from Indian ownership, bringing to the Indians total proceeds of \$68,671,976.

<sup>9</sup> Estimate of Land Division, Office of Indian Affairs.

<sup>10</sup> See Table V, Acreage of Indian Reservations in 1934, by States. Table VI, Basic Indian Land Statistics, 1934.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Table VII, Original Acreage of Indian Tribal Lands and Deductions Therefrom.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> See Table VIII, Annual Sales of Indian Allotted Lands.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

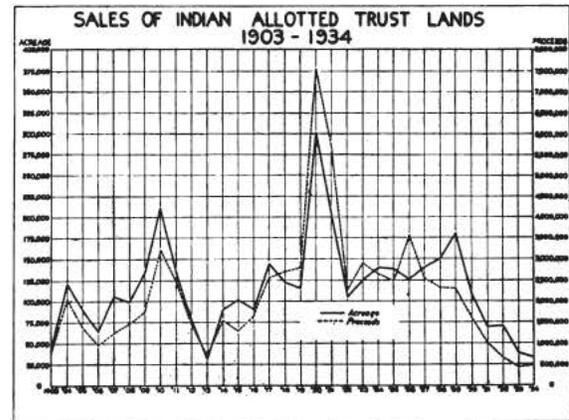


FIGURE 1.—The allotment of lands to individuals stimulated the dissipation of the Indians' one important capital asset—land. Since 1903, some 1,500,000 acres have passed into white ownership through sales.

#### Results of the Allotment System

*Present Indian Lands—Statistical.*—A compilation made by the Indian Land Unit of the National Resources Board reveals the following general classification of Indian-owned lands:

	Acres	Percent
Original allotments still held.....	11,369,974	21.9
Heirship allotments.....	6,252,726	12.0
Tribal holdings.....	34,287,336	65.6
Reserves set aside for schools, agencies, etc.....	232,859	.5
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>52,142,935</b>	<b>100.0</b>

At first glance, it will be seen that the larger share of present Indian land assets is in tribally owned acreage. The allotted reservations, as a rule, have only small tracts of tribally owned land, the bulk of which is located in the great unallotted reservations. Of the total tribally owned acreage, 84 percent is located in six States:

	Acres
Arizona.....	18,398,470
New Mexico.....	4,817,493
Utah.....	1,468,053
Wyoming.....	2,019,603
Oregon.....	1,295,425
Montana.....	1,071,312
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>29,070,356</b>

The unallotted reservations belonging to the Navajos, Apaches, and Papagos account for the huge acreage of tribal lands in Arizona. In Utah a large unallotted acreage belongs to the Paiutes, as well as additional acreage belonging to the Navajos. The entire tribal acreage in Wyoming belongs to the Shoshones. In the case of Oregon, both Klamath and Warm Springs Reservations have been in part allotted, but in both these reservations there are still large and substantial hold-

ings which belong to the tribes as a whole. In Montana the tribal acreage is mostly on three out of the seven reservations of the State (Tongue River, Flathead, and Crow).

The allotted acreage presently held is located principally in five States which have about 82 percent of all allotted lands (original allottees and heirship):

State	Original allotments	Deceased allotments	Total
Montana.....	4,028,078	1,037,550	5,065,628
South Dakota.....	2,187,512	2,424,192	4,611,704
Oklahoma.....	1,887,595	969,689	2,857,284
New Mexico.....	834,499	237,721	1,072,220
North Dakota.....	734,421	242,722	977,143
Total.....	9,672,105	4,941,874	14,613,979

Due to the combining of grazing and forest acreages and to the bulking of all farm land (irrigable or not) in the statistics in Table V, Acreage of Indian Reservations in 1934 by States, there is subjoined table I, a classification of Indian lands according to tenure and potential use, based upon special data collected and estimated by the Indian Land Unit. The figures omit agency, hospital, and school reserves.

From table I it will be seen that farm land, for which the Indians have a desperate need, is mainly in the status of deceased and living trust allotments. The main land asset is the grazing land, totaling 45,280,864 acres, and constituting a pointed challenge to Indians to consolidate it. Of the grand total of 34,004,393 acres in tribal ownership, the great bulk—31,899,465 acres—is grazing land. Most of this grazing land should never have been allotted in the first place. Another valuable asset is the timber land (both with and without grass), totaling 10,237,856 acres, most of which is tribally owned. Finally, it should be noted that over a million acres, most of it tribal land, is unfit for any use.

TABLE I.—Indian-owned lands on Indian reservations in September 1934, classified as to tenure and potential use

[This table omits the relatively small acreage of land owned in fee patent by Indians, partly because it is outside Federal administration. It excludes land used for schools and agency headquarters.]

Land classification	Original allotments	Heirship allotments	Tribal land	Total
Grand total.....	11,369,974	6,252,728	34,004,393	51,627,093
Total farming.....	2,494,837	1,371,928	252,388	4,119,153
Now irrigated.....	154,795	85,122	38,043	277,960
Not irrigated <sup>1</sup> .....	183,875	101,114	99,826	384,815
Irrigation unnecessary.....	2,156,167	1,185,692	114,519	3,456,378
Total grazing.....	8,633,476	4,747,907	31,899,463	45,280,846
Open country.....	7,584,671	4,171,163	18,077,713	29,833,547
Browse.....	217,045	119,354	5,585,786	5,922,185
Timber, with grass pasture..	831,760	457,390	8,235,964	9,525,114
Miscellaneous.....	241,661	132,891	1,852,542	2,227,094
Swamp.....	9,230	5,075	206,086	224,291
Timber, not covered with grass.....	173,855	95,605	443,282	712,742
Valuable for other purposes <sup>2</sup> .....	37,787	20,779	148,332	206,898
Unfit for any use.....	20,789	11,432	1,050,942	1,083,163

<sup>1</sup> Excludes 282,943 acres classified as mineral lands.

<sup>2</sup> Susceptible, water available.

<sup>3</sup> Mainly for building sites.

*The Development of a Leasing System Diverted Huge Acreages to White Use.*—Four years after the passage of the general allotment act, Congress authorized the Secretary of the Interior to lease allotments, if “by reason of age or other disability” the Indians could not make personal use of them.<sup>16</sup> Leases were limited to 3 years for farming or grazing, and 10 years for mining. The intent of Congress was that applications for the leasing of allotments should be made directly to the Secretary of the Interior, and not to the Indian agents, in order to impose some restraint against unwise leasing.

Although the leasing act was to have the most profound effect on the failure of the allotment system, its passage attracted comparatively little interest. Proponents of the measure believed that it would remove hardships from those Indians who did not wish to be tied to their allotments, and that it would humanely help the aged and physically handicapped by the income derived from rentals. The act was, however, entirely favorable to the western land-seekers and business interests, who did not fail to apply pressure to the Office of Indian Affairs.<sup>17</sup> At first the Office of Indian Affairs applied its statutory authority with caution. But with changes of policy, actual administration and approval of applications was shifted in a few years from the Secretary of the Interior to the Indian agents, and a rapid increase in the number of leased allotments took place.

In the year following the passage of the act (1892), only two allotments were leased, and in the succeeding year only six were leased, but in 1894 the number rose to 301. Thereafter it rapidly increased year by year until 1900, when 7,574 allotments had been approved for leasing. At the present time (Nov. 15, 1934), incomplete records in the Office of Indian Affairs at Washington indicate that a total of 11,396,053 acres of grazing land and 2,499,422 acres of farm land are being leased. A thorough compilation of statistics now being conducted by the Extension Division of the Office of Indian Affairs, will undoubtedly reveal that the total leased acreage is considerably larger. In sustaining the statute, proponents of leasing argued that the Indians would be stimulated by the successful farm operations of their white neighbors, to whom they had turned over a portion of their allotment. It was also argued that the income from rentals would provide the Indians with income with which to make improvements upon the land they were working. Instead, the leasing act encouraged idleness and accustomed the Indians to subsisting upon small pittances of unearned income. In 1900, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs noted in his annual report that “The Indian has been

<sup>16</sup> 26 Stat. Law 794, Act Feb. 28, 1891.

<sup>17</sup> For a penetrating account of the origin and rise of the leasing system, see History of the Allotment Policy by D. S. Otis, in the hearings on House bill 7902, (73d Cong.) p. 428.

allotted and then allowed to turn over his land to the whites and go on his aimless way. This pernicious practice is the direct growth of vicious legislation."

*Inadequate capital and lack of agricultural education totally handicapped the Indians.*—While the proponents of the allotment theory firmly believed in training the Indians in agriculture, they were not successful in persuading Congress to provide the necessary means. In the years following the passage of the general allotment act, the Indians were in effect allotted and then expected to farm successfully without training, tools, or equipment. In 1889 at the Lake Mohonk Conference, Professor Painter of the Indian Rights Association, said that he knew one Indian who "had indeed a vast but unusual possession; a large land estate but without team, implements, money, houses, or experience, and consequently without power to utilize a foot of it."<sup>18</sup>

In 1888 Congress appropriated \$30,000 for seed, farming implements, and other things necessary for farming. In that year there were 3,568 allotments, so that the fund provided an average of less than \$10 to each allottee. In 1889 Congress again appropriated \$30,000. In the following year nothing was appropriated; but in 1891, 1892, and 1894, annual appropriations of \$15,000 were made. Thereafter until 1911, nothing was appropriated. That year Congress established a loan fund, known as the Industry among Indians appropriation. Approximately \$250,000, or about \$1.50 per capita of the Indian population, has been annually set aside for this purpose—a woefully inadequate amount to help the Indians to their feet. A total of about \$5,000,000 has been loaned from this source, of which \$2,000,000 has been repaid by the Indians. Though the appropriation authorized in the Wheeler-Howard Act (\$10,000,000) for a revolving loan fund falls short of actual needs, it is the first substantial recognition of the Indians' crying need for financial credit.

In the field of education the advocates of allotment were less clear-headed. While they urged education, they urged that education be centered first upon making the Indians citizens of the country, and second upon making them agricultural workers. The emphasis of their thinking was in the direction of moral, civic, and cultural education. Practical assistance to the Indians was limited to the appointment of Government "farmers" and "stockmen." As is well known, these employees were often poorly qualified and even if they had been able to stimulate and assist the Indians in farm work, their number was inadequate. In 1900 there were only 320 farmers to 185,790 Indians, exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribes. The Government farmer system was the mainspring of agricultural extension until very recent years, when the Division of

Extension and Industry was established. Under the new reorganization the Office of Indian Affairs obtained for the first time a group of trained extension workers who were qualified in farm economics both theoretically and practically, and who had the necessary social outlook upon their work.

*Alienation and Checkerboarding.*—The theory of allotment rested on the assumption that, during the trust period, the allottees would steadily master the economy of individual farming; that they would rapidly attain the white man's keen sense of property; and that they would acquire habits of sobriety, industry, and devotion to their own homesteads. At the end of the trust period, they could be safely set free from governmental guardianship and supervision. Though it became obvious, as the experiment progressed, that the Indians were not acquiring these virtues in any appreciable degree, they were nevertheless "let go" by the thousands. The unfortunate history of what happened to the land of the fee-patented and certificate-of-competency Indians has been noted elsewhere in this report. The removal of restrictions became practically synonymous with alienation from Indian ownership. In this section we are concerned with the important economic consequences which followed in the wake of the alienation of fee-patented lands, and with the relationship which these consequences have toward a program of land acquisition.

As the Indians disposed of their allotments, a steady stream of whites infiltrated into every corner of the reservation. The connecting tissue of white social and economic life rapidly overshadowed that of the Indians. Indian fashion, the landless and homeless ex-allottees domiciled themselves upon their relatives, thus overpopulating the remaining Indian lands and pressing upon the subsistence which could be wrung from them. Today practically every map of an allotted reservation which shows the present ownership of land, both Indian and white, resembles the face of a checkerboard. Thus, while the white newcomers steadily consolidated their holdings into good, usable farming and grazing units through their purchases from the allottees, supplemented by leasing, exactly the opposite effect was being worked upon the lands remaining in Indian ownership.

*Effects on Grazing and Forest Land.*—The effects of checkerboarding on potential Indian use of land are especially acute in the case of grazing and forest lands, which constitute 92 percent of all Indian land. An average Indian allotment of 160 acres of grazing land is much too small to maintain even a subsistence herd of cattle or sheep. Moreover, for the best utilization and management of grazing lands, it is essential to have large contiguous areas used in common. On such areas, a minimum of fencing and water develop-

<sup>18</sup> Otis op. cit., p. 167.

ment is required, and systematic programs of rotation grazing, range revegetation, erosion control, seasonal grazing, and proper distribution of livestock on the range can be carried out. When a potential Indian grazing range is fragmented into small allotments and minute heirship parcels and further checkerboarded and shredded by numerous alienations, the tangle becomes almost hopeless so far as promoting use by Indians is concerned. Consolidation of checkerboarded areas is essential to bringing about Indian use of vast areas of grazing lands.

In the case of Indian forests the problem is even more acute. Permanent sustained-yield forestry can be practiced in general only on large contiguous areas in one ownership, thus permitting logging and reforestation to progress systematically over natural logging units related to topography and logical transport lines; and ultimately to return, after 50 or 100 years, to renew the cycle at the first point of beginning on the new crop of timber. Much of the Indian timberland is fragmented by allotment and alienation. Alienated lands, if sufficiently numerous, are an absolute block to sustained yield management; allotted lands are a partial and expensive block. For one thing, on each allotment a separate, individual account must be kept of the timber cut and sold—a very costly procedure. Again, the allottee receives one large cash return when his timber is cut and may have to wait 50 years for another return; or if his allotment is not in the line of immediate logging, he may have to wait many years before getting any return whatever. The return of the allotments to tribal ownership would entitle each ex-allottee to steady annual periodic returns proportionate to the growth-production capacity of his surrendered allotment.

The Wheeler-Howard Act makes mandatory the principles of sustained yield forest management in the Indian forests.<sup>19</sup> In order to put this mandate into full effect, it is essential to set up a fair method of restoring allotted timberlands to tribal ownership and of acquiring alienated timber or cut-over lands by purchase or exchange.

*Some Typical Examples.*—A good example of a hopelessly checkerboarded reservation is Lac du Flambeau, Wis. (See fig. 2.) Casual examination of the present land status at this reservation reveals the ravages of allotment upon the economic life of these Indians. The fee-patented land, totaling 15,346 acres, has, with the exception of a few acres, been alienated.<sup>20</sup> The reservation is principally characterized by the number and beauty of its numerous small lakes—one reason which prompted the Indians to select it for their home. Today the most desirable shore fronts (indicated on the map in black) have all been alienated and are given over mostly to resort hotels and comfortable summer homes,

<sup>19</sup> Act of June 18, 1904. Public, No. 383, Seventy-third Cong., sec. 6.

<sup>20</sup> Based on reports of superintendents.

for which this region of Wisconsin is well known. It is absolutely certain that the present owners would not part with these holdings at any reasonable figure, and it is also equally clear that the Indians in their struggle for economic independence neither need nor desire the developments which now rest on their former land. Remaining to the Indians is a substantial acreage, a total of 27,186 acres of timberlands. Except perhaps for the consolidation of a few tracts of farming land for agricultural purposes and some of the cut-over area as pastures for milch cows, it is not wise to attempt to effect any considerable consolidation of lands upon this reservation. To rehabilitate all the Lac du Flambeau band of Chippewas on this basis would be a financial impossibility. The voluntary transfer of the remaining living and deceased allotments to the tribe should, of course, be accomplished in order to assure home sites for this band. But in order to secure land which will provide the essential economic basis of life for these Indians, it will be necessary to go outside the reservation.

The checkerboarded state of the Lac du Flambeau Reservation is an extreme example, and few allotted areas exhibit so hopeless a situation. Many allotted reservations resemble the Blackfeet Reservation, where the total acreage of tribal land of deceased and living allotments is greater than the area of land which has been alienated. In such situations, there is a good chance to reconstitute blocks of Indian land for grazing and farming purposes.

At Blackfeet, present Indian holdings are as follows:

	Acres
Tribal land.....	54, 465
Deceased allotments.....	390, 862
Living allotments.....	770, 277
Alienated.....	280, 852

With the cooperation of the Indians, if they can be enlightened to the fact that their future depends upon it, the greater part of this reservation can be made secure for perpetual Indian ownership by instituting a land acquisition and consolidation program immediately.

The land acquisition program outlined hereafter should give special attention to the acquisition of alienated lands within reservations that are needed to consolidate grazing and forest lands into usable blocks, or to provide additional agricultural land for subsistence farms and gardens, or to provide winter stock feed. A detailed study of each checkerboarded area is essential to a sound acquisition program.

*Social and Economic Effects of Allotment.*—The physical liquidation of the Indian landed estate is only one side of the devastation wrought by the allotment system. The effects upon the social and economic condition of the tribe were equally unhappy. Recapitulated here are some of the outstanding results of the Allotment Act:

1. Allotment broke up the community organization of the tribes as it was frankly intended to do. Tribalism was held in abhorrence by the advocates of allotment. The partition of land in severalty, it was hoped, would dissolve the tribal association and substitute therefor an individual status. But the allotment system thus weakened or destroyed the cohesion of the one cooperating unit to which the Indians were culturally attuned—the tribe. In weakening this native means of organization, the allotment theorists assailed

the only sound foundation upon which a transformed Indian society could have been built.

2. Allotment shattered family interests and worked as a divisive factor in the lives of all allotted Indians. It did this because allotments were made to the individual and not to the family.

3. The allotment system, in the manner of its application, attempted to force Indians to become commercial farmers, especially upon the irrigated units. Many Indians who had always been accustomed to sus-

### OWNERSHIP STATUS OF LAND ON THE LAC DU FLAMBEAU INDIAN RESERVATION, WISCONSIN, 1933

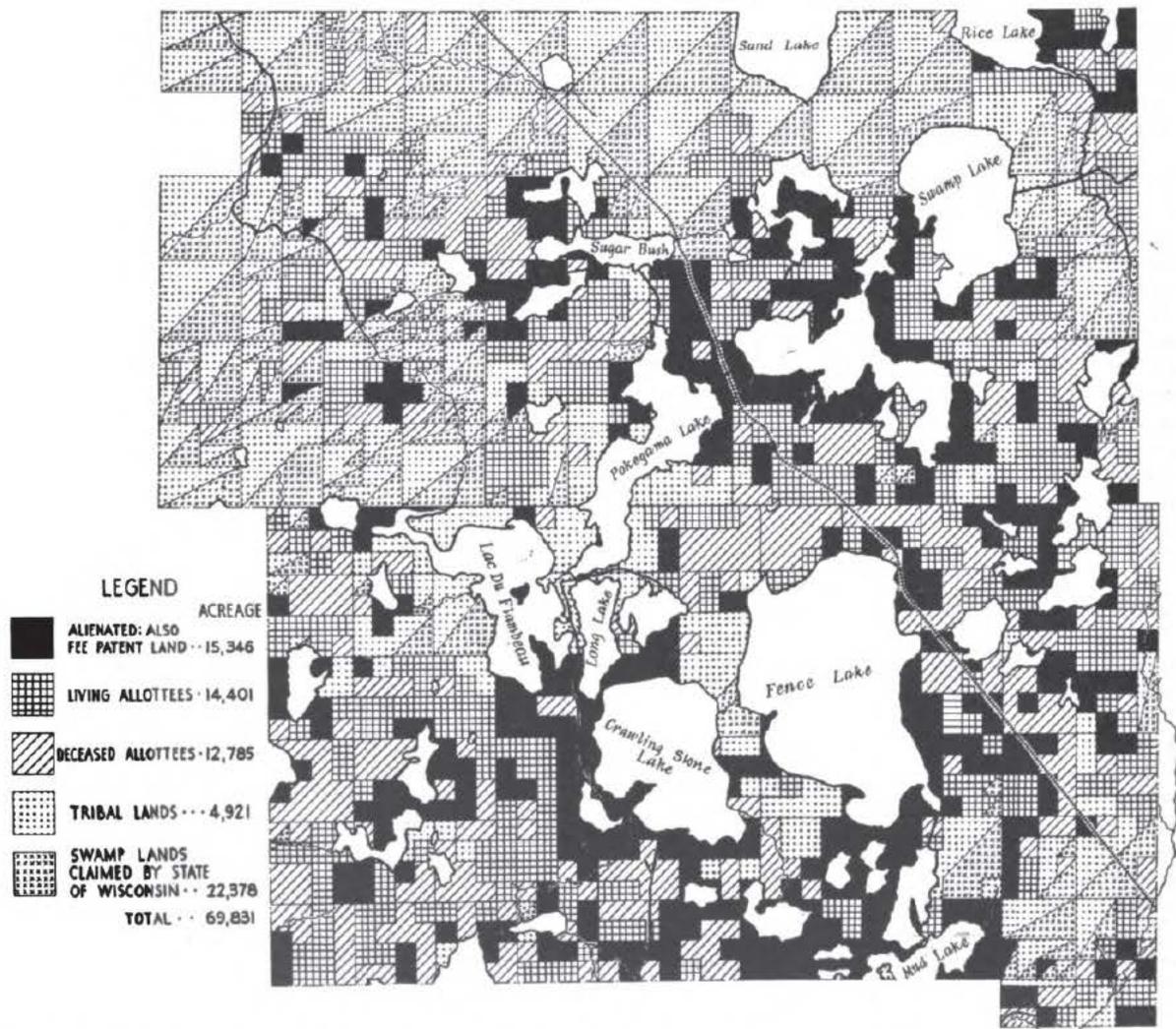


FIGURE 2.—Lac du Flambeau (Wis.) Indian Reservation is an example of a hopelessly checkerboarded reservation. The desirable and valuable portions along the shores of the numerous lakes have practically all been alienated by white owners. Remaining in Indian ownership are mainly swamplands and cut-over and burned-over timberlands. The alienated land could not be reacquired except at heavy cost. Without the alienated acreage, it would be fruitless to attempt any program of land consolidation beyond the blocking up of a few tracts for farming land and some of the cut-over acres for milch cows. To satisfy essential economic needs, it will be necessary to go outside the reservation boundaries to acquire lands.

tenance farming were thus forced to attempt a manner of living for which they had little aptitude or ability.

4. The inheritance of allotments reduced Indian lands to uneconomic units by progressive subdivision. It transformed Indians into petty landholders and the Office of Indian Affairs into a huge banking and realtor enterprise.

5. Due to the trust character of Indian allotments, the owners could not pledge their lands for credit, without which it was impossible for them properly to develop their land.

6. Allotment, because of the subdivision produced in heirship status and because of the lack of adequate credit, forced the system of leasing upon the Indians, making of them idlers dependent upon pittances of rental.

7. Allotment led to the creation of a system of probate in the Indian Office which was excessively tardy and unaccountable to the courts.

8. Allotment led directly to making a hundred thousand Indians landless through alienation of land following issuance of fee patents and failure to provide enough land for future generations.

#### Unenrolled Landless Indians

An unnatural but important segregation of Indians into two artificial categories has been accomplished through the system of tribal enrollment. The majority of Indians is enrolled with one particular tribe, and this is true whether they are "restricted" or "unrestricted" as to their lands or other property. Other Indians, though they are biologically of the Indian race, are not officially affiliated with a recognized tribe or band. These latter Indians, who have been designated as "unenrolled", are subject of this section.

*Unenrolled Indians Distinguished and Defined.*—As will be made clear presently, the history and legal status of these unenrolled Indians and their resultant claims for assistance upon the Federal Government are diverse. No generalization can adequately describe them all. Three tests, however, were applied to them, for inclusion in the present investigation: (a) They had to be totally landless; (b) they had to be unenrolled with any recognized tribe or band, and therefore without any hitherto legal qualification of wardship; (c) they had to possess one-half or more Indian blood in order to come within the definition of "Indian" as delineated in the Wheeler-Howard Act.<sup>21</sup>

The theory of allotment contemplated that when the Federal Government terminated the period of trust and granted or forcibly imposed a fee-simple title on the allottee, its guardian relationship with that allottee ceased. He became a "competent" Indian. If the

allottee alienated his unrestricted land and became a propertyless and pauperized member of the community, the Government nevertheless pretended that its responsibility had ended by legal fiat. The assets of more than one tribe were liquidated on this procrustean bed of legal fiction.

In such situations, the Federal Government's moral responsibility naturally increases. In fact there are myriad points at which the so-called competent Indian still comes into contact with the Office of Indian Affairs: (a) He may inherit property in a restricted trust estate; (b) he may participate in the income from estate leases; (c) he may share in the division of tribal income or capital assets; (d) he may be the recipient of a tribal annuity; (e) most significant of all, he may (and in most cases does) continue his demand from the Indian Service for the education of his children, for hospitalization and medical care of his family, assistance in his personal affairs, and relief in time of need. In meeting these demands, the fiction of "competency" and "noncompetency" breaks down altogether for it is almost impossible to deny him when the failure of the Indian to be absorbed into white life is so painfully obvious. In this confused social picture, the "competent" though pauperized Indian is still in fact a member of the Indian community and for many members of that community the Federal Government has a tangible legal guardianship.

Of equal importance, however, is the fact of enrollment. The bulk of such landless competent Indians can and does assert a relationship to enrollment. While the allotment system definitely provided for a severance of guardianship at the point of land ownership through the fee patenting of the title, it did not face or solve the continuing paradox of enrollment. In certain instances, the Office of Indian Affairs has discontinued and abandoned agencies at reservations where the process of allotment and competency have been carried to the ultimate (vide, its almost complete withdrawal from the State of Michigan). In such cases it severs, for all essential purposes, the claim to protection and help inherent in mere membership in a tribal group. The greater part of the problem of Indian landlessness relates, therefore, to Indians who are enrolled with recognized tribes.

Enrollment per se has retained the essence of guardianship, although the substance of guardianship (as incorporated in the legalities of property competency) is dissipated when the land of the ward is patented. In addition to the tie of tribal enrollment, these enrolled, though landless Indians, are socially integrated with the restricted Indians of the reservations. The land needs of the two groups have therefore been considered together.

<sup>21</sup> Act of June 18, 1934, P. L. 383 (73d Cong.), sec. 19.

We are concerned in this chapter with those Indians who do not or cannot assert valid claims to tribal enrollment in recognized tribes, and only with those who can meet the three tests enumerated above. Our inquiry ranges from the Mexican Yaquis of the Southwest, to public domain allottees of Washington, to large numbers of "wandering, homeless Cree-Chippewas" of the Northern Plains, and to the liquidated tribes of the Lake States. Throughout it is a picture of abject and pathetic poverty.

*Method of Investigation.*—This inquiry was conducted by means of a questionnaire<sup>22</sup> directed to all agency superintendents, cross-referenced to the land needs of the enrolled Indians, and supplemented by information in the files of the Office of Indian Affairs at Washington and by special correspondence with superintendents in certain cases. For reasons to be explained presently, separate reports were required from each agency on unenrolled landless Indians residing within the various Indian jurisdictions and those residing outside. It was known in advance that of those enrolled Indians residing on existing reservations, some would eventually be included with the enrolled Indians in joint land acquisition and rehabilitation programs while others would be dealt with separately, because of limitations on the areas of land available for purchase for the enrolled Indians and in order to obviate tribal conflicts and animosities which existed in many places between the enrolled and unenrolled Indians. For the unenrolled Indians residing outside of Indian jurisdictions, it was desirable that information should be gathered separately as to groups, whether they were domiciled in bands or scattered over particular areas.

In both inquiries, essentially similar information was solicited:

1. The number, tribal affiliation, and location of the unenrolled landless Indians.
2. Their present means of livelihood.
3. The degree of their present contacts with the Federal, State, and local governments, particularly in regard to special services, relief, and distress employment.
4. The number who needed to be helped by the land acquisition program.

The investigation was aimed especially to elicit the suggestions and recommendations of the reporting superintendents as to the kinds and quantities of land that should be purchased. The superintendents were also urged to write separately on their full view of the problem.

*Extreme of Indian Poverty.*—It is among the unenrolled and landless Indians that we touch the depths of Indian poverty. The relation of the Federal Government to such Indians is of the most shadowy character. It washes its hands of them and their problems. Local governmental units likewise strive to avoid responsibility for these homeless, non-tax-paying residents.

<sup>22</sup> See Circular 3022, Sept. 7, 1934, Information on Nonenrolled Landless Indians, Office of Indian Affairs.

These Indians might well be described as a people without a country. When they are the recipients of local aid, the motivation on the part of county, town, or city is likely to be one of self-defense. As a group, the unenrolled landless Indians are the most maladjusted, helpless, and poorest of the entire Indian picture, which generally is one of deep poverty.

The present investigation tabulated 14,614 landless unenrolled Indians.<sup>23</sup> Further search and investigation would reveal a much larger number. Those who have been abandoned, it would seem, have also been forgotten. At such a great distance from Washington, and without the help of field investigators, a number of Indians who would fall within this classification were undoubtedly missed. It must also be kept in mind that this study is limited to those Indians of at least one-half Indian blood. In most cases those who are reported here are associated by marriage or social intercourse with other unenrolled landless Indians of less than one-half Indian blood, who were excluded from consideration on account of the degree of blood requirement of the Wheeler-Howard Act.

Of the total number of 14,614, 91 percent, or 13,445, were found to be residing outside of existing Indian jurisdictions. Only 9 percent, or 1,169, reside within Indian jurisdictions. This fact will have an important bearing upon the land acquisition programs to be undertaken for the unenrolled Indians, necessitating their treatment largely apart from reservation programs.

In this report 90 percent of the unenrolled landless Indians (or 13,296) were recommended to be helped by land purchases.<sup>24</sup> Conservatively estimated, these number 3,327 family groups.

When the data<sup>25</sup> are examined closely as to the geographical incidence, it will be noted that the States of Arizona in the Southwest, Montana and North Dakota in the Northern Plains, and Wisconsin and Michigan in the Lake States, contain the preponderant majority:

Arizona .....	1,037
Montana .....	3,810
Wisconsin and Michigan .....	7,176
Total .....	12,023

It is in these areas that the main problem of landlessness is to be found, though groups with substantial numbers are distributed in other States.

Further examination of the regional data shows that the main problem is concerned with a relatively few generically similar groups: (a) the Yaquis of Arizona; (b) the Cree-Chippewas of Montana and North Dakota; (c) Chippewas, Potawatamies, and Ottawas of the Lake States.

<sup>23</sup> See Table IX, Summary, Unenrolled Landless Indians—One-Half or More Indian Blood.

<sup>24</sup> See table X, Land Needs of Unenrolled Landless Indians and Estimated Cost Thereof.

<sup>25</sup> See Detailed explanatory notes on unenrolled landless Indians, sec. I, p. 39.

The following table shows to what extent these tribes predominate in the landlessness of the States:

States:	Total number to be aided
Arizona.....	1,036 (of these 1,012 are Yaquis)
Montana.....	3,116 (of these 3,082 are Cree-Chippewas)
North Dakota.....	694 (of these 681 are Cree-Chippewas)
Michigan.....	5,896 (of these 3,200 are Chippewas, 554 are Potawatamies, 2,142 Ottawas)
Wisconsin.....	1,280 (all are Chippewas)

With monotonous similarity, reports of superintendents project for these landless unenrolled Indians a uniform pattern of economic and social dislocation. With hardly one dissenting note, we receive a picture of underprivileged, proletarian Indian groups, largely ignored by all governmental agencies, eking out their subsistence by precarious, itinerant day labor. The picture reflects the low standard of living which has been revealed elsewhere in regard to the enrolled Indians, but it is a picture of darker hue. It would appear that neither the local nor State governments render any more social aid than the barest minimum. For most of these Indians some subsistence farming on land which is not their own, supplemented by day labor for neighboring whites and Indians, is the customary means of livelihood. During the depression they have generally suffered more from unemployment than other Indians, and the various relief-work projects both within and without the Office of Indian Affairs have only partially alleviated their condition.

A few extracts from the superintendents' reports will throw some light on their general condition.

*Crees of Fort Belknap.*—They are constantly ordered from one place to another. Their plight is indeed pathetic. They are a continual burden upon the State, upon the various cities and towns, and also upon the Federal Government.

*Ottawas and Potawatamies of Michigan.*—During the depression period it is safe to say that more than 75 percent of them have been and will remain on relief. As to the other Indians of Michigan and southwest Wisconsin, they eke out a precarious living by day labor when obtainable and by sale of baskets, toy canoes, berry picking, etc.

*Sault Ste. Marie Chippewas of Michigan.*—Nearly 100 years of contact with white civilization has reduced them to a point where nearly all of them are in a condition of destitution and poverty. Their homes are for the most part little better than huts, and they maintain a miserable existence by day labor, fishing, etc., when such opportunities are available.

*Blackfeet.*—They secure employment on reservation projects (Indian Emergency Conservation work or irrigation) or on white ranches.

*Turtle Mountain Chippewas.*—Given consideration for employment (by Office of Indian Affairs) wherever

enrolled Indians are not obtainable, which is very seldom.

*Cree-Chippewas of Rocky Boy.*—All of these Indians are dependent upon Federal, State, or county relief, also charity. They augment such relief with such work as they can find, which is very little.

*Rogue Rivers of Oregon.*—No assistance from governmental sources. Approximately 250 miles from agency. (Report of Salem Agency.)

*Fort Peck Cree-Chippewas.*—Fort Peck furnishes some work on roads and Indian Emergency Conservation work and Federal Emergency Relief Administration projects, through the county, receiving about \$8 per month per family. Help given insufficient for their needs. All these cases are more or less destitute, and living conditions are poor.

*Colville.*—As to governmental aid, none except county relief can be secured where needed. As to livelihood: by subsistence gardening and labor for wages.

*Fort Hall.*—Federal employment when funds are available.

*Yaquis of Arizona.*—The Indians are chiefly farm laborers, and at present are largely employed at cotton picking. (Report from Pima Agency.)

*Cocopahs of Arizona.*—Laboring for neighboring white farmers.

*Public Domain Allottees on the Columbia River.*—These people gain their livelihood by fishing in the Columbia River, gathering huckleberries in the national forests near Mount Adam, working in the berry fields on the Oregon side along Hood River, and in the hop fields in the Yakima.

*Cedar City Paiutes.*—The Paiute Agency has been providing for the tuition of the Indian children who attend the public school in Cedar City. The agency physician, who is also superintendent of the Paiute Agency, gives the Indians medical attention. The Paiute Agency, however, is not authorized to disburse any health funds for the benefit of these Indians; and they must look to the city or county health authorities for medical aid in case it is necessary to hospitalize any of the Indians. The Mormon Church, through its relief organization, assists the Indians, and for the past 2 or 3 years they have obtained Federal relief through the Cedar City organizations on the same basis as indigent white people. These Indians have for several generations depended more or less on the community for their support. The women make house-to-house canvasses, begging for food and old clothing, and at the present time they depend almost entirely upon relief supplies for their maintenance.

*The Yaquis of the Southwest.*—The Yaquis of the Southwest migrated from old Mexico, and are scattered from southern California through Arizona to New Mexico. It is improbable that they have

all been enumerated in this report. Many of them were driven from Mexico during the revolution of 1915, and not all of them are citizens of the United States. Yet they have apparently assumed a permanent position in the social picture of the Southwest; and unless the United States is prepared to undertake a campaign of wholesale deportation, it would seem necessary to face the fact that they are here to stay, and to plan for their reorganization upon a better level. The superintendents report that their children are accepted in the public schools, and that the county has established a free clinic for them at the village of Guadalupe. The superintendent of Sells Agency reports that county authorities look after the policing and sanitation of the Yaqui village near Tucson. Arizona apparently is acting on the assumption that the Yaqui Indians are a permanent part of its population.

Although it is true that some are intermarried with the Mexicans, and indistinguishable from them, they are a distinct Indian group. At one time, it is said, there was considerable racial feeling between the Mexicans and the Yaquis, but this has died out since their children have been attending public schools together.

All the reporting superintendents near whose jurisdiction the Yaquis live speak of the nomadic character of these people. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to assume that this alleged cultural trait would nullify a land acquisition and colonization program for them. Being totally landless and compelled to travel about in search of work, they have become, it would seem, the Indian variety of the white migratory workers of our Northwest woods, or the Southern Negro cotton pickers. Further investigation should undoubtedly be undertaken, but for the present it would seem wise to plan for their future on the same basis as other landless Indians.

*The Wandering Crees of Montana and North Dakota.*—The exact origin of the great numbers of unenrolled landless Indians in Montana and North Dakota, sometimes referred to as Crees and sometimes as Chippewas, would be impossible to determine without considerable investigation. It is, of course, generally known that many of them, perhaps the preponderant majority, came from Canada; but the practice of referring to themselves as Chippewas of American origin is common, and, as a result, segregated statistics about them cannot be given. It is believed that some of them are certainly Chippewas who drifted west from the Lake States.

They are concentrated principally in Montana and North Dakota, and are a problem to the governments of both these States. They have come close to the reservation populations and have become identified with them in many ways. The disposition of the

Federal Government to regard them as a partial responsibility has existed for a long time. In the past year, purchases of submarginal land have been made for their use. The "homeless, wandering bands of Crees and Chippewas" are a familiar population feature on the Northern Plains, and a solution of their landless poverty is of pressing importance.

As in the case of the Mexican Yaquis, the legal position of these Indians should be definitely established and a land acquisition and rehabilitation program undertaken in their behalf.

*Chippewas, Potawatamies, and Ottawas of Michigan and Wisconsin.*—There can be no question about the fact that the unenrolled landless Indians of Michigan and Wisconsin are the victims of a century of official indifference. Indian agencies have been entirely disbanded in the State of Michigan, and the Lac du Flambeau and Tomah agencies, Wisconsin, exercise a tenuous and ineffective absentee supervision. That these Indians should be promptly assisted through land purchase and an extensive application of Federal-State cooperation (in accordance with the Swing-Johnson legislation) is an imperative necessity.

*Special Problems Affecting Purchase of Land for Unenrolled Indians.*—The present condition, background, and peculiar characteristics of the unenrolled landless Indians compel consideration of certain factors which will inevitably affect the success of any land acquisition programs which may be carried out in their behalf.

The outlook of these Indians generally offers difficult problems. As an under-privileged group, accustomed to the lowest standards of living and bred in an atmosphere of governmental indifference, they will require more than the gift of land to propel them toward industry and social responsibility.

Their almost complete exemption over generations from governmental supervision and their lack of experience in meeting the usual standards of organized life are psychological factors which must be taken into consideration and dealt with.

With some groups, such as those at Mole Lake, Wis., grievances of long standing (that they have been unfairly omitted from Federal benefits in which the Chippewas of the Lake States have participated) present another type of psychological problem. The Cree-Chippewas of Blaine and Phillips Counties of Montana have in the past years asserted their right to a large reservation for their exclusive use and ownership, with customary agency services of health, education, and the like.

As the position of the unenrolled landless Indians is probably the worst of the entire Indian picture, it should be frankly admitted that any program of rehabilitation on land will present discouraging obstacles. It has been previously stated that the determination

of the land needs of these Indians can be met with greater flexibility than for the regularly enrolled reservation Indians. Yet there are important limitations that must be kept in mind. For years these Indians, being "on their own", have obtained some measure of wage earning from certain sources. The establishment of new homestead communities must take these facts into consideration lest even the present degree of monetary income be sacrificed without the substitution of other means of livelihood from which they may obtain cash income. A certain proportion of the unenrolled Indians are intermarried with enrolled Indians, and for them land acquisition programs may in many cases be incorporated with the programs for the enrolled Indians. Of the 1,179 unenrolled Indians residing within jurisdictions, probably 60 percent could be domiciled away from existing Indian reservations.

Though they are at present subsisting at an extremely low economic level, the unenrolled Indians undoubtedly have a compensating virtue of independence. Almost wholly abandoned and forgotten, they have learned to shift for themselves. Any program of bringing Federal aid to them on a large scale should be so conducted as not to introduce the baneful effects of paternalism and destroy the substance of their present independence.

*Conclusion.*—Wherever these Indians reside they are a source of friction to both the white and Indian populations, health hazards to the community in which they live, and an important social problem to every governmental unit. Instead of being constant solicitors of charity, emanating an atmosphere of hopelessness, poverty, and grievance, the unenrolled Indians may become transformed, with wise social planning, into a self-sustaining people. The argument of self-interest alone should provide the State and other local governments with incentive to cooperate with the Federal Government in an aggressive program of rehabilitation.

**Heirship Complexities of Indian Land Estates**

*Present Indian Heirship Lands—Statistics.*—The importance of the acreage of Indian lands in heirship status is quickly seen when viewed in relation to other types of Indian-owned lands.

TABLE II.—Land ownership on Indian reservations, 1934

Classification	Number of tracts	Acreage	Percent
Living allotments	63,360	11,369,974	21.9
Deceased allotments	41,087	6,252,726	12.0
Tribal	Unknown	34,287,336	65.6
Reserved for agencies, schools, etc.	Unknown	232,899	.3
Total	104,447	52,142,935	100.0

With the stoppage of further allotment virtually assured under the Wheeler-Howard Act,<sup>26</sup> all the land now in the possession of original allottees will pass into

the heirship stage in the next generation. Sales of land to other than Indian tribes or corporations were also prohibited.<sup>27</sup> It is, therefore, a definite certainty that the area of heirship lands will steadily increase in the immediate future; and inasmuch as the Wheeler-Howard Act left untouched the present system of heirship, except to restrict inheritance to members of a tribe or their descendants (thus preventing acquisition by whites), the problem of what to do with these lands becomes of paramount importance. At present the heirship lands are 12 percent of all Indian lands and 35 percent of the allotted lands.

These heirship tracts are potentially one of the most important of the Indian resources.

TABLE III.—Heirship land, classified as to use, on Indian reservations<sup>a</sup>

	Acrea	Acrea
Agriculture, total		1,371,928
Now irrigated	85,122	
Not irrigated <sup>b</sup>	101,114	
Irrigation unnecessary	1,185,692	
Grazing, total		4,747,907
Open country	4,171,163	
Browze	119,354	
Timber, with grass pasture	457,390	
Miscellaneous, total		132,891
Swamp	5,075	
Timber, not covered with grass	95,605	
Valuable for other purposes <sup>c</sup>	20,779	
Unfit for any use	11,432	
Grand total		6,252,726

<sup>a</sup> See Table V: Acreage of Indian Reservations by States in 1934.  
<sup>b</sup> Susceptible, water available.  
<sup>c</sup> Mainly building sites.

*Heirship System a Vehicle for Alienating Indian Land to White Ownership.*—In 1902 pressure for legislation which would authorize the sale of heirship allotments could no longer be resisted. The passage of the act of May 27, 1902 (32 Stat. 245, 275) opened the sluiceway for a wholesale dissipation of the Indian landed estate.<sup>28</sup> A few years later (1906) it was complemented by another law which permitted the Secretary of the Interior to sell original allotments, as well.

Upon the death of an allottee there were four possible methods of disposing of the estate:

- (1) The Secretary of the Interior could issue fee patents to the heirs as a group or otherwise remove the restrictions.
- (2) The estate could be physically partitioned among the heirs and either trust or fee patents issued to them individually.
- (3) The estate could be retained by the superintendent and leased for the benefit of the heirs.
- (4) The estate could be sold under Government supervision and the proceeds distributed among the heirs.

<sup>26</sup> Sec. 1 prohibits further allotment, but by sec. 18 the whole act may be rejected by a negative vote of a majority of eligible voters of a band or tribe.

<sup>27</sup> Sec. 4.

<sup>28</sup> The act of 1902 was later modified to provide a more orderly method of determining heirs, principally by the act of May 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 182), and the act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. 855, 859).

Partition of estates is a common procedure when the number of heirs is small; but small families are not the rule among Indians, and the very tardy process of probate in the Office of Indian Affairs causes long periods of time, often running into years, to elapse before the heirs are determined. In the meantime, new heirs may have been born, and the heirs of the original allottee may have died.

The leasing of heirship allotments is a more frequent procedure, with consequences to be noted later. But it is more important to note here that under the act of 1902 a single "competent" heir could demand the sale of the whole allotment. Even though an administration may frown upon the sale of the heirship lands, it is actually powerless to prevent it. It perpetually faces the dilemma of either permitting the land to be

sold, or exerting its influence to retain the land in the ownership of the heirs and to lease it. So long as the allotment is held intact, it is subject to progressive subdivision by the death of heirs and the resulting fragmentation of the equities.

If the estate is put up for sale, Indians rarely have the cash to buy it and the allotment almost invariably passes to white ownership. A strong pressure to sell comes from the Indian heirs themselves because of their lack of experience with the white man's property system. Contrary to the hopeful idealism of the proponents of the allotment system, the Indians have not acquired the white man's respect for "land in severalty." Unrestricted, individual ownership, as contrasted with their own communal ownership, tempts Indians to look on land as an asset to be disposed of for

### HEIRSHIP ESTATE OF LIZETTE DENOMIE, CHIPPEWA ALLOTTEE NO. 178

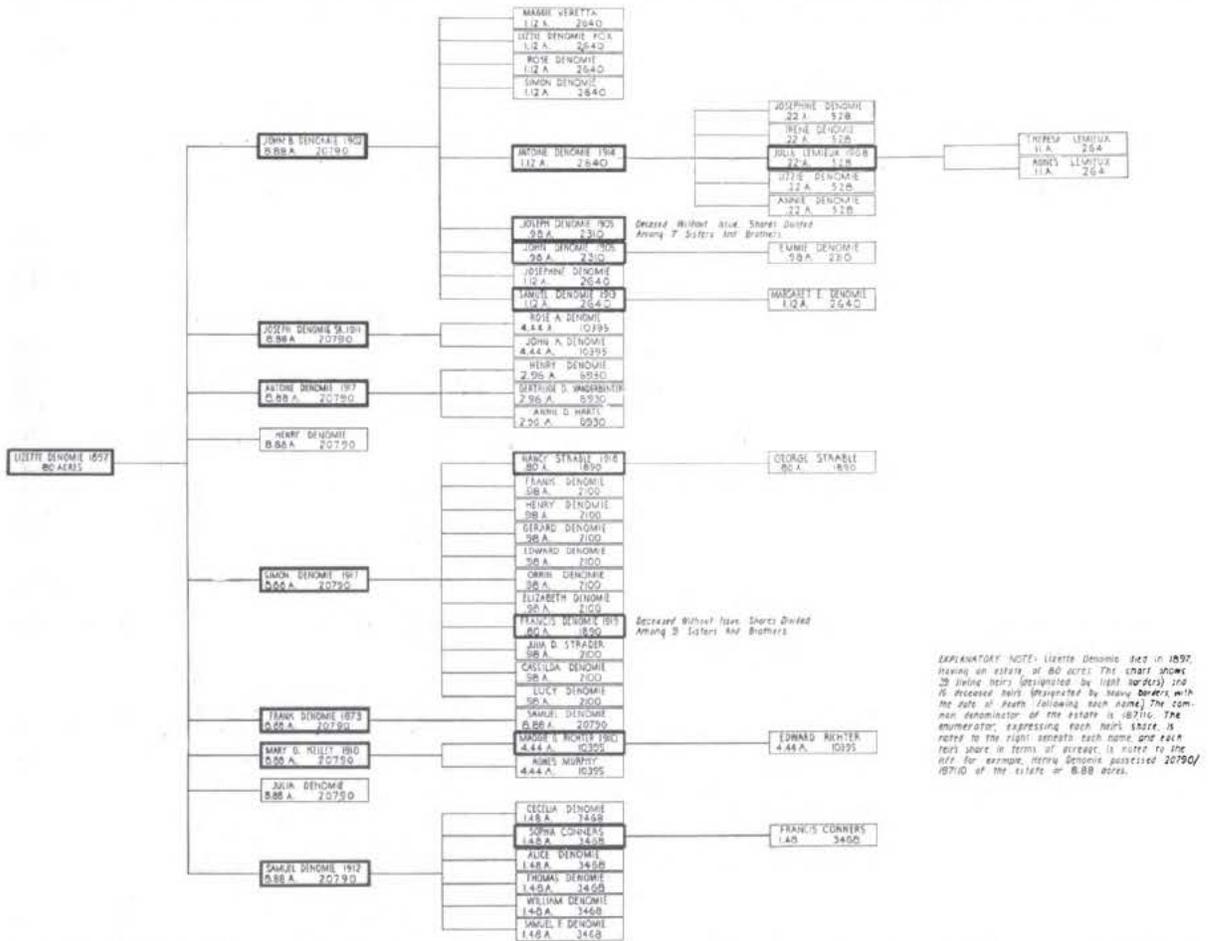


FIGURE 3.—An allotment becomes subdivided on the death of the owner. By the time partitioning reaches the third generation individual tracts often become a fraction of an acre.

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cash to meet everyday wants rather than to work it for an income.<sup>29</sup>

The result of this legislation was exactly what would be expected—a rapid dissipation of capital assets. From 1903, when the first sales were made, to 1934, sales of heirship land totaled 1,426,061 acres, most of which was spent as income. Desperately in need of the steady income which the application of labor to these lands would have provided, Indians were nevertheless permitted to divest themselves of the one asset which they needed most to insure their own survival.

*Heirship System Renders Indian Land Unsuitable for Indian Use.*—The Indian heirship land system is characterized by the constant tendency of individual estates to grow more complex in their equities, more and more confusing to both the Indians and their guardians, and progressively more costly to administer. An allotment, once it has passed into the hands of heirs (but still protected by a trust title), steadily subdivides into smaller and smaller equities as heirs, and heirs of heirs, increase. On the other hand, individual Indians accumulate more and more minute equities, in increasing numbers of different estates. This double process will be illustrated by specific cases.

Selected for its relative simplicity, the estate of Lizette Denomie presents a typical picture of the subdivision of an allotment through inheritance. (See fig. 3.) Only 37 years have elapsed since the original allottee died, yet the Office of Indian Affairs has probated the estate five times. Today there are 39 living heirs, and 16 deceased heirs. Containing 80 acres, the allotment is distributed among the 39 heirs in the shares listed below, roughly computed with only two decimal places:

3 heirs have an interest of 8.88 acres each  
 4 heirs have an interest of 4.44 acres each  
 3 heirs have an interest of 2.96 acres each  
 6 heirs have an interest of 1.48 acres each  
 6 heirs have an interest of 1.12 acres each  
 10 heirs have an interest of .98 acres each  
 1 heir have an interest of .80 acre each  
 4 heirs have an interest of .22 acre each  
 2 heirs have an interest of .11 acre each

The heirs of this estate happen to be young or middle aged; otherwise the number of heirs, with proportionately smaller equities, would be still greater. Nevertheless, it is manifest that all these heirs could not physically utilize 80 acres for their subsistence, even if they used it on equal shares; nor could they derive any substantial benefits by leasing it for income.

When one turns to the other process—that of individual Indians falling heir to an accumulation of equities in a number of different estates—one finds another im-

<sup>29</sup> Dr. John R. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology recently wrote: "Our own attempts to substitute land for a living fails to attain its object because there is no insistence that land shall be used to furnish a living with the addition of labor instead of being sold outright."

practical situation. An analysis of the heirship holdings of the Old Bear family, of the Crow Reservation in Montana, illustrates the point (see fig. 4), though it is selected from a tribe of Indians who are exceptionally wealthy in their land assets.

The Old Bear family, numbering 24 closely related individuals, is living on a total of two or three tracts. All of them have one or more shares in heirship estates, and 11 members own allotments of their own. This family owns 9,496.71 acres in original allotments, and 7,442.90 acres in heirship estates—a total of 16,939.61 acres. There are, in all, 56 heirship interests.

Between the legal inhibitions which attach to trust land and the physical separation of the various units of land it is utterly impossible for the family to work all this land economically. The only solution, under these circumstances, is to lease the bulk of the land, though the heirs are rich in land and could themselves engage in a substantial livestock business if their holdings were consolidated. When this process applies to Indians possessing much smaller allotments than the Crows, the full complexity of the heirship tangle can be visualized.

It must be remembered that this twofold distribution of unusable equities in heirship estates is constantly accelerating with practically all members of the tribe. The Indian Service is faced with the task of managing a hopelessly scrambled collection of land equities, and the Indians are reduced to the status of petty lessors and real estate operators.

*Heirship Equities So Small as to Make Outright Sale Desirable.*—The large sales of heirship land since 1902 have undoubtedly been aided by the willing acquiescence of Indian heirs themselves. Aside from their blindness to land in severalty, Indians can hardly be blamed for their inclination to let their heirship lands go rather than to retain them in infinitesimal equities. Pertinent data in reference to 15 typical heirship estates have been assembled which show the highest, lowest, and average mean share of lease rental income; the highest, lowest, and average mean share, in terms of acreages, if the estates were physically partitioned among the heirs; and the highest, lowest, and average mean share, if the estates were sold and the proceeds divided among the heirs.<sup>30</sup>

The estates under consideration were selected as typical rather than extreme cases. The number of living heirs range from 9 to 88. One estate of great value, because of its minerals, was included. The returns from leasing operations show the pitifully small returns to the individual heirs. Omitting the mineral estate of John Beaver, the largest shares of annual rentals range from \$2 to \$50; the lowest from 1 cent to \$14.71; and the average mean share from 9 cents to

<sup>30</sup> Table XI, Selected Land Estates on Indian Reservations.

\$21.02. In the case of the Headingoff estate, for example, 2 of the living heirs receive \$2 each per year and 5 heirs receive 1 cent each per year. As the heirs multiply, individual shares of lease money progressively diminish, and the estates become increasingly more difficult to lease. Some estates, like that of George Bearskin and Me-saw-bay, are unleaseable.

In order to lease a piece of heirship land, the Office of Indian Affairs must get signatures or powers of attorney from a sufficient number of heirs to include equities equaling at least 50 percent of the estate. The paper work and traveling involved in these transactions tend to consume more and more of the time and money of the Indian Service.

In the trail of the whole business is the constant streaming of the Indians to the agency to find out whether there is "any lease money coming."

In the second section of table XI, are figures showing the acreages of the estates which would be distributed

to the heirs if the estates were physically partitioned. The highest shares range from 4 to 100 acres, the lowest from 0.003 to 8 acres, and the average mean from 0.27 to 16 acres. It will be seen that for the bulk of the heirs physical partition would be of no advantage. Rural life needs tracts of land, not abstract equities.

But when we turn to the third section of the table, what the heirs would receive if the estate were sold at its appraised valuation, we discover reasons why Indian heirs prefer to see their land sold. Omitting the Beaver estate, the highest equities range from \$15 to \$2,375, the lowest from \$0.15 to \$325.66, and the average mean from \$1.35 to \$466.66. To an heir deriving 50 cents a year in lease money, \$14 in ready cash from sale is an inducement to sell. This is equally true of the heir who is getting \$33.62 in lease money; by sale he can obtain \$746.66. In the latter case, one must eliminate white psychology, accustomed to

HEIRSHIP HOLDINGS OF THE OLD BEAR FAMILY - CROW INDIAN RESERVATION MONTANA

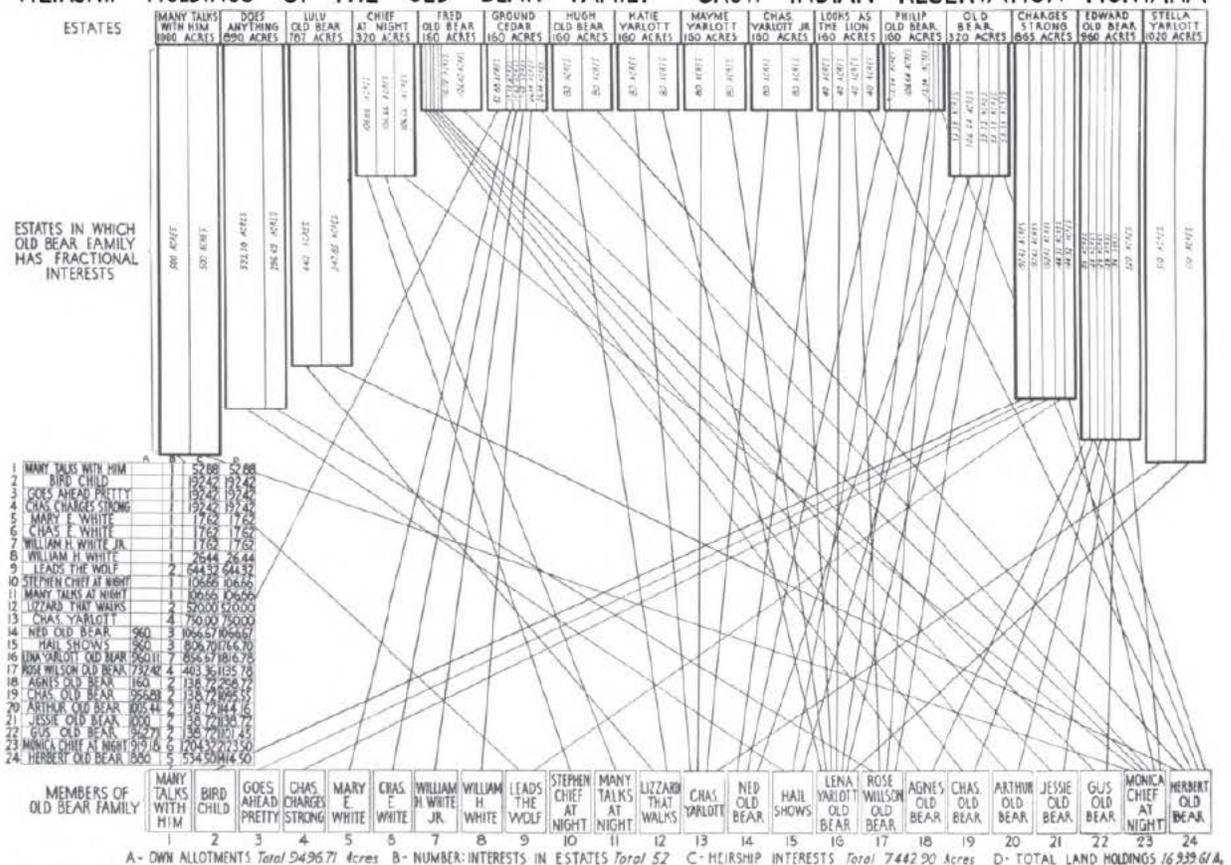


FIGURE 4.—Indians fall heir to an accumulation of equities in a number of different estates by the partitioning of lands when the owner dies. The process progresses geometrically from generation to generation.

principles of rent and interest. The bourgeois white frugally accumulates little incomes like this, but does so in addition to wages or salary. Set in the milieu of reservation life, with its low standard of living and recurrent periods of starvation and want, the Indian cannot be justly blamed if he daily annoys the Indian superintendent for trickling sums of lease money, or if he is more than eager to realize a larger sum by outright sale.

*Allotted Tribes Rendered Landless in the Third Generation.*—These cases, though they illustrate the constant tendency of the Indian land estates to divide and subdivide into fractional interests, cannot be viewed as representative of the bulk of heirship estates. Against the tendency of increasing subdivision, there is at work a correcting factor which liquidates the more complicated estates through sale. This is simply the alienation of the heirship land from Indian ownership, the effects of which have already been mentioned. The Indian Service, under the allotment and heirship system, has been irresistably driven to the adoption of a policy of liquidation. Only by enormous sales could it have reduced the crushing load of administering this impossible trusteeship of heirship lands. The allotment system in the heirship stage falls of its own dead weight, and Indians are inevitable losers.

Substantiation for the foregoing statements is found in an analysis of the heirship situation on three reservations. Reference is here made to table IV, giving certain data on the Winnebago, Kiowa, and Crow Reservations.

At the Winnebago Reservation, 74.3 percent of all allotted land has been alienated from Indian ownership. At present the Winnebagoes are in the middle of the third generation, having been allotted in 1887. They have only 25.7 percent of their original lands. The experience of that tribe bears out the assertion of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, that the allotment system normally contemplates total landlessness for the allotted tribes in the third generation.

Of the land now remaining in Indian ownership only 1.6 percent is still in the hands of the original allottees and 24.1 percent in heirship status. Turning to the latter classification, we find that 55.1 percent of the heirship estates have 1 to 5 heirs and that 17.4 percent have from 6 to 10 heirs. Thereafter, the number of heirs drops sharply. One might expect increasing numbers of heirs in the higher classifications, but as heirship estates accumulate heirs, the pressure for relinquishment increases. For example, large sales of complicated heirship estates on the Winnebago Reservation were effected in 1928 and 1929.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Advice of superintendent.  
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TABLE IV.—Heirship estates on Winnebago, Kiowa, and Crow Reservations, classified as to number of heirs<sup>1</sup>

Items	Winnebago, Nebr., allotted 1887		Kiowa, Okla., allotted 1901		Crow, Mont., allotted 1907 to 1919	
	Acres	Per cent	Acres	Per cent	Acres	Per cent
Total allotted land.....	103,710	100	548,036	100	2,054,055	100
Alienated.....	77,085	74.3	159,690	29.1	218,136	10.5
Owned by original allottees.....	1,620	1.6	200,792	36.7	1,229,141	59.9
Heirship estates.....	25,005	24.1	187,554	34.2	606,778	29.6
	Number of estates	Per cent	Number of estates	Per cent	Number of estates	Per cent
Number of heirs by groups:						
Total.....	412	100.0	1,861	100.0	1,534	100.0
1-5 heirs.....	227	55.1	1,531	82.3	1,303	84.9
6-10 heirs.....	72	17.4	250	13.4	165	10.8
11-15 heirs.....	32	7.8	50	2.7	29	1.9
16-20 heirs.....	28	6.8	23	1.2	14	.9
21-25 heirs.....	20	4.9	6	.3	11	.7
26-30 heirs.....	32	7.8	1	.1	9	.6
51-75 heirs.....	1	.2			2	.1
76-100 heirs.....					1	.1

<sup>1</sup> Source of data: Special questionnaire of the Indian land unit, September 1934.

On the Kiowa Reservation, we find an essentially parallel condition. Now in the early years of the second generation since allotment (1901), the Kiowa have already parted with 29.1 percent of their allotted land. Original and heirship acreages exist in almost equal portions.

At first glance, the table shows a relatively favorable condition at the Crow Reservation. At that jurisdiction, only 10.5 percent of the allotted land has been alienated, with the bulk of the land in the possession of the original allottees (59.9 percent). The history of allotment at Crow throws some light on the figures. Of the three reservations under consideration, the Crows were the most recently allotted. At varying intervals beginning in 1907 this tribe was allotted and reallocated several times until 1919. (By one act of Congress, allotments were made to deceased members of the tribe.) As a result, these Indians have a wealth of land, largely earning good revenues under leases to cattle companies. The growing complexity of managing these lands is apparent, however; it is caused in part by such subdivision of individual parcels of land as to hamper consolidated use of the sum total of individual holdings—as already illustrated by the heirship holdings of the Old Bear family.

*Heirship System Encourages Leasing.*—The separation of the Indians from the use of their land through the mechanism of the present heirship system is illustrated by a closer examination of the facts on particular reservations. (See fig. 5.)<sup>32</sup> Although the 16 reservations studied constitute only a sampling of all the allotted reservations, it is probable that the

<sup>32</sup> See Table XII: Use of Heirship Lands on Sixteen Northern Plains Reservations.

same general conditions would be revealed on the others if time and facilities had permitted the Indian land unit to study them. The sampled reservations are all in the Great Plains region, predominantly adapted to the livestock industry.

Examining the data for the 16 reservations as a whole, one is struck by the facts that of 4,511,131 acres of heirship land 68.9 percent is being leased to others by the heirs, and that 23.2 percent is totally unused by anybody. In other words, 92.1 percent of all the heirship land on these reservations is devoid of the industry which Indians should be applying to it. Only 2.2 percent is being leased to Indians, leaving the lion's share to the whites. Of the total heirship acreage, only 7.9 percent is in use by the heirs of the original allottees.

Examining the figures for the particular reservations, we find that on only two reservations are the heirs

making any appreciable direct use of their land. These are Turtle Mountain (79.2 percent) and Shoshone (57 percent). At Turtle Mountain, the use of estate lands by the heirs, however, does not indicate a favorable condition, as the reservation has a small total acreage in proportion to a population of about 3,000 with a consequent heavy demand for cash.<sup>33</sup> The heirs are actually using the land, but the crowding is so intense that it is impossible to derive substantial benefit for the tribe as a whole. Some tracts of 80 acres have as many as 5 or 6 small cabins, and some tracts of 40 acres have as many as 2 or 3 families. This condition makes it impossible for each family to raise sufficient hay for even one milch cow. At Shoshone it has long been the policy to allow heirs who do not happen to have allotments of their own to occupy and use the whole of an heirship tract. This

<sup>33</sup> Advice of superintendent.

### USE OF HEIRSHIP LANDS - SIXTEEN NORTHERN PLAINS RESERVATIONS

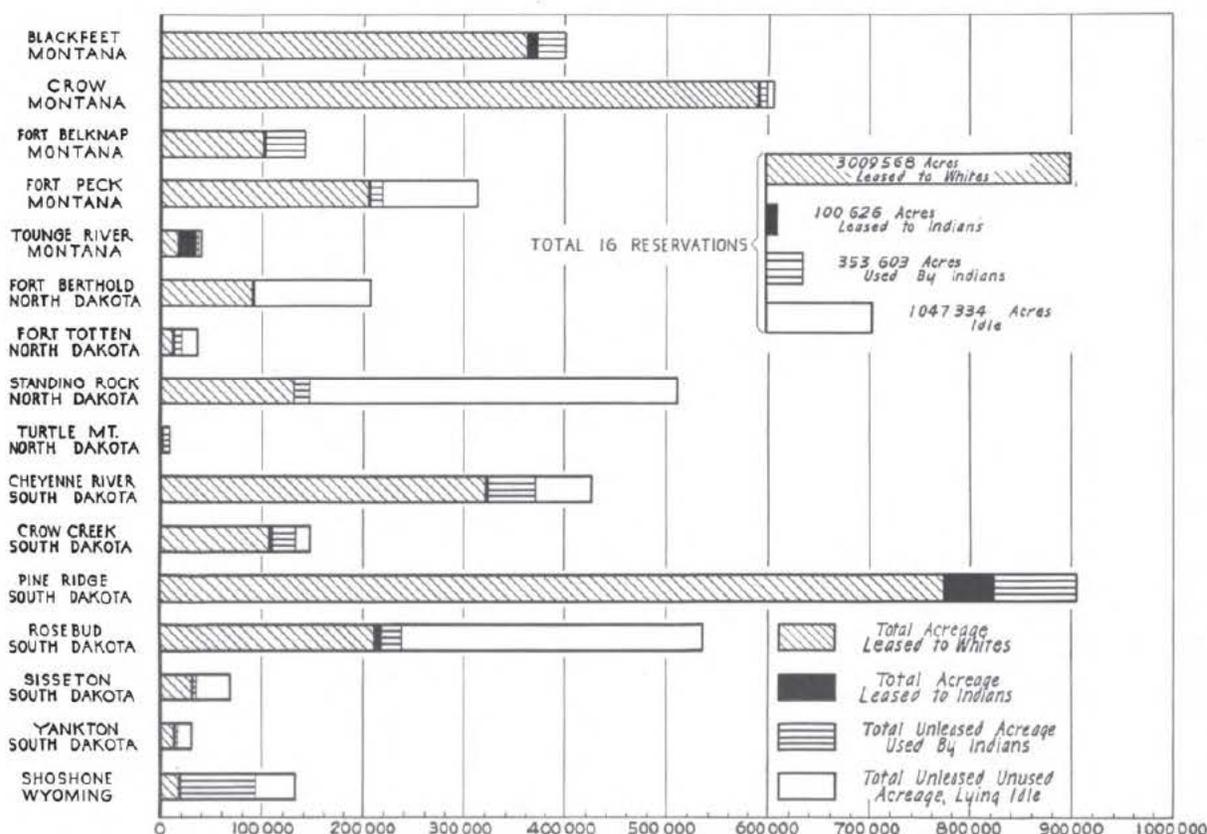


FIGURE 5. -The extent to which heirship lands are leased and not used by Indians is graphically shown by this chart which pictures the use of heirship lands on 16 northern plains reservations. Out of a total of 4,511,131 heirship acres 3,009,568 acres, or 66.7 percent, are being leased to whites. Only 100,626 acres, or 2.2 percent, are being leased to Indians. Another common characteristic of heirship lands is shown in the total of 1,047,334 acres, or 23.2 percent, lying idle, unused by anyone. Predominantly grazing land, the allotments on these reservations can bring the Indian owners substantial benefit only if the allotted land is consolidated into units large enough to permit the Indians to engage in livestock activity, for which they have demonstrated aptitude and ability.

is the only instance to come to the attention of the Indian land unit where this practical solution has been worked out. All the other reservations range, in the percentage of heirship land used by Indians, from 8 percent in the case of Crow Reservation to 37.8 percent in the case of Fort Belknap.

When the data on land lying idle are considered in the light of the land acquisition program recommended in Indian Land Problems and Policies, report of the land-planning committee of the National Resources Board, section III, chapter V, December 1, 1934, page 6, table 28, one strikes a seeming paradox. Most Indian reservations require additional lands to meet "a balanced production capacity", assuming that all Indian-owned land is put to full economic use. Yet Pine Ridge, which needs 4,155,000 acres of additional land, is now leasing 775,377 acres of heirship lands to whites; and Cheyenne River, needing 332,040 acres, is now leasing 325,177 acres of heirship lands. The point here, obviously, is that the Indians must be given the opportunity to put this huge leased acreage into Indian use as a primary condition and antecedent to any land-acquisition program.

Of the 16 reservations listed in table XII, only 2 are leasing appreciable acreages to Indians: Tongue River and Pine Ridge. These exceptions are worth noting for the reasons which determine this condition. At Pine Ridge 67,241 acres are leased by 15 Indians, but only 2 of these Indians are full-bloods. At Tongue River, the 19,240 acres of heirship land leased to Indians are all contained in a unit used by the Indian Stock Association there.

*Conclusion.*—From the above analysis of Indian heirship lands, it is obvious that techniques to correct the division and subdivision of such lands must be effected immediately. It is equally necessary that certain heirship lands, if they are to be of benefit to

the Indians, must be consolidated into economic blocks. Only in this manner can use by Indians, as opposed to use by whites, or no use at all, be developed.

### High Cost of Administering Allotted Lands

*Effects of Allotment System on Indian Service.*—As we have seen, the individualization of land holdings steadily reduced the Indians to the status of petty landlords. A parallel process was to turn the Indian administration into a huge real estate and banking business. With the constant growth of a complex assortment of Indian land equities, the work of the field employees was centered more and more upon the book-keeping and other machinery of essentially nonproductive activities, primarily the leasing of the fragmented Indian lands. The repeated probating of land estates, the determining of heirs and their equities, the securing of signatures on leases, the collection of lease rentals, the distributing of checks to Indians, the authorizing and accounting of "Individual Indian Money", the satisfying of technical requirements in sales of land—all accompanied by a tidal wave of correspondence between the agencies in the field and the Washington headquarters of the Office of Indian Affairs—became the daily drudgery of many branches of the Indian Service.

Under the crushing load of this kind of administration, the employees were deflected from the main task of developing Indians into self-reliant and self-supporting people. Increasingly, they became routinists. Instead of land in severalty becoming an educative influence in the lives of the allottees, it nurtured the paternalism that was already a pronounced weakness of Indian administration. Things which Indians should have learned to do for themselves came to rest in the hands of the Indian Service employees, thus sapping Indian independence and resourcefulness.

*Costs on Allotted Reservations.*—Data compiled from 44 allotted reservations for 1933 give abundant proof of the enormous waste of money and time now entailed in unproductive real-estate transactions. That year is representative of the situation which existed prior to 1933 when sales of trust land were abruptly stopped by order of the Secretary of the Interior.

Of 43 superintendents (1 did not report), 22 are devoting from 20 to 70 percent of their time to unproductive real-estate transactions. (See figs. 6 and 7.) Of these 22 superintendents, 1 is devoting 70 percent of his time to this unproductive work, 7 are devoting 50 percent of their time, 1 is devoting 40 percent, 4 are devoting 30 to 35 percent, 8 are devoting 25 percent, and 1 is devoting 20 percent. The other 21 superintendents are devoting 1 to 15 percent of their time to these real estate operations. A general average for all the superintendents is 22 percent.

COMPARISON: TIME DEVOTED TO UNPRODUCTIVE LAND ADMINISTRATION ON ALLOTTED AND UNALLOTTED RESERVATIONS

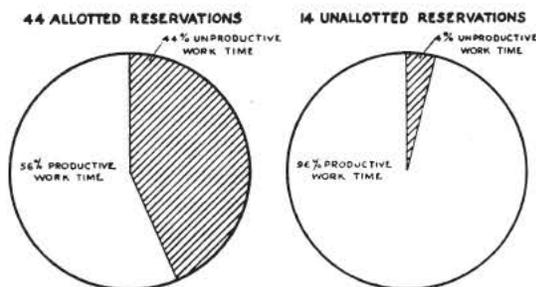


FIGURE 6.—Employees in the Indian Service spend almost half their time in unproductive manipulation of fragmented lands on allotted reservations. Where land remains in tribal ownership employees are allowed to devote their attention to helping Indians produce more goods.

The average time devoted to unproductive real-estate operations by the employees of the Extension Division is 38 percent, and individual cases show a more exaggerated condition. Of the reporting Extension Division officers 27 are devoting 30 percent or more of their time to land operations, of which 4 average from 75 to 100 percent. The extension employees, because of their executive ability and their close and constant contact with individual Indians and their problems, have had many of these land duties delegated to them by the much burdened superintendent. This delegation has continued in spite of vigorous efforts by the executive head of the Extension Division at Washington to confine his employees to their primary task—the training of Indians as subsistence farmers. Instead of encouraging and helping Indians toward the working of their own land, the employees are devoting a very substantial part of their time and energy to the sterile business of leasing Indian land.

Leasing also occupies a large part of the activities of the Forestry Division. The investigation shows that these employees devote an average of 46 percent of their time to leasing. Other agency employees average, with variations, about the same percentage.

Finally, before leaving this analysis of the work activities of the employees of 44 allotted reservations, let us note that their appropriations amount to \$8,087,155 in the fiscal year 1934–35. Of this amount the reservations are spending \$3,381,798 for all lines of educational activities, and \$1,207,233 for medical and health services, totaling \$4,589,031. When the cost of these two major activities—health and education—are deducted from the total appropriation, the amount available for all other activities on these reservations is \$3,429,124. The total of salaries of employees at work on activities other than health and education is \$1,133,570. Yet the general average of 44 percent of the time of these employees is being directed toward activities which are essentially nonbeneficial and of no assistance whatsoever in helping the Indians adjust themselves to their present economic problems. Such

PROPORTION OF TIME DEVOTED TO UNPRODUCTIVE REAL ESTATE AND BANKING ADMINISTRATION BY INDIAN SERVICE EMPLOYEES

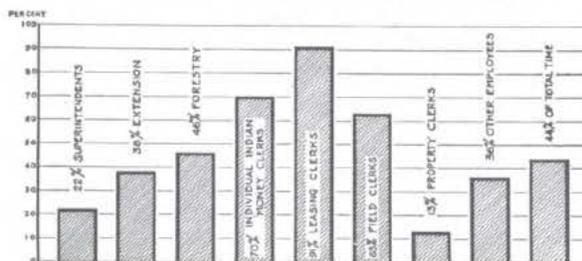


FIGURE 7.—Trained technicians in the Indian Service are diverted from their primary function of helping Indians to self-improvement because of the time required to administer an unsatisfactory and unproductive land system.

effort is represented by \$498,259 of the total salary appropriation, as well as a large proportion of both tribal expenses and subsistence.

The present situation, with its entangling effects, as well as the solution dictated by this analysis, is illuminated by the following comments of the superintendents of some of the reservations:

*Fort Peck, Mont.*—A great deal of the time devoted to operations related to leasing of allotments is chargeable directly to heirship lands. We have 312,000 acres of heirship lands, 204,600 acres being under lease at the present time, with a total annual return of \$50,000. Many of these heirship lands are very complicated and are becoming more involved each year, increasing the time that must be spent on them in leasing and distribution of rentals.

*Fort Totten, N. Dak.*—The elimination of all Indian land and money affairs would reduce agency work one-half. Insistence of Indians that Government employees handle all their land matters makes extra burdens not necessary with the capacity these Indians have. Refusal to do their business on land matters incurs their displeasure, and the withholding of individual Indian monies is always distasteful to them. Many of the Indians of the northwest country are willing and are able to handle their own land and money matters, and should be gradually encouraged to do so. Excessive and intricate Government red tape frequently prevents practical and business-like transactions for the Indians.

*Fort Hall, Idaho.*—Approximately 53 percent of the allotted lands, or 162,000 acres, is inherited land. This is the class of land activity which is essentially nonproductive from an administrative standpoint.

The superintendent feels, as do many others who have had to do with allotted reservations, that the land work is one of the most voluminous parts of the clerical end of Indian Service administration. Instead of being a productive feature it is gradually growing and becoming more unwieldy. This is particularly true of the lands of deceased Indians. It causes so much clerical work that the Indians may become very dissatisfied about their interests and the slowness with which most of the work must be handled.

*Shoshone, Wyo.*—It is believed that if some arrangement could be made whereby the tribe could purchase the heirship lands and add them to their tribal holdings, a large part of land administration costs would thereby be eliminated.

*Fort Belknap, Mont.*—As is known, this reservation is almost entirely allotted, and there is a great amount of work involved in negotiating leases, grazing permits, etc., and the proper distribution of funds when collected. I have found that land administration is greatly simplified under tribal ownership.

*Kiowa, Okla.*—I estimate that I spent at least one-third of my time on leasing matters, consisting of settling disputes between lessors and lessees, approving leases and modifications, and signing individual Indian money debts derived from the leasing of lands.

*Contrasted Costs on Unallotted Reservations.*—A similar inquiry on 14 unallotted reservations reveals a striking contrast. We find here that only an average of 4 percent of the time of the employees is devoted to nonproductive land activities. We find that the superintendents average 4 percent of their time, the Extension Division 1 percent, the Forestry Division 7 percent, the "Individual Indian Money" clerks 3 percent, the leasing clerks 15 percent, the field clerks one-half of 1 percent, and all other employees 8 percent, except property clerks, who devote none of their time to this work. The advantage which service employees and Indians on unallotted reservations have over employees and Indians on allotted reservations is here apparent.

On unallotted reservations leases of tribal land are made with comparative facility, and with no great consumption of time, since the consent of the Tribal Council is usually quickly and easily obtained. Contrast this with the hundreds of transactions required on allotted reservations, where the consent of numerous heirs must be secured and a corresponding volume of paper work executed. Tribal income is generally applied to tribal activities, and the amount of money handled in "Individual Indian Money" accounts is much smaller. Only a small part of service employees' time, individually and in the aggregate, is concerned with bookkeeping and managing land operations. By being relieved of the interminable requests for information from individual Indians about their petty land and cash accounts, these employees are in a position to devote their time and their energy to activities of genuine significance. A few comments from superintendents of such reservations illuminate the general situation:

*Menominee, Wisconsin.*—The Menominee reservation is unallotted. We have no grazing activities, no leasing activities, and no land rentals.

*Northern Pueblos, New Mexico.*—The cost of land administration among the Pueblos is not excessive, due to the fact that a large part of the work of administration is done by the Indians themselves.

*Southern Pueblos, New Mexico.*—All Indian land administration under this unit is in connection with land board awards and submarginal lands.

*Western Shoshone, Nevada.*—Since we have no allotments, we have no leases, land sales, or heirship work involving real estate. There is, therefore, no employee whose time is taken up with such work. We do have work in connection with land, but not the kind referred to herein.

*Southern Navajo, Arizona.*—Most of our land work is in connection with settling disputes over public domain allotment boundaries between Indians or between Indians and whites.

*Cherokee, North Carolina.*—The lands of the reservation are unallotted, and the amount expended for administration of nonproductive land or other real estate is negligible.

With the change in Indian land policy instituted by the present administration and sanctioned by the Wheeler-Howard Act, it should be possible in the years ahead for the subdivided Indian land holdings to be consolidated into tribal or corporate ownership. Success in carrying out the policy would without doubt result in substantial saving to the appropriation for the Office of Indian Affairs. It should not result in any appreciable reduction in the number of employees; but, rather, it should free the employees to do the work for which they were employed.

#### Readjustment of Indian Land Tenure

As previously explained, a total of 52,000,000 acres of land remains today in Indian ownership. Of this acreage, 66.1 percent is communally owned by the tribes, and 33.9 percent is allotted in severalty.<sup>34</sup> As most of the tribally-owned land belongs to the unallotted tribes, the problems of both land acquisition and land tenure center primarily in the Indians who have been allotted. The unallotted acreage was made reasonably safe from the ravages of the allotment system by the Wheeler-Howard Act, which stops further dividing of tribal lands. No such security attaches to lands belonging to allottees or to their heirs. Although it is true that the Wheeler-Howard Act will arrest the alienation of allotted land to white ownership, it contains no check to the continued fragmentation of allotted land by the process of inheritance.<sup>35</sup> At best the Wheeler-Howard Act merely opens up an opportunity for the assimilation of the allotted land into tribal corporate ownership, through gift, exchange, or purchase. As it is inconceivable that the United States would purchase vast areas of land for the Indians and then voluntarily permit such land to be subjected to the destructive and uneconomic process of the heirship system, it becomes imperative not only to establish definite goals for permanent Indian land tenure, but also to transfer the presently allotted grazing and timber lands to that tenure by the most expeditious and least costly means available.

*The Essence of Successful Indian Land Tenure.*—The starting point of any realistic thinking on this problem is to admit with candor the conspicuous failure of Indian experience with "land in severalty." Yet in

<sup>34</sup> See table V, Acreage of Indian Reservations, 1934.

<sup>35</sup> See Heirship Complexities of Indian Land Estates, pp. 15 to 21.

doing so, an important refinement should be made: This failure has grown out of an inability to hold onto the land under the allotment system rather than out of inability to make individual use of land when properly protected and adequately helped in its use. The failure has been due, in part also, to the fragmentation of grazing and timber lands, which can best be managed in large areas under common ownership. The correct direction in which Indian land tenure should strike out—that of tribal or corporate ownership—has been clearly indicated in the Wheeler-Howard Act, and tested by outstanding examples where this objective has already been successfully realized. In the cases to be cited, a few definite characteristics of successful Indian land tenure stand out:

(1) The Indians who have held onto their lands or made effective use of them, and have escaped the process of alienation, are those who have tribal or group ownership.

(2) Communal ownership has nowhere impeded individual initiative or development; on the contrary, it has advanced individual possession, inheritance, and use of land.

*The New Mexican Pueblos.*—Title to the land of the New Mexican Pueblos resides in the Pueblos, or the people as a whole. Yet possession and use of the land for all real and technical purposes is individual. It is "owned" until death, when it may be left to children, or if there are no children, to sisters, nephews, nieces, etc., but always to the family.

The individual may exchange his piece of land with another member of the tribe, and this power of exchange is perhaps the only weakness in the system. Possible mischief may occur in that some members of the tribe may acquire control over too large an acreage. If there is a member of the Pueblo without land for his needs, the Council assigns him a portion from the tribal reserve. If land falls into disuse, the Council may assign it to others. Lands may be withdrawn by the Pueblo Council as a penalty for serious offense.

This system has certain apparent advantages. It is built upon the family as the unit and does not, as does the system of allotment, dismember the family by subdividing the ownership. It entirely escapes the confusion of heirship as it exists in allotted reservations. It prevents absolute alienation to outsiders. It retains the land in a solid block, and thus saves it from the process of "checker boarding."

The system is centuries old. It is an institution closely integrated with the social and religious life of these people, and for that reason offers less convincing evidence that an adaptation of it would work in resurrecting the allotted tribes from allotment and landlessness, especially since most of the allotted tribes were wandering nomads, and substantially different in

their cultural background. Yet common ownership with some resemblance to the Pueblo system is in the experience of most other Indians.

*North Carolina Cherokees.*—The experience of the North Carolina band of Cherokees is of special importance, for it demonstrates how corporate ownership has worked out. This band is a remnant. It is made up of Cherokees who successfully evaded removal to the West. They fled to the hills, but in the course of time they reassembled and made individual purchases of land. Later, in 1889, they pooled their land voluntarily and incorporated under the laws of the State of North Carolina.

In a statement which these Cherokees sent to Congress endorsing the Wheeler-Howard bill, then pending, they said: "Under our charter we have been able to live, manage our individual affairs, and operate and conduct all the business of the tribe in a satisfactory manner. We see little or no need to change our organization inasmuch as the present charter is sufficiently flexible to meet any and all questions." Their mode of life under corporate ownership has been so successful that one of their more immediate problems has been to protect themselves from legislation which would admit outsiders to share their estate.

*Indian Cattle Associations.*—In an otherwise dreary picture of allotment failure, the conspicuous successes of Indians at Fort Hall, Idaho, and Fort Belknap, Mont., in forming cattle associations stand out in sharp contrast. In both cases we have perfect illustrations of how group action, as applied to the land, can promote Indian welfare. In 1931 the Fort Belknap Indians had a few cattle which ranged with those of whites to whom they had leased the bulk of their land. The following year they formed a livestock association for cooperative marketing, instead of individual selling. "In 1931", said Mathew K. Sniffen, Secretary of the Indian Rights Association, who studied the matter in the field in 1934, "the Indians had 2,500 head of cattle. Now they have approximately 6,000. They were using, in 1931, 15 percent of their range; they now use 30 percent, and for the next year they will require 50 percent of it. The grazing arrangement is a combination of allotment and tribal lands. Where an individual has land that will carry 20 head of cattle with the stock association, his account balances if he has 20 head on the land. If he has some elsewhere, the rentals are applied to the share of the land he is using from the association, the average being 20 acres per head. Where an Indian has an allotment within the range, and no cattle of his own on it, he receives a regular rental therefor. In the winter each individual takes care of his own cattle. He is supposed to have sufficient hay put up to provide for them."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Indian Truth, November 1934.

Essentially the same technique and success is evidenced at Fort Hall. What we have here is not an example of communal tenure, but rather an example which points definitely to that tenure as a next step in their economic development. In the case of the Fort Belknap Livestock Association, we can see clearly and convincingly the direction in which land policy should go, especially among the Plains Indians.

*Canada.*—The basis of the Canadian Indian land system is essentially what has just been pointed out. In that country citizenship and land in severalty are not denied, but they go together; and they are granted only after a long period of preparation and testing. There also the Indians reside on reservations, but the title has always been kept communally. An individual may take up a piece of land for his own use. So long as he uses it, it is his; and the Dominion Government will aid him in its development. If he deserts it or neglects it, it may go back to the group. Wisely, Canada realized that individualization of land holdings would at best be a slow process with Indians, and has never resorted to the policy of compulsory allotment adopted by the United States.

*Government Purchase of Allotted Land Considered.*—It has frequently been proposed that Congress solve the problem of allotted land, and particularly of heirship lands, by creating a huge fund with which to purchase these lands to reallocate them for life tenure. This procedure, except in certain instances, would be undesirable for the following reasons:

1. Because it would amount to double compensation—paying Indians for their lands and then returning them to the Indians for their use.
2. Because the cost would be prohibitive—the heirship lands would cost at least \$100,000,000 and the land in original allotment at least \$18,000,000.<sup>27</sup>
3. Because it would pour gigantic sums of cash into Indian hands, result in further undermining Indian character, and add another chapter to the deplorable history of such experience with unearned income.
4. Because it would be another paternalistic gesture, involving no participation or sacrifice on the part of the Indians.
5. Because there are other methods by which the same objective can be achieved.

*Method of Transferring Deceased and Living Allotments to Tribal Ownership.*—Tribal ownership would, assuming a permanent Congressional policy, guarantee an assured land base for the American Indian. But where outright ownership of the equity is not feasible, tribal control, guaranteeing Indian use, would in essence be secondarily desirable. Following is a description of five techniques of accomplishing the results:

1. Purchase by the Tribe or Tribal Corporation.—While the purchase of allotted lands by the Government for Indians is condemned, it may in some cases be

<sup>27</sup> Estimate based on evaluation prepared by Harry Nettleton, Indian Land Unit, National Resources Board.

desirable for Indians, acting as tribal groups, to undertake such purchases themselves. The tribes should not attempt to pay for such lands in lump sums, even if they are financially able; instead, payments should be made in equal installments over a period of years.

2. Surrender in Return for the Right to Graze Cattle.—Another method of acquiring the title to allotted lands is for the owners to surrender their lands in return for the right to graze a specific number of cattle for a definite period of years. In the case of heirs with infinitesimally small shares of allotment this method would offer a genuine inducement. In many cases, such shares are practically valueless in either income or in personal use, whereas if consolidated with other land, under Indian group organization, they would give the heirs an equity of use of real value.

3. Surrender in Return for Pension.—A certain portion of the population, because of advanced age or physical handicap, cannot use land. It was one of the arguments of those who advocated the Leasing Act of 1891 that such persons would be helped by renting their allotments to others. As we have seen, a loose interpretation of the act has led to great abuses, but in any case the leasing act proved to be much more beneficial to the leasing whites than to the Indian owners. What was needed, in the interest of the Indian people as a whole, was an arrangement by which the allotments of aged and physically incapacitated persons could be brought into Indian use. This reform can be accomplished to the common advantage of the owners and of the Indians as a group by the simple expedient of surrendering the allotment holdings to the tribe in return for stated monthly payments, which in substance would be old-age pensions or insurance. This method presupposes tribal funds that could be made available for such payments.

4. Surrender in Return for Assignment of Other Land.—In blocking up desirable units of Indian land and in assuring exchange of present land holdings for more desirable ones, surrender to the tribe or tribal corporation in return for the assignment of different land is to be recommended. In such cases, those who surrender their allotments and receive other lands should be required to make specific improvements thereon in a stated period; otherwise such land should revert to the tribe. Limited rights of inheritance, similar to those in the Pueblos, could be permitted under tribal control by stipulations in the agreement that the land shall be assigned to a certain person or persons at the death of the owner and that all such assignees must be members of the tribe.

5. Surrender in Return for a Proportionate Interest.—Finally, allotments could be surrendered to the tribe in return for a proportionate interest in tribal lands and income therefrom. The proportionate in-

terest should be based from year to year upon the ratio between the value of land surrendered and the total value of tribal lands. Such interest in the tribal estate and its income could be bequeathed to the heirs or assignees, but should not be transferable except with the consent of the tribal council, in order to avoid monopolies. This method of transfer in return for income is especially applicable to the allotted timber lands for reasons explained elsewhere in this report.

*Probate and Partition of Allotted Land Estates.*—This chapter has thus far dealt with common ownership as the ultimate land tenure, especially for grazing and timberlands, and the techniques by which title of present-day allotted lands may be translated to that desirable status. There has been no discussion of immediate practical expedients to correct the vagaries of the heirship system. Even though a strong current should immediately begin to carry allotted lands into tribal or corporate ownership, it would take several years to complete this program of land acquisition and consolidation. In the meantime there will be progressive fragmentation of the lands which are not brought under tribal ownership; for the Wheeler-Howard Act—though it erects barriers against alienation to white ownership—does not modify the present heirship system and the laws relating to it.

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once said in an opinion upholding a sterilization statute that three generations of idiots were enough and it was time to call a halt. Something of the same attitude which escapes an over-developed respect for property rights must be brought to bear upon the heirship system. Three generations of it have reduced the land holdings of our Indians to a crazy quilt. It is time to call a halt.

Subdivision has today reached a point at which the Government should step in and lay a firm hand upon the whole process. When an heirship allotment, not surrendered to an existing tribal corporation, remains unused by Indians because the heirs have grown so numerous as to make physical partition or direct use by them impossible, the guardian (the United States) should have the right to transfer the heirship land to the tribal corporation in return for equivalent shares or rights of use in the tribal estate. The Government should be debarred from partitioning estates where such partition would divide the allotment into uneconomic units. Indians as a group should have the chance to succeed upon the new basis of land holdings and individual rights under the present fantastic heirship system should not be permitted to block the land use program.

A further complication arises from the slowness of the Government's probate procedure. During the protracted periods of inquiry in probating Indian estates, heirship lands lie idle or are leased. If a piece of allotted

land which has passed to heirs is to remain in trust status, and its heirs are unwilling to surrender it to the tribe in return for the benefits heretofore outlined, the Government should promptly partition such lands down to the minimum economic units that are still useable by heirs. But it cannot do this effectively and with benefit to the Indians unless it can introduce into its probate procedure the speed and common sense which applies in the white world.

A comparison with white experience and procedure in the same field is of value. White heirs generally meet the problem of inherited lands at the time it arises. They usually do not attempt to partition a piece of land beyond the minimum required for subsistence. They generally agree among themselves as to a settlement, and permit one or more of the heirs to buy out the others.<sup>35</sup> Probate follows quickly, without allowing additional heirs to accumulate. Equities are satisfied when they arise. Transfers and readjustments are immediately made among the comparatively small number of heirs and the land continues in the use of at least one member of the deceased person's family, the others being pressed toward other domiciles or other lands or other modes of living.

*Indian Cooperation Essential.*—The paternalism of the past has, in varying degrees, left the impression among Indians that they will be taken care of no matter what happens and that there is little need to battle with the problem of land. This illusion should be dispelled.

It is urged and expected that the whole program of Indian land consolidation and absorption of allotted lands by the tribes shall go forward by persuasion, based upon a sincere effort to instruct the Indians in their best interests. Indeed, the whole program advocated in this report cannot but fail unless Indians acquire a clear understanding of the objectives aimed at and support them wholeheartedly. At the same time, Indians should be disillusioned as to what the future holds for them, if this program (perhaps literally their last chance at security in a world which will rush forward and forget them) does not succeed because of failure to enlist their intense participation.

*Obstacle to Land Consolidation by Tribes.*—The successful application of the techniques thus outlined depends wholly upon understanding and consciously directing the cooperation of the Indians. For the task ahead Indians have unfortunately had a poor preparation. The allotment system has not taught them the value of land as a means of livelihood through work. It has sown the belief that land is a commodity to be disposed of for cash for current living expenses. The

<sup>35</sup> In the process of agreeing among themselves, however, the farm is usually mortgaged to pay off the interests of the heirs who are not intending to use the land. In fact it is held by some that much of the mortgage delinquency on white farms today is attributable to inheritance factors. (See preface.)

distinction between capital resources and income has never been made clear to the Indian, and in this respect the Government itself has been a poor instructor. It has dissipated very great amounts of Indian capital in defraying agency expenses and in allowing cash distributions derived from sales of capital rents. It will be most difficult to get the Indians to unlearn the folly of past policies, and to adopt means that will insure for themselves and their future generations the land they desperately need for survival. There is reason to believe that the Indians will grasp the vision of the new program because the technique of tribal ownership, though transformed to meet modern conditions, is based solidly upon inherent cultural tendencies of their past.

A more difficult problem is presented by the cleavage in present-day Indian groups caused by intermixture

of white blood. Superficially, at least, a good portion of Indian population, especially in allotted areas, has embraced the white culture. Theoretically, this offers no real bar to their cooperation with the still Indianized section of the population in land utilization. Yet Indians, as a matter of fact, are factionalized to a degree which must, in many places, condition the plans for land rehabilitation. The opposition from some Indians to such vitally needed reforms as the Wheeler-Howard Act is an illustration. At the same time such opposition reveals how tragically unsuccessful has been their so-called assimilation when they oppose the use of so modern an instrumentality as a corporation on the basis that it is taking the Indians "back to the blanket".

*Checkerboarded Lands.*—The fragmentation of Indian land by sale to whites has had consequences far beyond

TABLE V.—Acreage of Indian reservations in 1934, by States, classified as to ownership and character

[Figures herein were taken mainly from the 1934 Annual Statistical Reports of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which were submitted by the superintendents of reservations and agencies. The contents of the various reports were verified for accuracy by checking against other information in the Washington office. The sources used were general data concerning Indian reservations, Oct. 15, 1929, Land Office data, extension division data, the National Resources Board questionnaires as to potential resources, the Civil Works Administration social and economic survey (where complete) and the Executive orders relating to Indian reservations. "Farm" land includes all land suitable for crops but not "irrigable". This table and table VII are supplementary.]

State	Living allotments				Deceased allotments					
	Number of tracts	Farm	Irrigable	Forest and grazing	Total	Number of tracts	Farm	Irrigable	Forest and grazing	Total
Arizona <sup>1</sup>	4,581		56,763	112,849	169,612	2,528		29,900	43,434	73,334
California	1,483	1,088	7,375	11,787	20,850	1,023	3,110	4,790	14,506	22,406
Colorado	56	85	3,844	7,228	11,155	130	255	11,492	16,470	28,223
Idaho	1,237	66,451	18,531	155,377	240,389	1,932	41,805	38,469	153,534	215,308
Kansas <sup>2</sup>	451	18,501	16,129	34,720						
Minnesota	1,074	6,805	311	28,408	35,584	1,741	8,197	2,089	86,528	96,814
Mississippi <sup>1,3</sup>	1,567		4,139	5,706						
Montana	12,551	365,311	105,048	3,457,719	4,028,078	4,783	141,816	40,437	855,297	1,037,560
Nebraska	111	5,231	3,920	9,151	14,212	771	54,704		1,179	55,883
Nevada	841	790	7,796	29,818	29,574	828	430	7,114	49,837	57,401
New Mexico	4,045	9,858	1,967	823,024	834,809	592	8,017	3,333	226,571	235,921
North Dakota	4,026	162,818	571,933	734,421	1,207	40,692			202,039	242,722
Oklahoma	12,308	589,151	1,298,444	1,887,595	3,785,447	8,806	400,298		769,391	969,689
Oregon	2,595	29,378	9,875	316,567	355,820	1,256	36,454	1,330	106,671	144,465
South Dakota	10,286	568,982	1,618,530	2,187,512	3,921	671,863		1,752,329	2,424,192	
Utah <sup>4</sup>	492		20,616	11,709	32,324	601		31,890	21,444	53,304
Washington	5,833	78,596	47,445	491,907	617,385	3,672	29,496	29,992	286,226	339,694
Wisconsin	936		1,714	51,714	53,428	1,134			80,788	82,922
Wyoming	862		30,250	93,792	124,042	1,232		34,580	108,662	143,242
Total	63,890	1,905,242	309,520	9,165,212	11,369,974	41,087	1,436,617	215,385	4,600,723	6,252,726

State	Unallotted or tribal				Reserves for agencies, schools, etc.				Total land all types
	Farm	Irrigable	Forest and grazing	Total	Farm	Irrigable	Forest and grazing	Total	
Arizona	21,400	55,491	18,321,579	18,398,470	346	1,837	14,385	16,568	18,657,984
California	5,417	4,180	394,920	404,517	25	549	3,591	4,165	451,938
Colorado			510,465	510,465		628	800	1,428	551,271
Florida <sup>5</sup>		78	125,747	125,825		5	50	55	125,880
Idaho	2,737	11,080	331,089	344,906	30	502	653	1,185	349,788
Iowa	1,320		2,033	3,353	8			8	3,361
Kansas			80	80					80
Minnesota			408,012	408,012	1,105		1,898	3,003	543,413
Mississippi					34		178	212	5,908
Montana	5,325	10	1,095,977	1,071,312	2,207	1,496	95,040	49,832	6,186,772
Nebraska	2,200		1,126	3,326	015		245	260	69,280
Nevada		3,808	605,510	609,318		202	267	469	696,592
New Mexico	15,148	39,107	4,793,238	4,817,493	1,145	1,272	6,320	8,737	5,898,450
New York <sup>6</sup>	24,226		58,451	82,677					82,677
North Carolina	5,715		57,215	62,930	65		265	330	63,290
North Dakota	1,679		22,890	24,569	1,728		4,033	5,761	1,007,473
Oklahoma <sup>6</sup>	228		9,898	10,126	8,961		13,485	22,470	2,919,880
Oregon	2,047	372	1,245,006	1,247,425	630	592	7,147	8,369	1,804,109
South Dakota	907		513,732	514,639	5,668		81,591	88,259	5,314,932
Utah	63	1,860	1,496,130	1,498,053		859	5,530	6,379	1,500,993
Washington	21,047		1,724,075	1,745,122	176		10,240	10,711	2,712,915
Wisconsin			262,055	262,055	505		857	1,362	395,919
Wyoming		21,885	1,997,718	2,019,603		1,213	1,476	2,689	2,249,579
Total	114,519	137,871	34,034,946	34,287,336	24,358	9,449	199,092	232,899	52,142,935

<sup>1</sup> Figure for living allottees does not include the Leupp Agency, Ariz.  
<sup>2</sup> Figures represent total trust land.  
<sup>3</sup> No data on number of allottees.

<sup>4</sup> Figure for living allottees does not include Allen Canyon.  
<sup>5</sup> Of this land 126,547 acres are worthless.  
<sup>6</sup> Data partly estimated.

TABLE VI.—Basic In

[Figures herein were taken from the 1934 statistical reports which were submitted by the superintendents of reservations and agencies. The contents of the various reports were Oct. 15, 1929, Land Office data, Extension Division data, the National Resources Board questionnaire as to potential resources, the Civil Works Administration Socio-Economic in all the aforementioned supplementary sources]

Agency or jurisdiction and reservation	Date established	Original area of reservation	Land acquisition since establishment	Total acreage acquired since establishment	Reductions other than allotted and alienated land					Dates of major allotments	Total number of allotments made	Acreage of allotments	Land alienated by sales, patent in fee, certificates of competency, etc.
					(1) Acreage of ceded lands	(2) Acreage of surplus opened to settlement	(3) Miscellaneous losses of land	Total of (1), (2), and (3)	(4) Remunerations, if any				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
Grand total		130,730,190	9,106,312	139,836,502	28,299,100		22,694,658	3,475,217			246,560	40,848,172	23,225,472
Arizona		14,018,029	4,096,404	18,714,433			12,160	44,249			17,110	242,086	40
Colorado River (A.):													
Colorado River (R.)	Nov. 16, 1874	240,093		240,093				{ 13,440 1,973 }		1915	841	8,410	
Fort Mojave (R.)	Mar. 3, 1855	13,888	17,440	31,328									
Fort Apache (A. and R.)	Nov. 9, 1871	1,668,597	3,606	1,672,203									
Fort Yuma (A.): Cocopah (R.)	Sept. 27, 1917	360		360				7,421					
Hopi (A.): Kooms Canyon (R.)	Dec. 16, 1882	2,472,320		2,472,320									
Leupp (A. and R.)	Nov. 10, 1901	184,320	565,970	750,290								55,740	
Northern Navajo (A. and R.)	June 1, 1858	1,044,190		1,044,190									
Painte (A.): Kalab (R.)	July 17, 1917	120,031		120,031									
Phoenix (A.): Camp Verde (R.)	Aug. 1, 1914	476		476									
Pima (A.):													
McDowell (R.)		24,680		24,680									
Gila River (R.)	Nov. 15, 1883	350,025		350,025						1887	4,898	97,795	
Salt River (R.)	June 14, 1879	46,378		46,378						1913, 1922	973	25,223	
San Carlos (A. and R.)	Dec. 14, 1872	1,610,240		1,610,240									
Sells (A.):													
Gila Bend (R.)	Dec. 12, 1882	22,400		22,400			12,160						
Papago (R.)	Feb. 1, 1917	2,205,474	358,400	2,663,874				22,415					
San Xavier (Papago) (R.)	July 1, 1874	70,120		70,120						1887	293	41,646	40
Southern Navajo (A. and R.)	June 1, 1858	1,160,960	2,067,840	3,228,800						1919, 1929	67	10,542	
Truxton Canon (A.):													
Hualapai (R.)	Jan. 4, 1883	972,949	800	973,749									
Havasupai (R.)	June 8, 1880	618		618									
Tuba City (A.): W. Navajo (R.)	May 17, 1884	1,700,809	1,682,258	3,383,067						1905	38	3,830	
California		290,852	170,367	470,219				2,940			2,887	58,597	15,341
Fort Yuma (A.): Yuma (R.)	Apr. 10, 1887	25,622		25,622						1912	850	8,150	
Hoopa Valley (A.):													
Hoopa Valley (R.)	Mar. 3, 1928	300		300									
Rancheria (R.)	Apr. 8, 1894	116,572		116,572						1892, 1893	1,048	32,886	15,131
Mission (A.):													
Augustine (R.)	Feb. 10, 1893	615		615						1928	4	154	
Cabazon (R.)	May 15, 1876	240	1,281	1,521						1928	12	482	
Cahuilla (R.)	Dec. 27, 1875	17,612	640	18,252									
Campo (R.)	Feb. 10, 1893	280	114,730	115,010									
Capitan Grande (R.)	Mar. 10, 1894	10,253	12,537	22,790				{ 1,040 1,020 }					
Cosmit (R.)	Dec. 28, 1875	80		80									
Cuyapaipe (R.)	Feb. 10, 1893	880	4,440	5,320									
Inaja (R.)	Feb. 10, 1893	200	640	840									
Laguna (R.)	Feb. 10, 1893	160	160	320									
La Jolla (R.)	Sept. 13, 1892	8,329		8,329									
La Posta (R.)	Feb. 10, 1893	240	3,640	3,880						1928	77	746	
Los Coyotes (R.)	June 19, 1900	190	24,590	25,050									
Manzanita (R.)	Feb. 10, 1893	640	4,320	4,960									
Mesa Grande (R.)	June 19, 1893	120	5,843	5,963									
Mission Creek (R.)	Jan. 28, 1921	2,500		2,500									
Moronog (R.)	Dec. 14, 1908	11,059	20,665	31,724						1928	16	158	
Pala (R.)	Feb. 10, 1893	160	20,430	20,590						1919	267	1,428	
Palm Springs (R.)	May 14, 1896	3,845	27,283	31,128				80		1915	176	1,387	14
Patuma (R.)	Aug. 18, 1893	250		250						1897	88	1,299	30
Pechanga (R.)	Aug. 29, 1893	2,840	1,315	4,155									
Ramonis (R.)	Feb. 10, 1893	520		520									
Rincon (R.)	Sept. 13, 1892	2,314		2,314						1920	79	410	
San Manuel (R.)	Aug. 31, 1868	640	13	653									
San Pasqual (R.)	July 1, 1910	1,343		1,343									
Santa Rosa (R.)	Feb. 2, 1907	3,300	2,733	11,063									
Santa Ynez (R.)	Dec. 27, 1901	1176		1,176									
Santa Ysabel (R.)	Feb. 10, 1893	9,159	520	9,679									
Soboba (R.)	June 10, 1913	80	4,370	4,450									
Sycuan (R.)	Dec. 27, 1876	640		640									
Twenty-nine Palms (R.)	Nov. 11, 1894	160	1	161						1895	17	290	36
Torres-Martinez (R.)	Mar. 3, 1909	10,397	13,881	30,268						1922	216	8,885	130
Sacramento (A.):													
Fort Bidwell (R.)	Jan. 30, 1897	3,600		3,600									
Rancherias (R.)	1907	1,741	5,964	7,705									
Round Valley (R.)													
Tule River (R.)	Jan. 9, 1873	40,074		40,074									
Walker River (Bishop) (A.):													
Port Independence (R.)	Oct. 28, 1915	320	600	920						1910	40	116	
Indian Homesites (R.)	Approx. 1912	2	111	113									
Scattered Bands (R.)	Mar. 11, 1912	2,418		2,418						1912		2,418	
Colorado		584,744		584,744							375	72,851	33,473
Consolidated Ute (A.):													
Ute Mountain	Mar. 2, 1868	511,465		511,465									
Southern Ute		73,279		73,279						1895	375	72,851	33,473
Florida													
Seminole (A. and R.)	June 28, 1911	3,640	125,240	128,880									

See footnotes at end of table.

Indian land statistics, 1934

verified for accuracy of data, and discrepancies were checked against such information as was obtainable. The sources used were General Data Concerning Indian Reservations Survey where complete, and Executive orders relating to Indian reservations. Such adjustments as were necessary were made on the basis of a study of information contained

Living allotments					Deceased allotments					Tribal									
Number	Acres, agricultural	Acres, irrigable	Acres, grazing	Total	Number	Acres, agricultural	Acres, irrigable	Acres, grazing	Total	Acres, agricultural	Acres, irrigable	Acres, grazing	Total	Reserve for agency, school, etc.					
XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII	XXIII	XXIV	XXV	XXVI	XXVII	XXVIII	XXIX	XXX	XXXI	XXXII	
63,900	1,905,242	309,520	9,155,212	11,399,974	41,087	1,436,617	215,386	4,600,723	6,252,726	114,619	137,571	34,034,946	34,287,336	24,408	9,399	199,092	232,890		
+ 4,581		56,763	112,849	169,612	2,528		20,900	43,434	73,334	21,400	55,491	18,321,579	18,398,470	346	1,837	14,385	16,568		
476		4,700		4,700	385		3,650		3,650			226,200	226,200		70		70		
										2,500	15,664	15,664	31,328		40	440	1,823	2,330	
											3,700	1,656,369	1,662,669						
											200	160	360						
											14,975	2,457,245	2,472,220	13	10	75	100		
		700	* 55,040	* 55,740							2,300	691,890	694,190			396	569		
											5,200	11,038,990	1,044,190						
											100	119,613	119,738	291	2		293		
											15	5	20		80	376	456		
											1,500	23,145	24,645		14	21	35		
3,268		33,968	32,132	65,900	1,630		16,832	14,933	31,765			251,821	251,821		616		619		
649		16,815		16,815	324		8,408		8,408			21,287	21,287		30	38	68		
											810	1,586,890	1,587,706		78	41	119		
																10,240	10,240		
60		490	12,595	13,085	202		1,010	27,511	28,521		18,500	2,945,374	2,963,874		30		30		
60			0,582	0,582	7			960	960	3,825	7,487	3,206,306	3,217,618		106	540	646		
																972,949	972,949		
												90	513		5	11	800		
* 38		330	* 3,500	* 3,830											343	96	439		
1,483	1,088	7,375	11,787	20,850	1,023	3,110	4,790	14,506	22,406	5,417	4,180	394,920	404,517	23	549	3,591	4,165		
567		4,890		4,890	283		3,260		3,260						120	60	180		
273	633	78	3,116	3,827	402	2,531	312	11,085	13,928										
3		114		114	1		40		40			462	462						
8		71	290	361	3		14	107	121			15	1,024						
												206	18,021						
												450	14,430						
												1,143	14,490						
												15	5,295						
												20	820						
												10	307						
66	565	76		641	11	95	16		105			316	7,213						
												50	3,800						
												210	24,840						
												20	3,280						
												445	5,513						
16	128	20		148			10		10				2,402						
204		1,091		1,091	63		337		337	1,342			28,943			7	11		
81	352	248	31	631	94	413	297	32	742	473			18,622		22	6	28		
													31,048			80	80		
													206						
													217						
													120						
													2,730						
													520						
													1,684						
													647						
													1,303						
													10,968						
													11,068						
													11,068						
													33						
													2,856						
													520						
													1,896						
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													520						
													1,896						
													653						
													1,343						
													11,068						
													11,068						

TABLE VI.—Basic Indian

Agency or jurisdiction and reservation	Date established	Original acres of reservation	Land acquisition since establishment	Total acreage acquired since establishment	Reductions other than allotted and alienated land					Dates of major allotments	Total number of allotments made	Acreage of allotments	Land alienated by sales, patent in fee, certificates of competency, etc.
					(1) Acreage of ceded lands	(1a) Reimbursements, if any	(2) Acreage of surplus opened to settlement	(3) Miscellaneous losses of land	Total of (1), (2), and (3)				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
Idaho.....		2,205,658	640	2,206,298	435,910		242,101	552,656			4,125	628,540	172,843
Coeur d'Alene (A.):													
Coeur d'Alene (R.).....	June 14, 1867	345,000		345,000			242,101			1909	100	102,569	40,499
Kootenai (R.).....	1894 <sup>14</sup>	3,255	640	3,895						1908	40	3,255	368
Nez Perce (R.).....	May 1, 1885	760,133		760,133						1893	2,009	175,445	96,292
Fort Hall (A. and R.).....	July 3, 1882	951,885		951,885	435,910					1914	1,916	347,271	35,684
Western Shoshone (A. and R.)	Apr. 16, 1877	145,385		145,385									
Iowa.....													
Sac and Fox (A. and R.).....	1857	80	3,314	3,394									
Kansas.....		116,438		116,438							1,305	116,337	81,617
Haskell Institute (A.):													
Iowa (R.).....	May 17, 1854	12,100		12,100						1893	143	12,100	11,240
Kickapoo (R.).....	June 28, 1862	19,143		19,143						1893	237	19,132	14,007
Potawatomi (R.).....	Nov. 15, 1861	77,358		77,358						1900	812	77,268	49,343
Sac and Fox (R.).....	May 18, 1854	7,837		7,837						1900	113	7,837	7,027
Minnesota.....		2,180,403		2,180,403			119,613	757,867			12,507	892,308	760,110
Consolidated Chippewa (A.):													
Bois Fort (R.).....	Jan. 14, 1889	103,863		103,863			46,957			1886	722	56,471	6,583
Cass Lake (R.).....	Jan. 14, 1889	127,936		127,936						1886	248	14,273	7,278
Fond du Lac (R.).....	Jan. 14, 1889	97,800		97,800			56,817			1886	956	40,903	15,501
Grand Portage (R.).....	Jan. 14, 1889	40,422		40,422			15,239			1886	310	24,975	13,514
Leech Lake (R.).....	Jan. 14, 1889	549,163		549,163						1886	1,568	75,575	50,615
Mille Lac (R.).....	Aug. 1, 1914	1,900		1,900						1896	282	1,920	
White Earth (R.).....	Jan. 14, 1889	709,467		709,467				35,058		1900, 1904	8,334	673,257	666,519
White Oak Point (R.).....	Jan. 14, 1889	5,134		5,134						1898	57	5,134	
Pipestone (A. and R.).....	May 23, 1886	1,130		1,130									
Red Lake (A. and R.).....	Oct. 2, 1863	543,528		543,528				136,288					
Mississippi.....													
Choctaw (A. and R.).....	1918	202	5,706	5,908								5,706	
Montana.....		46,012,169		46,012,169	34,380,726		3,870,897	113,243			21,744	6,527,048	1,461,420
Bluefoot (A. and R.).....	July 5, 1873	3,017,934		3,017,934			1,520,640			{ 1913, 1919 }	6,144	1,441,992	280,852
Crow (A. and R.).....	Sept. 17, 1851	38,531,174		38,531,174	24,380,726		1,751,616			1907-1919	5,507	2,054,055	218,136
Flathead (A. and R.).....	July 16, 1855	1,248,000		1,248,000						1908	3,351	836,261	664,372
Fort Belknap (A. and R.).....	May 1, 1888	622,917		622,917						1921	1,181	530,448	1,142
Fort Peck (A. and R.).....	Dec. 28, 1886	2,094,144		2,094,144			598,741			1921-1926	4,104	1,422,172	296,918
Rooky Boy's (A. and R.).....	Sept. 7, 1916	35,040		35,040									
Tongue River (A. and R.).....	Nov. 26, 1884	442,960		442,960				120		1932	1,457	233,120	
Nebraska.....		500,951	12,348	513,299				163,050			4,529	345,403	280,369
Winnebago (A.):													
Omaha (R.).....	Mar. 16, 1854	300,000		300,000				162,505		{ 1882, 1893 }	1,931	135,495	108,870
Santee and Ponca (R.).....	Mar. 12, 1858	100,951		100,951						{ 1882, 1886 }	1,122	60,704	94,573
Winnebago (R.).....	Oct. 22, 1864	100,000	12,348	112,348				1,145		{ 1886, 1887 }	1,074	110,204	76,926
Nevada.....		691,281	7,115	698,396							1,054	88,579	1,804
Carson (A.):													
Fort McDermitt (R.).....	Sept. 16, 1912	4,287		4,287						1900	149	4,127	80
Nonreservation.....		67,913		67,913						1896	441	67,913	1,440
Pyramid Lake (R.).....	Mar. 23, 1874	322,000		322,000									
Summit Lake (R.).....	Jan. 14, 1913	5,025	6,275	11,300						1893	16	1,500	
Patute (A.), Moapa River (R.)	Mar. 12, 1873	1,065		1,065							120	616	
Walker River (A.):													
Fallon (R.).....	June 17, 1902	4,640	840	5,480						{ 1902, 1917 }	468	4,680	
Mason and Smith Valleys (R.)		10		10									
Scattered Indians (R.).....													
Walker River (R.).....	Mar. 19, 1874	154,342		154,342						1906	500	9,943	254
Western Shoshone (A. and R.)	Apr. 16, 1877	131,969		131,969									
New Mexico.....		3,805,813	2,237,917	6,043,730				145,280			4,097	1,072,220	
Eastern Navajo (A. and R.).....	Jan. 6, 1880	345,000	354,776	699,776						1908	3,900	600,050	
Jicarilla (A. and R.).....	Feb. 11, 1887	397,020	345,600	742,620						1907-8	797	377,846	
Mesalero (A. and R.).....	Jan. 15, 1864	474,240		474,240									
Northern Navajo (A. and R.)	June 1, 1868	1,484,350		1,484,350									
Northern Pueblo (A.):													
Nambé (R.).....	Spanish grant, 1689	12,487	7,680	20,167									
Pojuaque (R.).....		13,471		13,471									
Pietras (R.).....		17,467		17,467									
San Indefonso (R.).....		15,308	4,200	19,508									
San Juan (R.).....	do	16,137		16,137									
Santa Clara (R.).....	do	12,581	32,000	44,581									
Taos (R.).....	do	17,390	5,996	23,386									
Tesuque (R.).....	do	17,060		17,060									
Southern Navajo (A. and R.)	June 1, 1868	401,520	1,131,794	1,533,314				145,280				94,374	

See footnotes at end of table.



TABLE VI.—Basic Indian

Agency or jurisdiction and reservation	Date established	Original area of reservation	Land acquisition since establishment	Total acreage acquired since establishment	Reductions other than allotted and alienated land					Dates of major allotments	Total number of allotments made	Acreage of allotments	Land alienated by sales, patent in fee, certificates of competency, etc.
					(1) Acreage of ceded lands	(1a) Reversion, if any	(2) Acreage of surplus opened to settlement	(3) Miscellaneous losses of land	Total of (1), (2), and (3)				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
<b>Indian Pueblos (A.):</b>													
Acoma (R.)	About 1600	94,169	28,226	122,405									
Cochiti (R.)	do	24,256		24,256									
Jemez (R.)	do	17,501	17,500	35,001									
Laguna (R.)	do	17,390	236,130	253,520									
San Felipe (R.)	do	47,000	12,639	59,639									
Santha (R.)	do	23,938		23,938									
Santa Ana (R.)	do	10,000	6,160	16,160									
Santo Domingo (R.)	do	66,081		66,081									
Sia (R.)	do	17,500		17,500									
Zuni (A. and R.)	Mar. 16, 1877	257,580	75,615	333,096									
<b>New York</b>													
		87,677		87,677									
<b>New York (A.):</b>													
Allegany (R.)	Sept. 15, 1797	30,469		30,469									
Cattaraugus (R.)	do	21,680		21,680									
Oil Spring (R.)	Jan. 3, 1893	640		640									
Oranida (R.)	Nov. 11, 1794	350		350									
Orondaga (R.)	do	6,100		6,100									
St. Regis (R.)	May 13, 1795	14,640		14,640									
Tonawanda (R.)	Sept. 15, 1797	7,549		7,549									
Tuscarora (R.)	Jan. 15, 1838	6,249		6,249									
<b>North Carolina</b>													
Cherokee (A. and R.)	June 17, 1874	91,035		91,035				17 27,775					
<b>North Dakota</b>													
		2,037,477		2,037,477			264,795	417,050			7,034	1,325,302	548,159
<b>Fort Berthold (A. and R.)</b>													
	Apr. 12, 1870	623,589		623,589						1910-13	3,406	605,875	37,370
<b>Fort Totten (A.): Devil's Lake (R.)</b>													
	Feb. 19, 1867	220,834		220,834			87,160	2,330		1892	1,235	120,504	78,883
<b>Sisseton (A. and R.)</b>													
	do	18,015		18,015						1887, 1891	223	15,018	13,058
<b>Standing Rock (A. and R.)</b>													
	Feb. 2, 1889	716,336		716,336			177,635			1895-15	1,874	528,085	201,550
<b>Turtle Mountain (A. and R.)</b>													
	Dec. 21, 1882	458,700		458,700				17 414,720		1904	326	43,820	10,748
<b>Oklahoma</b>													
		20,668,700		20,668,700	4,000		9,735,162	408,600			119,440	19,488,396	16,601,112
<b>Cheyenne and Arapaho (A. and R.)</b>													
	Aug. 10, 1869	4,294,400		4,294,400			3,500,550	18 21,123		1891	3,331	528,789	356,001
<b>Five Civilized Tribes (A. and R.)</b>													
	May 6, 1828	19,410,340		19,410,340			3,612,727	19 231,829		1868	101,206	15,794,098	14,244,163
<b>Kiowa (A.):</b>													
<b>Kiowa (R.)</b>													
	Oct. 21, 1867	2,584,523		2,584,523			2,035,415			1901	3,444	544,457	156,111
<b>Wichita (R.)</b>													
	July 4, 1866	741,853		741,853			386,498	20 140		1901	967	182,715	82,800
<b>Osage (A. and R.)</b>													
	June 5, 1872	1,470,934		1,470,934						1906	2,229	1,465,350	1,020,296
<b>Pawnee (A.):</b>													
<b>Pawnee (R.)</b>													
	July 1, 1902	100,137		100,137						1892	247	100,107	85,882
<b>Kaw (R.)</b>													
	Feb. 8, 1887	194,182		194,182				17 64,829		1899	514	127,993	83,258
<b>Pawnee (R.)</b>													
	do	187,964		187,964				75,263		1887	1,887	112,031	74,734
<b>Ponca (R.)</b>													
	do	101,894		101,894						1902	784	101,235	64,842
<b>Tonkawa (R.)</b>													
	do	11,583		11,583						1893	73	11,423	8,854
<b>Quapaw (A.):</b>													
<b>Eastern Shawnee (R.)</b>													
	Feb. 23, 1867	16,288		16,288	4,000			19 2,543		1891, 1907	117	13,745	9,347
<b>Ottawa (R.)</b>													
	do	18,015		18,015				20 2,000		1892	189	12,060	11,462
<b>Quapaw (R.)</b>													
	May 13, 1883	56,685		56,685				24 440		1892, 1905	435	56,245	39,291
<b>Seneca (R.)</b>													
	Feb. 23, 1867	51,958		51,958				21 10,145		1892	435	41,503	32,615
<b>Wyandotte (R.)</b>													
	do	21,406		21,406				22 288		1892	244	20,942	18,648
<b>Shawnee (A.):</b>													
<b>Absentee Shawnee (R.)</b>													
	Feb. 27, 1867	70,791		70,791						1891	563	70,701	52,111
<b>Citizen Pottawatomie (R.)</b>													
	do	215,899		215,899						1891	1,490	215,999	210,259
<b>Iowa (R.)</b>													
	Feb. 13, 1891	8,685		8,685						1891	108	8,685	5,345
<b>Mexican Kickapoo (R.)</b>													
	June 18, 1894	22,650		22,650						1894	281	22,650	11,370
<b>Sac and Fox (R.)</b>													
	Feb. 13, 1891	88,483		88,483						1891	644	87,683	53,883
<b>Oregon</b>													
		3,465,470	17	3,465,787	706,579			785,259			5,736	669,558	189,543
<b>Klamath (A. and R.)</b>													
	Oct. 14, 1864	1,113,794		1,113,794						1902	1,506	243,490	
<b>Salem School (A.):</b>													
<b>Fourth Section Allottees (R.)</b>													
	Feb. 8, 1887	26,304		26,304						1895	181	26,304	17,511
<b>Grand Ronde (R.)</b>													
	June 30, 1857	69,120		69,120						1891	269	33,148	32,318
<b>Siletz (R.)</b>													
	Aug. 11, 1855	1,382,400		1,382,400	700,570			17 20,551		1894	551	47,716	40,598
<b>Umatilla (A. and R.)</b>													
	June 9, 1855	58,033		58,033				18 625,563		1899, 1926	2,044	156,252	63,751
<b>Warm Springs (A. and R.)</b>													
	June 25, 1855	581,740	17	581,757				19 123,783		1887, 1891	1,182	162,948	15,365
<b>South Dakota</b>													
		12,341,601		12,341,601	1,270,897		2,865,770	56,154			32,952	7,445,882	2,834,178
<b>Cheyenne River (A. and R.)</b>													
	Mar. 2, 1889	2,804,060		2,804,060			1,122,963			1906	5,508	1,261,925	944,627
<b>Crow Creek (A. and R.)</b>													
	Sept. 17, 1851	285,609		285,609						1890, 1912	1,575	284,732	126,086
<b>Crow Creek (A.): Lower Brule (R.)</b>													
	do	354,337		354,337			120,000			1900	1,681	233,373	122,196
<b>Flandreau Sioux (A. and R.)</b>													
	Apr. 29, 1895	2,721,597		2,721,597			182,663			1904-14	8,275	2,380,190	655,890
<b>Pine Ridge (A. and R.)</b>													
	do												
<b>Rosebud (A.):</b>													
<b>Rosebud (R.)</b>													
	Apr. 29, 1893	3,228,161		3,228,161	1,270,897			4 56,154		1898, 1900	8,602	1,830,403	868,853
<b>Yankton (R.)</b>													
	Apr. 19, 1858	430,405		430,405						1894	2,613	298,263	226,158
<b>Sisseton (A. and R.)</b>													
	Feb. 19, 1867	900,762		900,762			160,889			1887, 1897	2,487	319,284	194,297
<b>Standing Rock (A. and R.)</b>													
	Mar. 2, 1889	1,616,640		1,616,640			688,387			1905-15	2,811	838,646	293,371

See footnotes at end of table.





land statistics, 1934—Continued

Living allotments					Deceased allotments					Tribal								
Number	Acres, agricultural	Acres, irrigable	Acres, grazing	Total acres	Number	Acres, agricultural	Acres, irrigable	Acres, grazing	Total acres	Acres, agricultural	Acres, irrigable	Acres, grazing	Total acres	Reserve for agency, school, etc.				
XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII	XXIII	XXIV	XXV	XXVI	XXVII	XXVIII	XXIX	XXX	XXXI	
482		20,615	11,705	32,324	601		31,860	21,444	53,304	63	1,860	1,466,130	1,468,653		859	5,520	6,379	
		† 1,500	† 720	† 2,220							1,065	555,585	556,650		20	20	40	
											170	34,250	34,420		50	30	80	
												120	120					
											30	10,210	10,240					
										63		26,810	26,873		7		7	
											60	17,090	17,120					
482		19,115	10,989	30,104	601		31,860	21,444	53,304			266,710	269,710		782	5,470	6,252	
											555	551,405	552,000					
3,803	78,586	47,445	491,367	617,398	3,679	29,406	20,992	280,226	330,684	21,047		1,724,075	1,745,122	176	295	10,240	10,711	
90			3,744	3,744	14			611	611			178	178			40	49	
1,740	67,815	16,157	148,636	232,008	740	20,000	5,578	55,312	80,890	332		887,500	887,832	60	75	2,369	2,504	
236	4,062	360	19,784	24,206	241	3,161	360	22,484	26,005	20,700		62,820	83,529	44		256	300	
17	862			862	20	475			475	15			15			5	5	
177			1,769	1,769	192			1,950	1,950			† 443	443			435	435	
					8	100		861	961			† 21,975	21,975					
1	15			15								† 719	719					
												820	820	2			2	
1,540			† 133,890	133,890	613			† 44,843	44,843			† 80	80			† 3,274	3,274	
												335	335					
9	1,471		1,293	2,764	40	91		84	175			5	5			10	10	
2			† 156	156	21			† 1,338	1,338									
† 38	500		2,657	† 3,157														
43	1,889		2,670	4,559	49	1,111		4,588	5,699								2	
13	194		874	1,068	20	306		1,370	1,676									
8	111		359	470	28	389		1,257	1,646								36	
10	125		1,246	1,371	35	375		3,739	4,114			† 62	† 62				90	
37	1,542		3,906	5,448	92	3,458		8,800	12,258								325	
1,842		30,928	170,983	201,911	1,544		24,054	132,989	157,043			749,129	749,129	70	130	3,488	3,688	
606			51,714	51,714	1,154			80,788	80,788				262,055	262,055	505		857	
													231,018	231,018	505		505	
360			28,977	28,977	512			32,702	32,792				3,579	3,579				
101			7,625	7,625	413			32,598	32,568				936	936			79	
136			14,301	14,301	180			12,785	12,785				26,522	26,522			778	
9			711	711	42			2,643	2,643									
892		30,250	53,792	84,042	1,262		34,580	108,062	143,242			21,885	1,997,718	2,019,603		1,213	1,470	2,689

<sup>23</sup> Does not include Southern Navajo.  
<sup>24</sup> Executive order, Jan. 16, 1911.  
<sup>25</sup> Restored to public domain, Executive order, Mar. 24, 1884.  
<sup>26</sup> Reserved for military and mission purposes.  
<sup>27</sup> Oklahoma school lands.  
<sup>28</sup> Sale of school and agency land.  
<sup>29</sup> Sold to Moxles, June 23, 1874.  
<sup>30</sup> Sold, agreement of Dec. 2, 1901, ratified by act, May 27, 1902.  
<sup>31</sup> 588 acres sold for townsites of Miami, Okla., act of Mar. 2, 1891; 1,412 acres sold act of Mar. 3, 1909.  
<sup>32</sup> 40 acres reserved and later patented to Catholic mission; 400 acres of school reserve sold under agreement of May 2, 1869, ratified by act of Mar. 3, 1901.  
<sup>33</sup> 10,041 acres sold under agreement of Dec. 2, 1901; 104 acres of school and agency land sold.  
<sup>34</sup> Sold under act of Mar. 3, 1909.  
<sup>35</sup> 26,111 acres A. pr. 28, 1904 (33 Stat. L. 567), 440 acres sale of school farm Apr. 28, 1904.  
<sup>36</sup> 448,000 acres by Executive order, Dec. 21, 1865; 177,563 acres by agreement, July 13, 1892.  
<sup>37</sup> Cemetery.  
<sup>38</sup> Reserved for churches and cemetery.  
<sup>39</sup> 43,520 acres purchased for State school lands; 12,634 acres church lands.  
<sup>40</sup> Does not include Allen Canyon.  
<sup>41</sup> Act of June 4, 1898.  
<sup>42</sup> Act of Mar. 22, 1906, 34 Stat. 80, and Executive order of Sept. 15, 1916.  
<sup>43</sup> 5,586 acres for homesteads May 22, 1906; 294 acres for townsite land 2528, Jan. 18, 1907.  
<sup>44</sup> 26 acres for churches Office Letter Land 61035, Aug. 5, 1907; 100 acres for Wilson grant, Nov. 3, 1906.  
<sup>45</sup> Including 7,024 acres of water rights.  
<sup>46</sup> City blocks and tracts.  
<sup>47</sup> Timber land.

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TABLE VII.—Original acreage of Indian tribal lands and deductions therefrom, by States, up to September 1934

[Figures herein were taken mainly from the 1934 Annual Statistical Reports of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which were submitted by the superintendents of reservations and agencies. The contents of the various reports were verified for accuracy by checking against other information in the Washington office. The sources used were General Data Concerning Indian Reservations, Oct. 15, 1929, Land Office data, Extension Division data, the National Resources Board questionnaire as to potential resources, the C. W. A. social and economic survey (where complete) and the Executive orders relating to Indian reservations. This table and table V are supplementary.]

State	Gross tribal area			Deductions (other than by allotments)				Allotments		
	Original acreage of Indian reservations	Land subsequently added to reservations	Maximum total tribal acreage	Acreage of ceded lands <sup>1</sup>	Acreage of surplus lands opened to settlement <sup>2</sup>	Miscellaneous <sup>3</sup>	Total	Number made	Acreage allotted	Acreage alienated by allotments <sup>4</sup>
Arizona.....	14, 018, 029	4, 099, 404	18, 714, 433	.....	12, 160	44, 249	56, 409	7, 110	242, 086	40
California.....	299, 852	170, 367	470, 219	.....	.....	2, 940	2, 940	2, 387	58, 597	15, 341
Colorado.....	584, 744	.....	584, 744	.....	.....	.....	.....	375	72, 851	33, 473
Florida.....	3, 640	122, 240	125, 880	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2, 205, 658	640	2, 206, 298	436, 910	242, 101	552, 656	1, 231, 667	4, 125	628, 540	172, 843
Iowa.....	80	3, 314	3, 394	.....	.....	33	33	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	116, 438	.....	116, 438	.....	.....	.....	.....	1, 305	116, 637	81, 617
Minnesota.....	2, 180, 493	.....	2, 180, 493	.....	.....	757, 807	876, 880	12, 507	592, 508	760, 110
Mississippi.....	202	5, 706	5, 908	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	46, 012, 169	.....	46, 012, 169	34, 380, 720	3, 870, 897	113, 243	38, 364, 866	21, 744	6, 527, 048	1, 461, 420
Nebraska.....	500, 951	12, 348	513, 299	.....	.....	163, 050	163, 650	4, 329	345, 403	280, 369
Nevada.....	691, 281	7, 115	698, 396	.....	.....	.....	.....	1, 354	88, 579	1, 804
New Mexico.....	3, 805, 813	2, 237, 917	6, 043, 730	.....	.....	145, 280	145, 280	4, 397	1, 072, 220	.....
New York <sup>1</sup> .....	87, 677	.....	87, 677	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	91, 035	.....	91, 035	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Dakota.....	2, 037, 477	.....	2, 037, 477	.....	.....	264, 795	417, 050	7, 304	1, 325, 302	248, 155
Oklahoma.....	29, 668, 760	.....	29, 668, 760	4, 000	9, 735, 162	408, 000	10, 147, 762	119, 149	19, 488, 396	16, 001, 112
Oregon.....	3, 465, 470	17	3, 465, 487	700, 070	.....	783, 259	1, 491, 855	5, 739	669, 858	169, 543
South Dakota.....	12, 341, 601	.....	12, 341, 601	1, 270, 897	.....	2, 865, 770	50, 154	4, 192, 821	32, 352	7, 445, 882
Utah.....	5, 173, 180	275, 962	5, 449, 142	.....	.....	3, 859, 463	.....	1, 479	115, 247	29, 619
Washington.....	4, 586, 626	94, 282	4, 680, 908	1, 500, 000	.....	224, 870	.....	11, 598	1, 190, 644	242, 562
Wisconsin.....	570, 794	.....	570, 794	.....	.....	.....	.....	4, 780	307, 287	174, 785
Wyoming.....	2, 288, 500	1, 480, 000	3, 768, 500	.....	.....	1, 800, 427	.....	2, 103	245, 781	18, 497
Total.....	130, 730, 190	9, 105, 312	139, 835, 502	38, 299, 109	22, 694, 658	3, 475, 217	64, 468, 984	246, 959	40, 848, 172	23, 225, 472

<sup>1</sup> Ceded lands are lands to which title was formally relinquished by treaty.

<sup>2</sup> Surplus lands are those left over after allotment that were opened to white settlement.

<sup>3</sup> Miscellaneous consists mainly of State school lands; purchased for public works, small sales, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Alienated, as here used, means removed from the 25-year-trust status, and includes both white-owned allotment land, and Indian-owned allotment land now held under fee patent.

<sup>5</sup> Data incomplete.

TABLE VIII.—Annual sales of Indian allotted lands: 1903-34, inclusive

Year	Sales of original allotments <sup>1</sup>			Sales of inherited lands <sup>2</sup>			Total sales of land		
	Number of tracts	Acreage	Proceeds	Number of tracts	Acreage	Proceeds	Number of tracts	Acres	Proceeds
Total.....	11, 325	1, 280, 526	\$23, 203, 875. 75	20, 129	2, 449, 739	\$45, 468, 069. 35	31, 454	3, 730, 265	\$68, 671, 975. 10
1903.....	.....	.....	.....	( <sup>1</sup> )	44, 494	757, 173. 25	.....	44, 494	757, 173. 25
1904.....	.....	.....	.....	1, 236	122, 222	2, 057, 464. 50	1, 236	122, 222	2, 057, 464. 50
1905.....	.....	.....	.....	978	90, 215	1, 393, 131. 52	978	90, 215	1, 393, 131. 52
1906.....	.....	.....	.....	643	64, 448	981, 430. 87	644	64, 448	981, 430. 87
1907.....	.....	.....	.....	820	106, 350	1, 248, 703. 34	820	106, 350	1, 248, 703. 34
1908.....	92	7, 091	159, 318. 81	768	91, 303	1, 302, 508. 94	860	99, 294	1, 461, 827. 75
1909 <sup>3</sup> .....	235	34, 060	442, 752. 85	753	102, 708	1, 321, 258. 72	988	136, 768	1, 764, 021. 57
1910 <sup>4</sup> .....	520	82, 656	1, 245, 639. 96	873	129, 390	1, 956, 315. 92	1, 393	212, 016	3, 201, 955. 88
1911 <sup>5</sup> .....	494	56, 198	978, 588. 27	638	79, 095	1, 533, 960. 38	1, 132	135, 894	2, 482, 548. 05
1912.....	324	34, 391	568, 880. 75	262	43, 952	880, 285. 02	716	78, 043	1, 438, 165. 77
1913.....	208	26, 779	407, 315. 96	109	10, 798	285, 067. 72	317	31, 577	692, 413. 28
1914.....	529	45, 526	779, 326. 14	418	45, 242	773, 309. 16	947	90, 768	1, 552, 835. 30
1915.....	422	34, 429	584, 724. 56	393	68, 245	715, 568. 52	815	102, 674	1, 300, 293. 08
1916.....	583	54, 959	969, 611. 24	324	35, 762	694, 241. 48	907	90, 721	1, 663, 852. 72
1917.....	588	69, 849	1, 040, 202. 00	655	75, 892	1, 546, 965. 00	1, 243	145, 741	2, 587, 167. 00
1918.....	652	74, 126	1, 541, 178. 00	438	49, 216	1, 174, 855. 00	1, 100	123, 342	2, 716, 033. 00
1919.....	453	57, 947	1, 224, 825. 00	607	57, 450	1, 580, 309. 00	970	115, 397	2, 805, 132. 00
1920.....	1, 235	147, 047	3, 566, 815. 00	1, 600	155, 794	4, 037, 558. 00	2, 205	302, 841	7, 374, 374. 00
1921.....	667	69, 193	1, 651, 832. 00	1, 268	135, 893	4, 061, 906. 00	1, 935	205, 086	5, 713, 738. 00
1922.....	416	40, 817	917, 614. 00	590	63, 967	1, 315, 219. 00	1, 006	104, 814	2, 232, 833. 00
1923.....	419	48, 447	938, 303. 00	767	76, 652	1, 965, 944. 00	1, 186	125, 099	2, 904, 337. 00
1924.....	400	45, 911	913, 875. 00	746	94, 452	1, 782, 233. 00	1, 155	140, 363	2, 696, 108. 00
1925.....	397	39, 548	735, 717. 00	764	90, 910	1, 759, 698. 00	1, 161	130, 464	2, 495, 415. 00
1926.....	433	44, 217	855, 544. 00	770	81, 534	2, 713, 801. 00	1, 203	126, 051	3, 569, 345. 00
1927.....	430	45, 299	809, 803. 00	854	93, 123	1, 758, 730. 00	1, 284	141, 422	2, 563, 533. 00
1928.....	417	49, 731	804, 020. 00	851	101, 082	1, 534, 754. 00	1, 268	151, 413	2, 338, 774. 00
1929.....	421	66, 718	735, 063. 00	909	114, 695	1, 570, 905. 00	1, 330	181, 413	2, 306, 508. 00
1930.....	290	35, 773	505, 799. 00	596	72, 742	1, 101, 996. 00	886	108, 515	1, 607, 795. 00
1931.....	206	19, 132	282, 452. 00	438	50, 663	726, 086. 00	644	69, 795	1, 008, 538. 00
1932.....	265	26, 316	230, 145. 50	300	45, 398	426, 378. 50	565	71, 684	656, 524. 00
1933.....	139	16, 416	163, 368. 84	189	22, 501	260, 170. 50	328	38, 917	423, 539. 34
1934.....	90	13, 050	153, 263. 27	142	20, 395	321, 652. 91	232	33, 445	474, 345. 28

<sup>1</sup> Under act of Mar. 1, 1907 (34 Stat. L. 1015-1018), as modified by acts of May 29, 1908 (35 Stat. L. 444), June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. L. 855-856), and Feb. 14, 1913 (37 Stat. L. 678-679).

<sup>2</sup> Under act of May 27, 1902 (32 Stat. L. 245-275), modified by acts of May 8, 1906 (34 Stat. L. 182), May 29, 1908 (35 Stat. L. 444), June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. L. 855-856), and Feb. 14, 1913 (37 Stat. L. 678-679).

<sup>3</sup> Unknown.

<sup>4</sup> Includes sales of Five Civilized Tribes.

<sup>5</sup> Includes sales of lands of Kaw, Osage, and Five Civilized Tribes.

Source: Land Division, Office of Indian Affairs.

the mere loss of the land itself. Most of the Indian lands are grazing rather than farm lands, and the checkerboarding of such reservations by numerous white holdings makes it difficult or impossible for Indian owners to use their own lands for grazing. To run a herd of cattle or sheep, the Indian individual or association must have a considerable contiguous area of land. In many checkerboarded areas these conditions cannot be met, and as a result the Indians take the course of least resistance and lease their lands to whites.

Even where alienation has not been heavy, allotted lands make the establishment of community or asso-

ciation grazing ranges difficult, since the pooling of holdings for common use requires the assent of all the individual owners.

In the case of forest land, checkerboarding by alienation and cutting up by allotment make sustained yield forest management difficult, and in some cases impossible. Logging and silvicultural operations must be correlated with the topography and natural conditions rather than planned by artificial and complex lines of ownership.

In the case of alienated lands, acquisition for consolidation may, under the Wheeler-Howard Act, pro-

TABLE IX.—Summary, unenrolled landless Indians—one-half or more Indian blood

	Residing within Indian jurisdictions			Residing outside of Indian jurisdictions			Grand total		
	Number of unenrolled landless Indians I	Number who should be established on land II	Number of families who should be established on land III	Number of unenrolled landless Indians IV	Number who should be established on land V	Number of families who should be established on land VI	Total unenrolled landless Indians VII	Number who should be established on land VIII	Number of families who should be established on land IX
Grand total.....	1,169	985	294	13,445	12,311	3,033	14,614	13,296	3,327
Southwest (total).....	110	96	24	1,595	995	249	1,705	1,091	273
Arizona (total).....	72	72	18	1,565	965	241	1,637	1,037	259
Pima.....	12	12	3	500	500	125	500	500	125
Sells.....	12	12	3	1,000	400	100	1,012	412	103
Yuma.....	60	60	15	65	65	16	125	125	31
Nevada—Western Shoshone.....	38	24	6	30	30	8	38	24	6
Utah—Paiute.....				30	30	8	30	30	8
Northern plains (total).....	604	574	155	3,327	3,283	787	3,991	3,857	942
Idaho (total).....	46	34	9				46	34	9
Coeur d'Alene.....	16	16	4				16	16	4
Fort Hall.....	30	18	5				30	18	5
Montana (total).....	337	259	72	2,857	2,857	683	3,194	3,116	755
Blackfeet.....	60	60	15	20	20	5	80	80	20
Crow.....	124	46	17				124	46	17
Flathead.....	50	50	14	40	40	10	90	90	24
Fort Belknap.....				625	625	125	625	625	125
Fort Peck.....	99	99	25	172	172	43	271	271	68
Rocky Boy's.....				2,000	2,000	500	2,000	2,000	500
Tongue River.....	4	4	1				4	4	1
North Dakota (total).....	268	268	70	470	426	104	738	694	174
Fort Totten.....	31	31	10	31	31	5	62	62	15
Standing Rock.....	13	13	4				13	13	4
Turtle Mountain.....	224	224	56	439	395	99	663	619	155
Wyoming—Shoshone.....	13	13	4				13	13	4
Northwest (total).....	25	10	3	1,155	755	184	1,180	765	187
Oregon—Salem.....				575	275	69	575	275	69
Washington (total).....	25	10	3	580	480	115	605	490	118
Colville.....	25	10	3				25	10	3
Taholah.....				300	200	50	300	200	50
Tulalip.....				100	100	20	100	100	20
Yakima.....				180	180	45	180	180	45
Lakes States (total).....	40	40	12	7,186	7,186	1,793	7,226	7,226	1,805
Michigan (total).....				5,896	5,896	1,473	5,896	5,896	1,473
Sault Ste. Marie.....				2,000	2,000	500	2,000	2,000	500
Ottawas.....				2,142	2,142	535	2,142	2,142	535
Potawatimies.....				554	554	138	554	554	138
Saganaw Swan Creek and Black River Chippewas.....				1,200	1,200	300	1,200	1,200	300
Minnesota (total).....	40	40	12	10	10	3	50	50	15
Consolidated Chippewas.....	15	15	4	10	10	3	25	25	7
Red Lake.....	25	25	8				25	25	8
Wisconsin (total).....				1,280	1,280	317	1,280	1,280	317
Bayfield County.....				614	614	153	614	614	153
St. Croix Chippewas.....				486	486	122	486	486	122
Mole Lake Chippewas.....				120	120	30	120	120	30
Lac Vieux Desert.....				60	60	12	60	60	12
Miscellaneous (total).....	330	265	100	182	92	20	512	357	120
Louisiana (total).....				120	30	6	120	30	6
Charneton.....				90	30	6	90	30	6
Jena.....				30			30		
Kansas—Haskell Jurisdiction.....	97	97	57	30	30	6	127	127	63
New York.....	125	90	15				125	90	15
Oklahoma (total).....	108	108	28	32	32	8	140	140	36
Kiowa.....	108	108	28				108	108	28
Quapaw.....				32	32	8	32	32	8

<sup>1</sup> Report of Lac du Flambeau substituted for Tomah Agency's report.

<sup>2</sup> Exact number unknown. (See notes.)

TABLE X.—Land needs of unenrolled landless Indians and estimated cost thereof

**URGENT NEEDS**

Region	Number of individuals	Number of families	Acres per family				Cost per acre				Total acres needed				Total cost				
			Irrigated	Non-irrigated	Grazing	Timber and cut-over	Irrigated	Non-irrigated	Grazing	Timber and cut-over	Irrigated	Non-irrigated	Grazing	Timber and cut-over	Irrigated	Non-irrigated	Grazing	Timber and cut-over	
Grand total	13,296	3,327																	
Southwest <sup>1</sup>	1,091	273	5				\$200			1,365				273,000					
Northern Plains <sup>2</sup>	3,837	942	10		750		75		\$2.50	9,420				706,500				1,760,250	
Northwest <sup>3</sup>	763	187								480	1,390	30,000	6,950	45,000				104,250	60,500
Coastal reservations	575	139		10				\$75		\$10	1,390		6,950					104,250	60,500
Yakima and Colville reservations	190	48	10		750		100		2.50	480		36,000		48,000				90,000	
Lakes States <sup>4</sup>	7,226	1,805		15		200		20		3	27,075		361,000					541,500	1,083,000
Oklahoma	140	30		20				30										21,600	
New York	60	15		10				100										15,000	
Louisiana	30	6		40				10										2,400	
Kansas	127	63		20				30										37,800	

**DEFERRED NEEDS**

Region	Acres per family				Cost per acre				Total acres needed				Total cost				Grand total	
	Irrigated	Non-irrigated	Grazing	Timber and cut-over	Irrigated	Non-irrigated	Grazing	Timber and cut-over	Irrigated	Non-irrigated	Grazing	Timber and cut-over	Irrigated	Non-irrigated	Grazing	Timber and cut-over	Acres	Cost
Grand total									6,315	3,370	371,250	367,950	3650,250	\$103,650	\$628,125	\$1,152,500	1,901,435	\$7,653,325
Southwest <sup>1</sup>	5				\$200				1,365				273,000				2,730	546,000
Northern Plains <sup>2</sup>	5	375			75		\$2.50		4,710		353,250		353,250		883,125		1,073,880	3,704,125
Northwest <sup>3</sup>			10						1,390	1,390	18,000	6,950	24,000	104,250	45,000		69,500	354,500
Coastal reservations				50			\$75		\$10	1,390		6,950		104,250			69,500	347,500
Yakima and Colville reservations	5	375			100		2.50		240		18,000		24,000		45,000		54,720	207,000
Lakes States <sup>4</sup>				200				3			361,000					1,083,000	749,075	2,707,500
Oklahoma		20					30				720				21,600		43,200	
New York																	150	15,000
Louisiana																	240	2,400
Kansas		20							1,260						37,800		2,520	75,900

<sup>1</sup> Arizona, Nevada, Utah.  
<sup>2</sup> Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, Wyoming.  
<sup>3</sup> Oregon and Washington.  
<sup>4</sup> Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan.

TABLE XI.—Selected land estates on Indian reservations showing administrative complexities of present (September 1934) heirship system

[Source: Special questionnaire by Indian land unit, National Resources Board]

Case no.	Name, tribe, and allotment number of deceased allottee	Date of decease	Number of living heirs	Number of deceased heirs	Number of probates	Acres in estate	Parcels of land	Appraised valuation	Annual rental of lease	Division of lease proceeds			If estate were partitioned among heirs			If estate were sold and proceeds divided among heirs		
										Largest share	Small share	Average mean share	Largest share	Small share	Average mean share	Largest share	Small share	Average mean share
1	Headlingoff, Blackfeet, no. 2478	Sept. 10, 1910	47	7	4	80	1	\$2,640	\$12.00	\$2.00	\$0.01	\$0.09	13.99	0.09	0.66	\$440.00	\$3.25	\$20.95
2	Gambler, Blackfeet, no. 1317	Jan. 10, 1913	24	6	5	400	5	1,800	90.00	15.00	.63	1.11	100.00	4.16	7.40	450.00	18.75	33.33
3	Whiteman, Blackfeet, no. 421	Mar. 12, 1916	16	3	3	400	5	1,900	60.00	10.00	.67	4.76	31.70	4.90	6.60	318.16	23.45	150.79
4	Pe-nah, Kiowa, no. 284	Oct. 8, 1928	19	2	3	160	1	4,200	150.00	30.00	.50	1.66	32.50	.53	1.77	80.00	14.03	46.66
5	Se-kah-vah, Comanche, no. 243	Apr. 28, 1911	20	9	10	159	1	6,700	250.00	37.33	2.22	5.56	39.62	1.41	3.53	1,667.55	59.55	148.88
6	Ko-la-seet, Kiowa, no. 1276	June 4, 1922	27	3	3	75	1	1,700	100.00	11.42	.40	.42	8.57	.30	.27	194.28	6.86	6.29
7	John Beaver, Quapaw, nos. 154 and 160	Feb. 27, 1928	10	3	3	240	5	196,300	4,381.00	1,400.33	146.03	262.06	80.00	8.00	16.09	65,453.33	6,545.33	13,060.66
8	Thomas Captain, Eastern Shawnee	Sept. 4, 1920	25	3	4	120	1	5,800	250.00	23.48	.75	3.52	11.27	.60	2.81	797.12	29.26	136.21
9	George Bearskin, Wyandotte, no. 30	Jan. —, 1904	88	15	14	40	2	150	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	4.00	.04	.30	15.00	.15	1.33
10	John Joseph, Lapwai, no. 347	Apr. 1, 1895	19	5	9	100	1	4,750	100.00	50.00	.06	.93	50.00	.06	.93	2,375.00	2.93	43.98
11	Lulu Ezekial, Nez Percé, no. 1432	Mar. 19, 1900	9	9	8	100	1	4,200	189.14	33.62	14.71	21.02	17.50	7.77	11.11	746.66	328.66	406.66
12	Elizabeth Scott, Nez Percé, no. 1078	Aug. 9, 1903	19	4	6	100	2	1,800	45.00	5.62	.31	1.25	12.50	.69	2.77	175.00	12.50	50.00
13	Me-saw-bay, La Pointe (Wisconsin)	Circa 1870	60	49	1	51.40	1	1,000	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	4.28	.04	.31	83.33	.82	6.17
14	Hunts Something Good, Crow, no. 2481	June —, 1894	59	11	15	164.13	1	820	40.00	3.33	.01	.18	13.68	.04	.75	68.04	.22	3.79
15	Bradford Horn, Winnebago, no. 335	—, 1873	49	29	12	80	2	1,800	80.00	8.69	.003	8.69	.003	1.37	131.00	.22	30.88	

<sup>1</sup> No lease.

ceed by outright purchase or by exchange. In some cases scattered holdings of Indians in one area may be exchanged for scattered white holdings in another, thus simplifying the ownership both for whites and for Indians.

No estimates have yet been made of the acreage of alienated land which should be returned to tribal ownership.

**Leasing Problem.**—Another major problem in the Indian land situation is leasing to whites. From incomplete statistics, it appears that the Indians are leasing to whites about one-fourth of their irrigated land, and leaving another one-fourth idle; they are leasing over two-thirds of their nonirrigated farming land, and using only one-half of the remainder; they are leasing at least one-third of their grazing lands and using the rest with relative inefficiency. In addition, the logging and manufacture of Indian timber are largely done by whites. All told, between 15 and 20 million acres are leased to whites and many millions of acres are lying idle. This extensive leasing was due partly to the desire of many Indians to live on unearned income, partly to complexities created by allotment and heirship, partly to lack of capital, equipment, and knowledge of how to work the land.

Efforts to end leasing of Indian land arbitrarily would cause much hardship and loss of essential income. The provision of credit and more instruction on agricultural methods; the consolidation of allotments, heirship lands, and alienated lands into economic units for Indian use; the stimulation of individual and group enthusiasm for economic development—all these things should assist in reducing the acreage of leased lands.

In the case of the most valuable Indian land—that under irrigation—leasing can further be discouraged

and the use of idle lands encouraged by requiring all lands within irrigation projects to pay their pro-rata share of the maintenance and operation charges, by giving the Indians who are actually farming the opportunity to work out these charges by wage-work under the project, and possibly by requiring cash payment of these charges on all leased land in advance of delivery of water.

In the case of grazing lands, the formation of Indian stock associations and the pooling or renting of grazing lands tend to overcome some of the complexities of land tenure that have led in part to the leasing evil.

In the case of forest lands, the system of selling timber by contract to white operators who employ white workers can be gradually abolished by developing Indian logging and milling.

Leasing may further be discouraged by withholding funds or other aids for the development of leased lands such as irrigation developments. Funds for land purchase should not be allotted to reservations on which large aggregate areas are leased to whites. The Government cannot justify expenditures which encourage Indians to continue to live in idleness as petty landlords.

**Detailed Explanatory Notes on Unenrolled Landless Indians**

**Southwestern States**

The following agencies in this region reported no unenrolled landless Indians within or in the vicinity of their jurisdictions—Arizona: San Carlos, Truxton Canyon, Fort Apache, and the Navajo Reservations; Colorado: Consolidated Ute; Nevada: Carson; and New Mexico: Northern Pueblos, Southern Pueblos, Jicarilla, Mescalero, Zuni, and Eastern Navajo.

TABLE XII.—Use of heirship lands on 16 northern plains reservations, with data as to the "productivity" deficit or surplus of each reservation and as to the need for more land

[As of Sept. 15, 1934]

Reservation and State	Total heirship lands	Leased				Used by Indians		Idle		Annual proceeds, leased lands	Average annual proceeds per acre	Estimates for entire reservation		
		To whites	To Indians	Total		Acre	Percent	Acre	Percent			"Productive deficit" <sup>1</sup>	"Productive surplus"	Land needs (acres) <sup>1</sup>
Total	4,511,151	3,009,568	100,026	3,110,194	353,603	7.9	1,047,334	23.2	\$55,211	\$0.18	\$5,383,891	\$2,104,722	\$8,172,800	
1. Blackfeet, Mont.	400,850	366,250	10,250	376,500	93.9	24,350	6.1	None	None	26,475	.15	237,400	-----	241,138
2. Crow, Mont.	906,778	592,778	3,000	595,778	65.8	5,000	0.8	6,000	1.0	122,517	.21	-----	718,722	-----
3. Fort Belknap, Mont.	141,312	101,280	720	102,000	72.2	39,312	27.8	None	None	10,094	.10	155,825	-----	330,000
4. Fort Peck, Mont.	312,000	204,580	120	204,700	65.6	12,000	3.9	95,300	30.5	49,000	.24	152,500	-----	197,890
5. Tongue River, Mont.	40,320	19,240	19,240	38,480	95.4	840	2.1	1,000	2.5	3,850	.10	184,750	-----	4,018
6. Fort Berthold, N. Dak.	208,562	92,325	770	93,104	45.3	None	-----	115,458	44.7	11,856	.13	1,193	-----	10,000
7. Fort Totten, N. Dak.	35,981	12,500	300	13,000	36.1	6,156	17.1	16,825	46.8	18,500	1.41	37,063	-----	5,080
8. Standing Rock, N. Dak.	511,405	131,818	None	131,818	25.8	15,000	2.9	364,887	71.3	17,480	.13	571,275	-----	635,500
9. Turtle Mountain, N. Dak.	9,590	None	1,005	1,995	20.8	7,595	79.2	None	None	500	.25	1,712,000	-----	1,037,700
10. Cheyenne River, S. Dak.	424,357	325,177	1,700	326,877	77.0	45,000	10.6	32,420	12.4	18,358	.09	97,320	-----	332,040
11. Crow Creek, S. Dak.	148,878	109,667	1,511	110,378	74.2	22,000	14.7	16,500	11.1	15,340	.14	306,306	-----	250,000
12. Pine Ridge, S. Dak.	904,210	775,377	52,592	827,969	91.6	76,241	8.4	None	None	134,230	.16	1,200,541	-----	4,155,000
13. Rosebud, S. Dak.	335,787	213,540	5,353	218,893	65.0	18,098	5.4	297,796	88.6	64,867	.20	230,200	-----	600,000
14. Sisseton, S. Dak.	98,439	32,197	280	32,477	32.9	1,000	1.0	34,962	35.1	15,000	.46	292,118	-----	184,000
15. Yankton, S. Dak.	20,100	15,192	725	15,827	79.2	4,861	24.2	8,412	41.8	12,661	.80	145,400	-----	210,000
16. Shoshone, Wyo.	133,592	18,337	1,031	19,338	14.5	76,150	57.0	38,074	28.5	14,503	.75	-----	1,386,000	-----

<sup>1</sup> "Urgently needed" and "deferred needs" combined.

## Arizona

*Pima*

*Number:* 20 Yaquis near Chandler, 350 Yaquis at Guadalupe, and 120 Yaquis near Phoenix, 10 or more scattered Yaquis; total, approximately 500 Yaquis.

*Condition:* The Yaquis were driven out of Mexico during the revolution of 1915 and are chiefly day laborers and cotton pickers. Their children are admitted to the public schools. There is a free clinic at Guadalupe. "They are nomads and wander from one place to another, wherever work can be found. So far as is known, none of them own land or make any attempt to farm." (Supt. A. H. Kneale.)

*Recommendation:* The legal status of the Yaquis and their relation to the Indian Bureau should be cleared up. If Federal responsibility for them is assumed, a subsistence-home project is a possibility.

*Sells*

(1) *Number:* 5 Yaquis at Sells, 3 Yaquis at San Miguel, 2 Yaquis at Fresno Canyon, and 2 Yaquis at Vamore; total, 12 persons, 3 families, residing within the jurisdiction.

*Condition:* See note under Pima (Arizona). This group engages in some placer mining and works as laborers for the Papagos. They receive no governmental help.

*Recommendation:* Land purchase for all should be off the reservation.

(2) *Number:* 500 Yaquis in scattered groups in the vicinity of Tucson; 500 Yaquis live in a village on privately owned land northwest of Tucson.

*Condition:* See note under Pima (Arizona). This group largely depends on day labor for livelihood. Pima County provides policing and sanitation of village near Tucson, and a school is maintained for the children.

*Recommendation:* Land purchase should be near the town of Tucson to provide wages as a supplementary source of income. A subsistence-homestead project is recommended.

*Yuma*

(1) *Number:* 20 Yumas, 5 Deguinnis, 5 Mojaves; total, 30 persons residing on the Yuma reservations.

*Condition:* Make livelihood by day labor and sale of wood. Office of Indian Affairs gives rations in cases of necessity and part-time employment in Emergency Conservation Work.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped by land purchase off the reservation.

(2) *Number:* 30 Cocopahs residing on the Cocopah Reservation.

*Condition:* Cultivate small plots of land; labor for neighboring white farmers. Office of Indian Affairs gives rations in cases of necessity.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped with land purchase off the reservation.

## Nevada

*Western Shoshone*

*Number:* 38 of various tribes at Owyhee and environs.

*Conditions:* At present these Indians are dependent on Emergency Conservation Work and Public Works Administration projects for livelihood. Only advisory assistance rendered by Office of Indian Affairs.

*Recommendation:* 24 of 38 should be helped with land purchase. It is immaterial whether land is on or off the reservation.

## Utah

*Paiute*

*Number:* 30 nonward Paiutes living on Mormon Church property at Cedar City.

*Condition:* For several generations these Paiutes have depended more or less on the community for support. The women make house-to-house canvasses begging for food and old clothing. At present they are dependent almost entirely on relief for their maintenance. Tuition of children paid by Office of Indian Affairs which also gives medical attention, but no Federal funds may be expended for hospitalization. Such funds are donated by city and county health authorities.

*Recommendation:* It is doubtful whether these Indians who have become accustomed to urban life would leave Cedar City, at least for any location distantly removed therefrom. A subsistence homestead has been considered as means of rehabilitating these Indians and the "Ivins Tract", 35 miles southwest of Cedar City, has been investigated. (See report of J. E. White, August 1934, for details, Indian Office files.) Apparently a lack of agreement among the Indians has contributed to the failure to approve the project. A project of this nature, preferably one nearer to Cedar City, is recommended.

## Northern Plains States

The following agencies reported no unenrolled landless Indians either within or in the vicinity of their jurisdiction: Nebraska: Winnebago; North Dakota: Fort Berthold; South Dakota: Crow Creek, Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Sisseton, Cheyenne River.

## Idaho

*Coeur d'Alene*

*Number:* 16 Kootenais at Bonners Ferry; 4 family groups.

*Condition:* Subsist by farm work; no help rendered by Office of Indian Affairs.

*Recommendation:* Colonization project for all; immaterial where located.

*Fort Hall*

*Number:* 30 Shoshone and Mission Indians residing on the reservation.

*Condition:* Livelihood is through farming and day labor. Office of Indian Affairs gives emergency employment when available. Some are Indians intermarried with whites.

*Recommendation:* Colonization project for all. Immaterial where located. "Acquisition of lands for such Indians from other Indians who have surplus inherited lands would benefit both parties." (Supt. C. H. McLaughlin.)

Montana

*Blackfeet*

(1) *Number:* 60 Crees and Chippewas scattered over the reservation.

*Condition:* Originally they came from Canada; now have no legal standing as Indians. (The total number, having varying degrees of Indian blood, is 300.) They work with and for the Blackfeet, and a few obtain labor from white lessees during lambing and shearing time. Relief aid comes primarily from State and county, though they have been included in Red Cross and drought cattle distributions by Office of Indian Affairs.

*Recommendation:* The Federal Government should define their standing as Indians and determine the responsibility of the Indian Service toward them. Land purchase should be in the vicinity of Dupuyer and Choteau, off the reservation and consolidated with the group located there. (See next paragraph.)

(2) *Number:* 20 Crees and Chippewas near Dupuyer and Chateau along the southern boundary of the reservation. (The total number, having varying degrees of blood, is 100.)

*Condition:* See comment above under Blackfeet.

*Recommendation:* See comment above under Blackfeet.

*Crow*

*Number:* 124 Chippewas, Crees, Sioux, Cherokees, and other Indians scattered over the reservation.

*Condition:* These Indians, with exception of the Crees, do not need to have land provided for them.

*Recommendation:* 46 Crees (17 families) constitute the only group which should be helped. A colonization project off the reservation, is recommended. The Crows would probably object to locating them on the reservation, though there is plenty of land for them.

*Flathead*

(1) *Number:* 50 Crees (14 families) residing on the reservation.

*Condition:* Little or no assistance is given them; they rely primarily on the State and county for relief. They have received some assistance from Emergency

Conservation Work and some secure employment from white ranchers.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped, but should not be included in a reservational program.

(2) *Number:* 40 isolated Indians (10 families), at Bitter Root.

*Condition:* They earn wages in timber and on ranches. Receive no aid, except from county and relief agencies.

*Recommendation:* Colonization project on the Flathead Reservation.

*Fort Belknap*

*Number:* 625 Chippewas and Crees (125 families) in Blaine and Philips Counties.

*Condition:* Nonwards, having absolutely no place to live, are constantly ordered from one place to another. Their condition is one of constant distress and they are a burden to State, city, and county governments.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped with land purchase. Fort Belknap Agency was allotted \$50,000 for a submarginal land purchase for these Indians. The plan heretofore proposed was to acquire 10 acres of agricultural land for each family and 20,000 acres for common grazing. The Indians rejected this proposal. They have asserted their right to a new and extensive reservation of their own. They also demand recognition as ward Indians with all the privileges and status of such Indians. It would appear that the rejection of the submarginal land purchase program was a result of present leadership, and that the rank and file would probably respond to a program definitely less extensive than the one which they have heretofore demanded. It is the recommendation of the superintendent that the best available lands in the vicinity of Fort Belknap Reservation should be acquired for them.

*Fort Peck*

(1) *Number:* 99 Chippewas (25 families) at Wolf Point, Montana, and scattered along the Missouri River bottom.

*Condition:* All of these Indians are more or less destitute and living under extremely poor conditions. They have received work from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Public Works Administration, Emergency Conservation Work, and from the Office of Indian Affairs.

*Recommendation:* All of them should be helped with land purchase off the reservation. Fort Peck has a submarginal-land appropriation for purchase between Buford and Trenton in Williams County, N. Dak., for these Indians, but needs additional funds for bottom lands and especially for rehabilitation purposes, as well as a small irrigation project. (See next paragraph.)

(2) *Number:* 172 Chippewas (43 families) scattered in eastern Montana, east of Fort Peck, and in western

North Dakota in the vicinity of Buford, Trenton, Williston, and Grenova.

*Condition:* These Indians engage in some farming and livestock raising on submarginal lands and find it extremely difficult to make a living. The Indians at Trenton work for the railroad each summer, but are laid off in winter. Those at Williston secure odd jobs around the town. The majority of them at present are receiving aid from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, but they do not receive an income sufficient to support their families. All should be helped with a land-purchase program. The Fort Peck reservation has an allotment for the purchase of submarginal land for these Indians, but it needs additional funds for bottom lands and for a small irrigation project.

*Recommendation:* Land needs listed above should be consolidated with a program for these Indians and probably should be approached through a subsistence-homestead project.

#### *Rocky Boy's*

*Number:* 2,000 (500 families) "wandering and homeless members of the Cree and Chippewa tribes" near Great Falls, Havre, Helena, Butte, and in various communities.

*Condition:* They are dependent upon the Federal, State, and county governments for relief and charity, and are able to find very little work.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped with land purchase. "I would recommend that such lands be located adjoining the reservation for those who would make their living from the land itself, and for those who would need land only to augment their income from work in the industrial centers. Home subsistence units near such centers should be made available." (Superintendent Woolridge.)

#### *Tongue River*

*Number:* 4 near Ashland (1 family).

*Condition:* Helped by the Emergency Conservation Work during the past year, but no help otherwise by Office of Indian Affairs.

*Recommendation:* This family should be helped by land purchase off the reservation.

#### North Dakota

#### *Fort Totten*

(1) *Number:* 11 Sioux, 20 Chippewas; total, 31 persons (10 families). They are living on leased allotments and on private land on the reservation.

*Condition:* These Indians are farming and working at odd jobs. They have been receiving Emergency Conservation Work and Public Works Administration project relief work in recent months. Ordinarily, their income is derived from gardens and day labor which provide a standard of living far below that of neighboring whites.

*Recommendation:* The 5 Sioux and 5 Chippewa families should be provided with land. It is immaterial whether the land is on or off the reservation.

(2) *Number:* 31 Chippewas at Devils Lake City.

*Condition:* They live in houses within the city, are employed at odd jobs, and a few have subsistence gardens. They receive health and social services from the Office of Indian Affairs and they have received work in the Public Works Administration and Emergency Conservation Work projects.

*Recommendation:* 5 families should have land near Devils Lake, in order to retain their earning possibilities within the city. There are between 60 and 70 families at Devils Lake, of all degrees of Indian blood, and a subsistence homestead project has been recommended for them. The superintendent believes that all these Indians would be benefited by land purchase. (A few of these Indians actually are enrolled at Turtle Mountain, but will not return to that reservation under any circumstances.)

#### *Standing Rock*

*Number:* 1 Seneca, 11 Chippewas, 1 Sioux; total, 13 persons. Three are at Fort Yates; one at Kenel; seven at Wakpala; one at McLaughlin; one at Eagle.

*Condition:* They have received Emergency Conservation Work jobs and other work relief. One is a carpenter, six are housewives, five are laborers, and one is an aged man.

*Recommendation:* The superintendent recommends land purchase for all, preferably off the reservation, but if land is purchased for them on the reservation it should be in a separate community so as to avoid tribal conflicts.

#### *Turtle Mountain*

(1) *Number:* 224 Chippewas (56 families), or "lost tribe" Indians scattered over the reservation.

*Condition:* These Indians were not considered members of the Turtle Mountain Band when the McCumbe Commission made a treaty with it. They engage in day labor and secure odd jobs for a living. The Office of Indian Affairs provides employment in relief work projects when the regularly enrolled Indians are not obtainable, which is seldom. Some county and Federal Emergency Relief Administration aid have been given.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped with land purchase. The superintendent recommends that for those who are unenrolled but intermarried with Indians enrolled in the tribe, it would be best to settle them on land within the reservation if sufficient land is available; if not intermarried, they should be given land near the reservation. This is a very crowded jurisdiction, and all of the Indians will not be able to get land on or near it. Some will have to be furnished with land wherever it can be obtained. A submarginal purchase of 30,000 acres in William County, N. Dak., has been pro-

posed, as well as a similar purchase in Towner County, N. Dak. Some of these Indians might be domiciled with Devils Lake, N. Dak., bands in that vicinity.

(2) *Number:* 214 Chippewas and Crees at Dunseith; 225 Chippewas and Crees at St. John-Rolla; total, 439.

*Condition:* These are mostly common laborers, though some are skilled. Their condition is very much worse than those who are residing on the Turtle Mountain Reservation. They are "probably" getting Federal Emergency Relief Administration, county and possibly some Red Cross aid, according to the superintendent. Three hundred and ninety-five of these Indians (99 families) should be helped with land purchase.

Wyoming

*Shoshone Resercation*

*Number:* 7 Western Shoshones from Nevada, 6 Shoshones at Fort Washakie, Wyo.; total, 13 (4 families).

*Condition:* Agricultural leasing and laborers. Office of Indian Affairs gives rations to the aged, and work on governmental relief projects.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped with land and it is immaterial where it is purchased. The superintendent recommends reacquisition of Indian lands acquired by whites.

**Northwestern States**

The following jurisdictions in this region reported no unenrolled landless Indians, either within or in the vicinity of their jurisdictions—Oregon: Umatilla, Klamath.

Oregon

*Salem*

*Number:* 50 Cheetos at Brookings and Harbor (Curry County); 75 miscellaneous tribes at Portland and vicinity; 75 Lower Chinooks along Columbia River on the Oregon side; 150 Rogue Rivers at Gold Beach, Oreg. and on the banks of the Rogue River; 25 miscellaneous tribes, scattered; 50 Umpquas (Douglas County); 150 Coos, Manfield (Coos County); total, 575.

*Condition:* These Indians receive no assistance from governmental sources. They engage in farming, fishing, logging, and day labor. Some are employed in the cities in specialized trades.

*Recommendation:* The superintendent recommends land purchases for the following:

(1) Cheetos.....	25
(2) Miscellaneous.....	25
(3) Lower Chinooks.....	50
(4) Rogue Rivers.....	75
(5) Miscellaneous.....	25
(6) Umpquas.....	25
(7) Coos.....	50
<hr/>	
Total.....	275

For the Cheetos, Miscellaneous Group No. 2, the Rogue Rivers, Umpquas, and Coos land purchase

should be on the public domain, according to the superintendent. For the Lower Chinooks and Miscellaneous Group No. 5, it is immaterial where land is purchased. All these people are living in isolated places under Government supervision. These estimates are believed to be very conservative and are likely to be increased upon further investigation.

Washington

*Colville*

(1) *Number:* 25 Indians (tribe not reported) residing on the reservation.

*Condition:* Engage in subsistence gardening and day labor for wages.

*Recommendation:* 10 of these 25 should be helped with land purchase. The superintendent recommends land acquisition on the reservation.

*Tahola*

(2) *Number:* 300, largely members of the Cowlitz Tribe, living in southeastern Washington in Willapa Harbor (south of the Colorado River and east of the Cascades). This figure is an estimate of those of one-half or more Indian blood. Approximately 1,200 of all degrees of Indian blood, are domiciled in the same region.

*Condition:* Work in sawmills and in construction projects; some have land of their own for farming. In the past they have been accorded special privileges in fishing, but the State is inclined to be less and less lenient. They receive no help from the Federal Government and relief comes primarily from local bodies.

*Recommendation:* 200 should be established on land in the vicinities where they are now located.

*Tulalip*

(3) *Number:* 100 scattered members of various tribes and bands, in or near cities and villages on Puget Sound.

*Condition:* They receive relief aid on the same basis as whites when they are indigent or unemployed.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped with land purchase. The superintendent recommends that land should be purchased near their present location, and that purchases should be individual selections.

*Yakima*

(4) *Number:* 180 Vancouver Indians (Klickitat, Wishram, Rock Creek, and Columbia Tribes).

*Condition:* These Indians were allotted on the public domain on the north bank of the Columbia River extending from Maryhill to Stevenson, and along the tributaries of the Columbia. Originally, there were 205 allotments on this public domain. Records indicate that 95 of these allotments have been alienated, and that at the present time 62 original allotments and 48 heirship allotments remain. This land is utterly worthless except for a few tracts along the Klickitat

and White Salmon Rivers, on which there is also a small amount of merchantable timber. The Indians engage in fishing on the Columbia River, berrying in the national forest near Mount Adams, and work in the hop fields. In the winter of 1933-34, Klickitat and Skamania Counties cared for a number of these who were in acute distress.

*Recommendation:* All should be included in a land-purchase program, and all should be given an opportunity of securing irrigated units on the Yakima Reservation. The superintendent urges the purchase of 20-acre units of such land.

### Lake States

#### Michigan

##### *Sault St. Marie Band of Chippewas*

(1) *Number:* 2,000 Chippewas residing in the eastern and Upper Michigan Peninsula and adjoining islands; also those Indians in the Newberry and Brimley Districts.

*Condition:* These Indians have not been under Federal jurisdiction for a long period and the Federal Government has withdrawn practically all contact. They live under extremely poor conditions and maintain a miserable existence by day labor and fishing. They have not been separately enumerated and live scattered among the white population. In the summer and fall, tourist trade provides some income from fishing and hunting. At one time these Indians were entirely self-sustaining through fishing, hunting, and cultivation of small patches of ground.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped with land purchase in subsistence homestead projects in the areas of Michigan where they now reside. (See detailed proposal for the rehabilitation of these Indians in the report of P. D. Southworth, Extension agent, Lac du Flambeau Jurisdiction.)

##### *Ottawas*

(2) *Number:* 2,142 in Emmet, Charlevoix, Leelanau, Grand Travers, Antrim, Manistee, Oceana, Mecosta, Muskegon Counties in the Southern Michigan Peninsula (eastern shore).

*Condition:* These Indians have not been under Government control or on a reservation for a long period. Many of them are fishermen; a few have land holdings which are inadequate. Generally, these Indians secure a precarious living by day labor when it is available, by sale of baskets and toy canoes, and by berry picking. More than 75 percent of them have been on relief rolls during the depression.

*Recommendation:* Land purchase for all on small tracts for subsistence farms in Emmet, Grand Traverse, and Leelanau Counties. These should be operated along with fishing operations on Lake Superior. Forest land is also needed for firewood supply.

##### *Potawatamies*

(3) *Number:* 554 in Ottawa, Kent, Allegan, Cass, Van Buren, and Berrian Counties in the Southern Michigan Peninsula.

*Condition:* "\* \* \*" are now living in a state of comparative destitution in a land where once they enjoyed every luxury that nature could afford." They have not been under Government control for a long period. They live in an intensively developed agricultural area where land is valuable.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped with land purchase, correlated to the opportunity for employment in the industrial centers on the return of prosperity. Subsistence farms should be small but on productive land.

##### *Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River Chippewas*

*Number:* 1,200 in Isabelle, Clare, Bay, Iosco, Arenac, Alpena, and Oceana Counties in the Southern Michigan Peninsula.

*Condition:* All should be helped with an integrated program of subsistence farm lands and cut-over forest land.

#### Minnesota

##### *Consolidated Chippewas*

(1) *Number:* 15 Indians, of various tribes, scattered throughout the reservations under this jurisdiction.

*Condition:* Maintain their livelihood by labor and other pursuits the same as whites. No help is given them from agency funds. The unenrolled problem in this jurisdiction is peculiar in that most Indians who fall within the classification under consideration are persons who drift into Minnesota from other States and do not establish permanent domicile or association with the regular Indian population. The landless Chippewas of this State are all enrolled and are included in the estimates of the larger National Resources Board report.

*Recommendation:* If land is purchased for these Indians it should be off the reservation "by all means." (Superintendent Burns.)

(2) *Number:* The exact number is unknown, but at least 10 who are scattered about singly should be included in a land-purchase program.

*Condition:* These Indians are working wherever they can secure employment. No aid is rendered them by the Office of Indian Affairs. "There are no bands of Indians on any of the reservations. There are very few persons of Indian blood that might be found not belonging to any reservation; most of this class \* \* \* drift into this country singly; and there is no check of their movements." (Superintendent Burns.)

*Recommendation:* Any land purchase for these Indians should be outside the reservation or away from regularly enrolled Indians.

*Red Lake*

(3) *Number*: 17 at Warroad; 3 at Red Lake; 4 at Rainy River; 1 at Killiber; total, 25 (8 families).

*Condition*: All of these Chippewas were formerly enrolled but were suspended on the basis of Solicitor Patterson's opinion of January 8, 1927. (See case of *Julia B. Oakes et al. v. United States*, 172 Fed. Rep. 305.) The Office of Indian Affairs has distributed surplus Army clothing in the last few winters. They receive county relief.

*Recommendation*: Homesites near their present locations recommended.

## Wisconsin

*Bayfield County*

*Number*: 614 Chippewas.

*Condition*: These Indians reside throughout Bayfield County and were once attached to the Red Cliff Reservation (since abolished and abandoned). Sixty-five percent of the acreage which was allotted to them has been alienated and the bulk of the Indians are public charges upon the city and county. The Office of Indian Affairs does practically nothing for them. The land they retain is poor in quality and not adapted to agriculture. Though theoretically enrolled, these Indians are in fact without any real semblance of wardship to the Federal Government. They are therefore included in this summary rather than in the major National Resources Board investigation. A program for rehabilitation has been recommended by the Lac du Flambeau Jurisdiction, which recommends the repurchase of certain Indian lands which have been lost to Bayfield County for unpaid taxes. This plan also contemplates the exchange of scattered allotments in the old Red Cliff Reservation for county-owned land adjacent to the village of Red Cliff and near the city of Bayfield.

*Recommendation*: All should be helped with a land purchase and exchange program which will incorporate subsistence farming, forestry operations, and (for some) specialized berry and bean tracts.

*St. Croix Chippewas*

*Number*:

Douglas County..	50 scattered.
Burnette County..	170 in village near Danberry.
Washburn County	74 near Spooner.
Polk County.....	140 Pine, Balsam, and Round Lakes.
Barron County...	52 Sand Lake near Cumberland.

Total..... 486 persons.

*Condition*: This band of Chippewas never received any assignment of land, though 90 members once received payment of \$1,500 each. Ninety-eight of these

Indians are on relief. They possess a negligible quantity of land. Most of them are squatters living in deplorable houses. Work in this area is scarce, but they get occasional jobs as wood-pulp cutters. There is a high degree of illiteracy. They receive no Federal aid outside of school tuition and are largely neglected by the State and county governments. They are the most primitive Indian group in Wisconsin.

*Recommendation*: Land purchase is suggested in Burnett County surrounding the Big Clam Lake, where they engage in fishing, ricing, and cranberrying. They would be able to use the surrounding forest for wood supply.

*Mole Lake Chippewas*

*Number*: 120 Chippewas located at Mole Lake, Forest County.

*Condition*: At one time they had a treaty settlement of several thousand acres offered to them, but through some mistake this assignment of land was never made. They are living under extremely poor housing conditions and are a health problem to the county. Their children are admitted to the local public school, but this has been attended by considerable friction because of the health hazard. In the past year, the Indian Service has expanded its interest and materially aided the Indians by asking the field agent at Crundon to interest himself in their relief problem. A field nurse is also giving them some attention. A few have received work in emergency conservation work. The Indians are disgruntled, believing that they have been unfairly deprived of Government benefits in which the other Chippewas of Wisconsin have shared.

*Recommendation*: All should be aided with land purchase, either at Mole Lake or at Pickerel Lake, and with subsistence homesteads. Since the Indians are expert woodsmen like the other Chippewas, a forest project is recommended.

*Lac Vieux Desert Band of Chippewas*

*Number*: 60 (12 families) on Lac Vieux Desert on the Michigan-Wisconsin boundary.

*Condition*: These Indians originally came from the old L'Anse Reservation in Michigan. Their health and relief problem is a sore point with the white community. They are now living on a grant of only 80 acres which was originally given to them by President Lincoln.

*Recommendation*: It has been suggested that these Indians be induced to move to the vicinity of the old L'Anse Reservation where they could be domiciled more economically along with the Indians there, and where they would have the advantage of a central community and the social and political organization which goes along with it.

**Miscellaneous States**

The following jurisdictions reported no unenrolled landless Indians either within or outside their reservations: Florida: Seminole; North Carolina: Cherokee; Oklahoma: Shawnee, Pawnee, Osage, Five Civilized Tribes, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe.

**Kansas***Haskell Jurisdiction*

*Number:* Potawatami Reservation, 82; Kickapoo Reservation, 8; Iowa Reservation, 4; Sac and Fox Reservation, 1; total, 95 persons (57 family groups). All these Indians are customarily employed by whites as day laborers, but at the present time there is a total absence of such employment. They have been given employment for some time on emergency conservation work and other relief projects by the Office of Indian Affairs.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped with land purchase. The superintendent recommends particularly that complicated heirship tracts should be purchased for these Indians, thus giving Indian heirs some case assets with which to finance themselves in acquiring land.

*Number:* St. Marys, 15 persons; Topeka, 10 persons; Lansing, 5 persons; total, 30 persons (6 families).

*Condition:* All these Indians are descendants of the Citizen Potawatamis and were never enrolled on any tribal roll. They receive no help from the Office of Indian Affairs. They receive inadequate relief assistance through local organizations in their own communities.

*Recommendation:* These Indians should be included in the Federal program for the Potawatami Indians of the Kansas Potawatami Reservation.

**Louisiana***Choctaw*

*Number:* 30 Choctaws at Jena.

*Condition:* These Indians are tenant farmers. They receive no help from the Government.

*Recommendation:* Land for all should be purchased at one of the existing school centers in Mississippi.

*Chettemanckis*

*Number:* 90 living at Charenton.

*Condition:* They have 267 acres of farm land, not all of which is used.

*Recommendation:* The purchase of additional land for this band is not necessary.

**New York***New York Indians*

*Number:* 125 at Alleghany, Cattaraugus, Tonawanda, Tuscarora, Onondaga, St. Regis, and Buffalo. These Indians pursue a variety of vocations such as teachers, farmers, mechanics, and laborers. When in need they are aided by the State of New York.

*Recommendation:* Of the 125, 60 should be helped with land purchase off the reservation.

**Oklahoma***Kiowa*

*Number:* 108 residing within the jurisdiction.

*Condition:* These Indians pursue miscellaneous vocations and are largely self-supporting through their own efforts. They receive tuition and work-relief employment from the Office of Indian Affairs, as well as hospitalization.

*Recommendation:* All should be helped with land purchase on the reservation, but each should be required to prove tribal affiliation.

*Quapaw*

*Number:* 32 Miamis and Peorias, living in the vicinity of the Quapaw Reservation.

*Condition:* No data available.

*Recommendation:* On incomplete information available, it would appear that at least 32 should be helped with land purchase, but a further investigation should be undertaken.

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## SECTION II

# SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF SELECTED INDIAN RESERVATIONS<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction

The Social and Economic Survey of Selected Indian Reservations, conducted by employees made available through the Civil Works Administration during the winter of 1933 and 1934, covered some 123,000 Indians on about 80 major reservations. The area covered in the survey gives a comprehensive picture of contemporary American Indian life and conditions for the regions covered. Reservations east of the Mississippi and most of those in the Southwest were omitted, only one reservation in southern Utah (the Consolidated Ute) being covered. As the economy and life of the Southwestern Indians are distinctive, any interpretations drawn from the survey figures must not be considered as closely applicable to them. Alaskan aborigines are excluded entirely.

*Limitations of the Survey.*—The sampling of 123,000 Indians represents slightly more than half of all Indians enrolled on reservations and about 38 percent of all persons having one-half or more Indian blood. Numerically, this is sufficient to allow deductions with a fair degree of accuracy.

Some doubt is cast on the reliability of the figures due to the fact that some of the field enumerators had inadequate training. The greatest source of error was the inability of Indians themselves to give accurate answers to questions and the difficulties of interpretation.

The survey was conducted on a family basis, a separate card being made for each family. In the instructions to enumerators, a family was defined as a biological grouping of parents and children, including as a separate family a widow or widower with children. This grouping bears no relation to an extended family grouping living under a common shelter or forming an economic or social unit. On the basis of the whole survey, the average number of individuals per family is 3.555, whereas the usual average family estimate is 4.5 or 5. Several biological families may live under the same roof. Any analysis of the statistics on a family basis must take this definition into account. For the most part, per-capita analyses have been used, and, where desirable, families were converted on the basis of two adults and three children. Although the per-capita average, carrying all the defects of any average, does not portray conditions as realistically as group classifications, it is believed that some of the broader problems are illuminated by these data.

Certain shortcomings in the form of the survey card and the instructions for tabulation by reservations became apparent in the final tabulation of the survey:

1. There were some inconsistencies in the land figures, due to the absence of a separate classification for tribal land. These figures were corrected by the Indian Land Unit by a circular letter to superintendents.

2. The summary tabulation by reservations showing wages earned in governmental relief programs was given by wage groups. Thus, no total figure for the amount of wages earned in relief work could be calculated from the survey, but a close estimate, based on reports in the Washington office, shows that about \$1,529,329, or about 34 percent of the total wage income, was paid to the Indians included in the survey by various Government emergency work agencies.

3. No space appears on the original field survey card to show the income from hunting, fishing, and trapping. This omission is a distinct oversight. Under the Taholah jurisdiction in Washington, for example, a number of Indians had incomes ranging from \$4,000 to \$5,000 per year each in 1931 from these sources.<sup>2</sup> This example, though admittedly not representative of the whole country, emphasizes the importance of acquiring some knowledge of income gained from fish, game, and furs. As subsistence factors, hunting, fishing, and trapping loom as important items in income on most reservations.

The tables given throughout this report represent summaries taken from the tabular worksheets of the Civil Works Administration social and economic survey, which show all items separately by jurisdiction and by reservation. Instruction sheets were sent to the superintendents for the drawing up of reports by reservations. These instructions were also followed, wherever possible, in the final summary tabulation.

Some data regarding the white agricultural population have been included in this report for comparative purposes. This plan has not been followed extensively because of the absence of comparable material. It was necessary to reduce items to a per capita basis to make them comparable.

The year 1933 is not a year representative of normal economic conditions. Although farm incomes in general showed a slight increase over 1932, the country

<sup>1</sup> Prepared by Vance Rogers for the Indian Land Unit of the National Resources Board, October 1934.

<sup>2</sup> 71st Cong., 3d sess., U. S. Senate. Hearing before the subcommittee on Indian Affairs, pt. 21, 1932.

as a whole was still in the throes of the depression. The agricultural population suffered from droughts and other adverse climatic conditions. The Indian's standard of living, measured in cash, was, even in prosperous times, well below the white standard and consequently his plight became more serious in the depression. The Civil Works Administration survey shows a somewhat higher figure for income than would otherwise exist due to the inclusion of wages from relief work. As a close estimate, about 14 percent of the total income of Indians came from this source.

### The Indian as a Producer and his Income

From the Civil Works Administration survey, it was learned that less than 20 percent of the total income of Indians was a result of their productive efforts in exploiting their own land and other resources, approximately 40 percent of the total income was unearned, and the balance was obtained from wages. In 1933 the Indian earned more than twice as much money working for others than he did by working for himself. In many instances his land resources are so meager or so split up by inheritance that he finds it economically impossible to use them. In some instances his lands are wholly adequate, if worked economically, to yield a reasonable livelihood. In other instances he is entirely without resources. As much as anything else the Indian needs sounder training and encouragement in the efficient use of lands.

The Indian, like his white neighbor, is faced with the problem of the distribution of wealth in society. For one reason or another, certain tribes and certain reservations are more wealthy than others. As a general tendency, individuals within a given group are apt to amass more wealth than others. The Indians are no exception to this rule. Perhaps, in many instances, the rule is modified by the Indian inclination to distribute wealth and goods more evenly within a wider family grouping. Nevertheless, the distribution of wealth among the Indians as a whole is a problem just as difficult to solve and just as important as the distribution of wealth in the non-Indian groups of the United States. Incomes and standards of living are illuminated by the statistical information taken from the Civil Works Administration social and economic survey, despite the fact that any per capita or family analysis obscures the phenomenon of wealth distribution.

*Unearned Incomes.*—Earned Indian incomes are far below the incomes of the white agricultural population. (See fig. 8.) Even counting unearned income, total per capita Indian income is well below white agricultural income. An analysis of the income figures of these two groups reveals the peculiar status of the

Indian as a petty capitalist and as a worker whose cash return from the productive exploitation of his resources is astonishingly low. (See table XIII.)

TABLE XIII.—*Gross Indian income, earned and unearned, on selected Indian Reservations, 1933*<sup>1</sup>

Earned incomes		Unearned incomes	
Crops sold.....	\$540,399	Land leases.....	\$1,881,601
Livestock sold.....	685,301	Mineral leases.....	256,732
Arts and crafts products sold.....	45,899	Annuities, interests, etc.....	1,924,234
Farm and garden produce sold.....	151,060	Land sales.....	354,356
Employment at wages.....	4,524,596		
Value of farm and garden produce consumed.....	629,536		
Miscellaneous.....	18,903		
<b>Total earned.....</b>	<b>6,595,694</b>	<b>Total unearned.....</b>	<b>4,416,923</b>
		<b>Total earned.....</b>	<b>6,595,694</b>
		<b>Total gross.....</b>	<b>11,012,617</b>

<sup>1</sup> The Civil Works Administration social and economic survey of 1933 covering approximately 123,000 Indians on about 80 reservations.

The 1933 income comparisons give an unduly optimistic view of Indian income compared with white income. First, 40 percent of what the Indians receive is unearned income, and the funds received from this source will decrease rather than increase. Second, the Indian income includes a large percentage of relief-work wages, whereas the white income shown does not include relief or other wages.

Approximately 40 percent of the Indian income is classed as unearned, according to the Civil Works Administration survey. This money is paid to the Indian without effort on his own part, yet, were it not for these payments, many Indians would starve. The largest single item in the unearned category is derived from annuities and interest on annuities. Incomes from land leases loom almost as large as annuity payments. Behind these two figures lurks the story of the alienation of the Indian from his lands. Annuity payments were granted in some instances as an inducement to the Indians to surrender their lands. In other instances annuity payments are made for the disposition or rental of tribal property, and interest payments are made on these receipts. Much of the land in Indian ownership today is difficult and often impossible to operate effectively because of scattered allotments and minute division of heirship interests and because of uneconomic size and location. As a result, land is leased in most instances in order to obtain some return to the Indian land owner.

Mineral leases, although not a large item in the total unearned income, constitute a higher per capita figure in certain areas. Of the \$256,000 shown in the total figures in table XIII, about 80 percent goes to the Five Civilized Tribes and the Kiowa jurisdiction in Oklahoma, where the oil resources on Indian lands are being depleted rapidly by whites. Most of this income is concentrated in the hands of a few Indians.

Income derived from the sale of lands has been very greatly reduced in the last 4 or 5 years. It is probable that under the present policy of the Indian Office it will remain negligible. Still, in 1932 the income from land sales represented about 3 percent of the total income. A part of this figure is a carry-over of past sales which were made on a deferred payment basis.

Despite the extreme poverty of the Indian, certain forces over which he has little control impose upon him the role of a petty capitalist, idly sitting by while some one else works his assets. Although no figures are available showing the unearned income of the agricultural whites, it is safe to assume that it represents a very small amount of their total income.

*Earned Income.*—Indians earn only 60 percent of their total income, according to the Civil Works

Administration survey. Although the unearned element may be contributive to such sociological phenomena as improvidence and uneconomic spending interspersed with periods of want, an immediate withdrawal of this source of wealth might threaten starvation among many people.

At the time of the survey, 13,665 men were working for wages and 20,260 men were not employed. Those employed were distributed among wage groups as follows:

\$1.01 to \$0.99 per day .....	1,392
\$1.00 to \$1.99 per day .....	6,200
\$2.00 to \$2.99 per day .....	6,167
\$3 and over per day .....	3,857
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>17,616</b>

### INCOME ON SELECTED INDIAN RESERVATIONS

FROM THE C.W.A. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF 1933 COVERING ABOUT 123,000 INDIANS ON APPROXIMATELY 80 RESERVATIONS

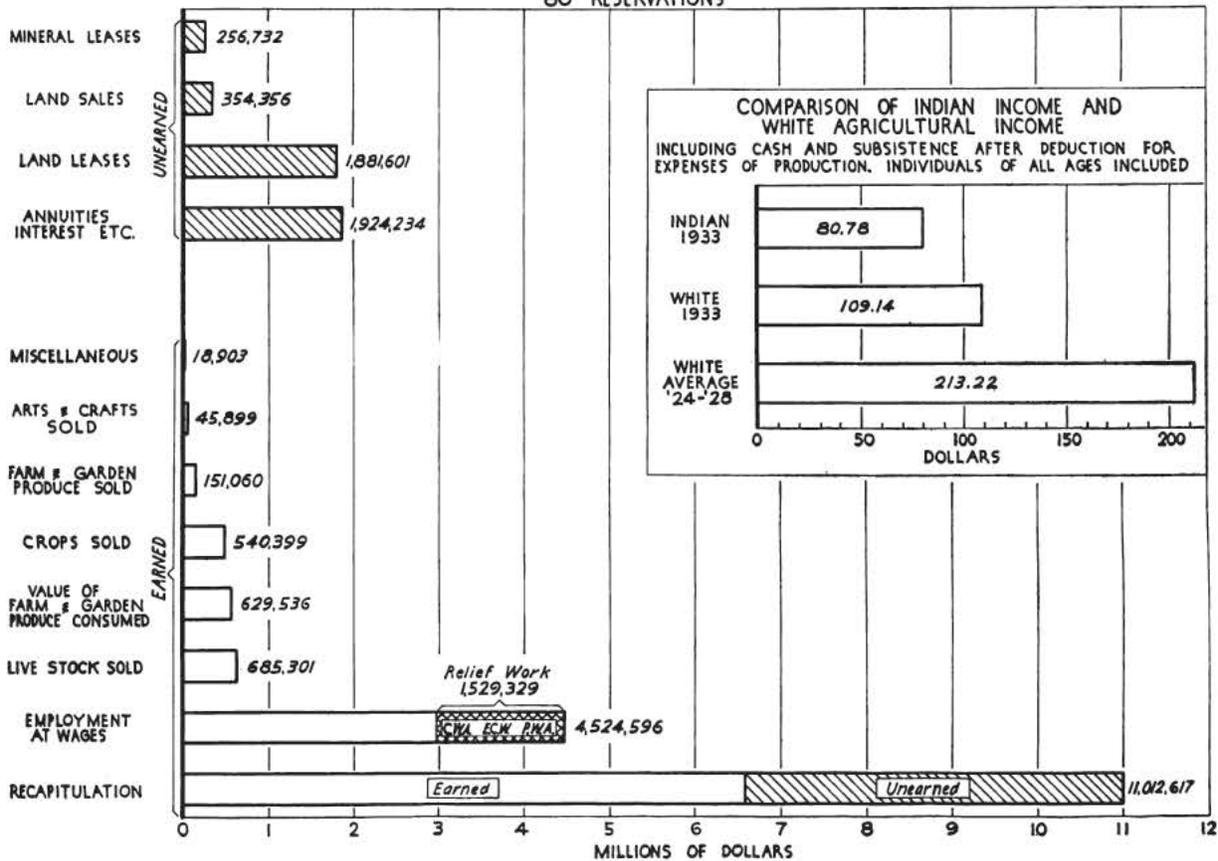


FIGURE 8.—Unearned income on Indian reservations, chiefly from land leases, land sales, and per capita payments from tribal funds, are "out of all proportion." It is many times greater than the commercial value of crops, garden truck and livestock produced by Indian labor. It exceeds even wage income from private employers. A major objective in Indian land policy is to make it possible for more Indians to work (not lease) their lands, thereby keeping for themselves the income shares of both landlord and tenant.

These figures indicate that about two-thirds of the Indians employed earned between \$1 and \$3 per day. Approximately 22 percent of all the Indians employed made over \$3 per day.

Almost 60 percent of the Indians were unemployed at the time the survey was conducted. This figure is not wholly representative of their economic condition, as most of the Indians are not entirely dependent on employment. They often work for others to supplement income derived from farming or unearned income.

Indians obtained 41 percent of their incomes in wages. This was a slightly greater amount than the total of their unearned incomes, and over twice as much as they earned by farming. Probably the productive income from farming operations would be somewhat increased if the Indians had not been employed by the Government, but the difference would be no means have equalled the amount paid them by the Government in wages. As long as Indian resources are in their present disrupted state, it is highly desirable that the Indians be given Government employment. But as a long-time policy, they must be led to devote their energies to the exploitation of their own resources if they are to have a higher standard of living.

The disintegration of the Indian patrimony, the spending of capital as income, and the peculiar trust status of the assets of the Indian, have given him a small and often ephemeral income for reasons he little understands. Never adequately schooled to a money economy, his expenditures often seem childish, uneconomic and bizarre, having only the faintest relation to his fundamental needs. If a policy of encouraging the Indian to utilize his own resources is pursued, much of his unearned income will be transferred to the earned category with an appreciable increase in the actual amount, and he will thereby acquire more skill in the economic disbursement of cash for food, clothing, and shelter.

*Farm and Garden Produce.*—The per capita dollar value of farm products retained for consumption in the case of the agricultural whites, is slightly over \$30; in the case of Indians, it is just under \$5. Neither of these figures shows the value of fish and game consumed by the two groups. The value of wildlife is naturally greater among Indians than among whites, since their life, habits, and inclinations are fundamentally adapted to fishing and hunting. There is, nevertheless, a wide variation in such activities among the Indians. On some reservations fish and game are plentiful; on others, scarce. On the north-west coast, salmon fishing is a commercial occupation of prime importance, but among some of the Oklahoma

tribes little or no fish and game are available. Sociological factors also influence hunting and fishing. Among the Navajos of the Southwest, for example, there is a religious prohibition against the eating of fish.

According to the Civil Works Administration survey, the value of farm and garden produce consumed amounted approximately to \$5 per Indian, or on a family basis of five, counting three children equivalent to two adults, the value of produce consumed was \$20 per family. This indicates the possibility of raising the living standards of the Indians by encouraging them to raise their own garden produce. An effort is now being made by the Extension Division of the Indian Office to encourage Indians to grow and preserve products for home consumption.

The Civil Works survey, covering approximately 123,000 Indians on about 80 reservations showed that the amount and value of garden products raised by the Indians for 1933 were as follows:

Number of Indians growing.....	13,332
Total production..... pounds..	23,095,182
Total stored..... pounds..	9,203,653
Total sold in 1933..... pounds..	2,615,631
Total value sales in 1933.....	\$45,406

From the foregoing data, a rough estimate of the total value of garden products can be made on the basis of the portion which was sold. The average price per pound of garden products sold is 1.8 cents. Multiplying the total pounds produced by this price gives a total value of \$415,443. Of the total garden products raised by the 13,332 Indians listed above, about 11 percent was sold.

Farm and garden produce consumed amounted approximately to 5 percent of the total Indian income, and about 40 percent of white income. The opportunities for growing food for consumption may be slightly more favorable in the case of the whites, due to their better lands, but there can be little doubt about the insistent need to encourage the Indian to grow products for his own consumption.

*Income from Farm Crops.*—Tables XIV and XV show quantity of and income from farm forage crops. The schedules on which these tables are based show a total sales value approximately \$36,000 greater than the income figure under "Crops sold", as given in table XIII. A scrutiny of these figures by reservations shows that the variation was in both directions. No attempt has been made to rectify the figure in table XIII, although it is probably somewhat low. In the figures returned for the Five Civilized Tribes, for example, the farm and forage schedules total \$28,429 higher than the income figure given under "Crops sold".

TABLE XIV.—Principal farm crops on selected Indian reservations in 1933<sup>1</sup>

	Number of Indians growing crops	Total acres grown	Total production (bushels)	Total bushels stored	Crops sold and their value in 1933	
					Bushels	Dollars
Corn.....	4,472	100,060	631,486	300,104	97,480	36,303
Wheat.....	1,650	52,393	367,724	99,335	204,807	121,222
Oats.....	1,403	30,856	421,168	167,594	70,072	27,047
Barley.....	406	7,057	37,379	11,549	6,576	2,659
Rye.....	618	13,708	5,701	2,393	1,552	972
Wild rice.....	616	No data.	3,803	822	2,981	24,410
Peas.....	342	1,345	7,435	1,790	3,264	3,567
Beans.....	200	812	3,330	1,190	436	801
Chili.....	14	118	4,305	115	1,626	272
Total.....	9,721	206,349	1,482,331	584,882	388,794	217,253

<sup>1</sup> The Civil Works Administration social and economic survey of 1933, covering approximately 123,000 Indians on about 80 reservations.

TABLE XV.—Forage and cotton crops in 1933 on selected Indian reservations<sup>1</sup>

	Number of Indians growing crops	Total acres grown	Total produced	Total stored	Crops sold and their value in 1933	
					Tons	Dollars
Cotton.....	1,448	2,736	11,056	1,255	1,481	201,515
Sugar beets.....	41	488	3,843	4	3,828	17,538
Alfalfa.....	1,956	34,662	46,165	24,228	11,953	56,332
Clover.....	179	15,882	10,654	4,879	3,645	18,675
Wild hay.....	3,740	125,531	80,358	54,927	7,180	39,148
Other hay.....	1,472	25,714	26,280	17,026	1,611	22,201
Miscellaneous.....	745					3,880
Total.....	9,581	205,013	168,356	101,089	29,098	359,379

<sup>1</sup> The Civil Works Administration social and economic survey of 1933 covering approximately 123,000 Indians on about 80 reservations.

<sup>2</sup> This figure is in terms of bales of cotton.

<sup>3</sup> Includes a variety of items such as maple sugar, kaffir, sorghum, etc.

Income from Indian crop production was about 4 percent of total income after an estimated deduction of farm produce consumed was made, whereas the percentage of white income derived from farm crops was about 40 percent. These percentages show clearly that the Indian is not gaining a large cash income as a farmer. All the above calculations are based on the figure \$540,399 for "Crops sold" given in table XIII. This figure is retained to make the calculations consistent with other items in the general income table. As stated above, there is reason to believe that this figure is too low.

The average return per acre on the basis of the figures for acres grown and sales value that are given in tables XIV and XV is \$5.70. As no figures for the 1932 inventory of crops stored are available, it is impossible to calculate the net inventory value at the end of 1933.

*Income from livestock.*—Table XVI, showing income from livestock, gives a total sales value of \$659,127, or some \$26,000 below the figure given for "Livestock sold" in table XIII. For comparative purposes the figure in table XIII is used. It is also probably the more accurate representation of income derived from livestock. This figure is about 5 percent of the gross

income after an estimated value of livestock used for consumption has been subtracted. Livestock represents about 43 percent of white farm income.

TABLE XVI.—Income from livestock and poultry on selected Indian reservations in 1933<sup>1</sup>

Name	Total Indians owning livestock and poultry	Total units owned	Total value	Number sold and their value in 1933	
				Number	Dollars
<b>Livestock:</b>					
Milk cows.....	8,254	28,803	615,879	1,865	31,592
Beef cattle.....	5,329	76,242	1,437,137	9,900	195,735
Bulls.....	1,456	1,945	121,955	110	2,300
Sheep.....	588	75,158	375,727	21,973	81,760
Horses.....	14,137	67,722	2,154,013	9,569	166,673
Goats.....	410	3,264	9,676	234	664
Swine.....	5,288	54,702	131,059	21,805	71,992
Total.....	35,462	307,836	4,845,446	65,486	550,635
Wool.....				428,803	75,310
<b>Poultry:</b>					
Chickens.....	11,364	335,524	136,701	48,325	15,285
Turkeys.....	1,842	13,832	19,683	13,394	17,887
Total.....	13,206	349,356	156,384	61,719	33,182

<sup>1</sup> The Civil Works Administration social and economic survey of 1933, covering approximately 123,000 Indians on about 80 reservations.

Neither as a crop producer nor as a stockman can the Indian compare with his white neighbor in productive capacity. A number of forces are at work preventing him from productive effort, but the data regarding livestock and crop production show conclusively that the greatest fundamental need of the Indian is a complete reorganization of economy to bring a larger proportion of his income into the productive category. This will entail both the acquisition of more resources and the more efficient use of those he now has.

*Arts and Crafts.*—Less than 1 percent of all Indian income was derived from the sale of native handicrafts. A much greater percentage would be shown from this source if the Southwest area were included in the survey.

Table XVII gives the number of Indians making art and craft products, the number of products sold, and the sales value. This table indicates that the average income for those Indians making such products was about \$22.50 per year. Machine-made imitations of Indian products, mostly of an inferior grade, are sold widely in America, but genuine Indian products are less widely known and distributed. If there were organized marketing of Indian products, it is likely that this source of income would be greatly augmented. The present administration is making concerted efforts to stimulate the production of native art and craft products among the Indians for both commercial and subsistence purposes.

The survey does not show the production of native handicrafts used by the Indians themselves, but it is incontestable that this is a source of income production

TABLE XVII.—Arts and crafts on selected Indian reservations in 1933<sup>1</sup>

Kind of product	Indians making	Number sold	Value of products sold, 1933
	Number	Articles	Dollars
Silver.....	2	120	212
Pottery.....	(?)	(?)	(?)
Basketry.....	141	2,662	3,738
Rugs.....	50	403	655
Beaded articles.....	74	1,763	3,065
Wreaths.....	10	168	210
Gloves.....	273	9,799	8,397
Moccasins.....	212	3,685	4,066
Quilts.....	1	26	6
Artificial flowers.....	2	186	18
Leggings.....	1	1	(?)
Miscellaneous.....	240	9,969	8,049
Total.....	1,006	28,782	28,416
Total (unclassified) <sup>2</sup> .....	1,939	32,221	43,729

<sup>1</sup> From the Civil Works Administration social and economic survey of 1933, covering approximately 123,000 Indians on about 80 reservations.

<sup>2</sup> No data.

<sup>3</sup> Many reservations failed to return classified items but gave total figures.

of some proportions. It is difficult to measure the aesthetic value of native products to the Indians themselves. Contrary to popular belief, they value their own products highly, but the press of poverty often forces them to sell them and buy cheaper machine-made goods.

*Miscellaneous Income.*—Table XIII shows almost \$19,000, or about 15 cents per person, as miscellaneous income. This money came from various sources, but primarily from money paid for the use of Indian horses and from hunting, trapping, and fishing. It is not to be assumed that all the income from hunting, trapping, and fishing is shown here. As indicated above, there was no classification in the survey to show income from wildlife; the figures were simply added as a supplement by several superintendents who saw fit to include them.

*Fruits, Nuts, and Berries.*—In the general income table (table XIII) no classification is given for the value of fruits, nuts, and berries sold. A few superintendents included these items in the miscellaneous classification, but most of them probably included them in "Crops sold" and "Value of farm and garden produce consumed."

The total value of the cash income from fruits, nuts, and berries was about \$10,000. (See table XVIII.) The value of the production of these three items was about \$35,000. The difference between the amount sold and the amount produced presumably was consumed. The value of the part consumed amounted approximately to \$25,000.

Over 5,000 Indians had an average income of \$3.32 from fruit farming, including the value of the fruit they consumed. Likewise, 23 Indians on two jurisdictions had an average income of \$52.56 from nuts, and 210 Indians averaged \$11.54 from berries. Fruits, nuts, and berries are not important items in the budget of the Indian so far as the country as a whole is con-

TABLE XVIII.—Fruits, nuts, berries on selected Indian reservations, 1933<sup>1</sup>

	Indians growing	Trees	Total production	Total storage	Sold in 1933	
					Amount	Value
	Number	Number	Bushels	Bushels	Bushels	Dollars
Apples.....	1,789	23,166	20,067	5,896	1,745	949
Cherries.....	594	3,082	1,043	418	42	84
Peaches.....	1,281	16,690	2,289	55	2,179	1,476
Plums.....	848	5,252	978	288	33	64
Apricots.....	95	10,714	6,770	115	6,078	3,112
Other fruits.....	613	5,016	4,973	463	3,055	621
Total.....	5,220	63,920	36,140	7,235	13,132	6,306
Nuts.....	23	5,784	Quarts	Quarts	Quarts	
Berries.....	210	103,686	32,622	105	24,997	1,209

<sup>1</sup> From the Civil Works Administration social and economic survey of 1933, covering approximately 123,000 Indians on about 80 reservations.

<sup>2</sup> Number of plants growing.

cerned, but in certain areas they form a substantial part of the yearly income.

*Canning and Drying.*—About 3,600 Indians dried an average of 210 pounds of food in 1933, and about 12,600 prepared an average of 72 quarts of canned foods. Most of the fish and meat preserved was caught or shot by the Indians. The figures concerning canning and drying from the Civil Works Administration survey are these:

<i>Canning</i>	
Number of Indians canning.....	12,643
Quarts canned:	
Fish.....	2,389
Meat.....	9,477
Fruit.....	172,261
Vegetables.....	96,936
Total quarts canned.....	1,914,003
<i>Drying</i>	
Number of Indians drying.....	3,633
Pounds dried:	
Fish.....	22,904
Meat.....	41,718
Fruit.....	5,003
Vegetables.....	29,986
Total number of pounds dried....	1,760,692

<sup>1</sup> Totals include unclassified items.

During the past several years the Extension Division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has effectively stimulated canning and drying. The survey figures show that a great percentage of Indian families preserved food for winter use. The marked increase in these activities shows that potentially the Indians can be encouraged to preserve much more food and thus increase their real incomes.

*Income from Wage Employment.*—The biggest single item in Indian incomes is the money normally earned from wagework for whites. In 1933, however, about a third of all wages came from three Government

agencies—Civil Works Administration, Public Works Administration, and Emergency Conservation Work. (See fig. XIII.) The number of Indians employed by these three agencies is given below, distributed according to the number of days each man worked:

Number of days:	Number of Indians
1 to 9 days.....	3, 650
10 to 29 days.....	5, 906
30 to 59 days.....	3, 799
60 to 89 days.....	2, 215
90 days and over.....	1, 935
Total.....	17, 505

More than half of those employed in emergency work, it is evident, worked less than 30 days during the year.

These workers are distributed as follows according to the amount of pay they received in a year from the three Government agencies:

\$1-\$49.....	7, 465
50- 99.....	3, 938
100-149.....	2, 292
150-199.....	1, 548
200-299.....	1, 157
300-399.....	382
400-499.....	151
500 and over.....	245
Total.....	17, 178

Without this source of income during the winter of 1933-34, many Indians would have been in tragic want.

### Indebtedness

A statistical statement of the reported present indebtedness of the Indians in the survey shows the following:

	Number of Indians	Dollars
Reimbursable indebtedness <sup>1</sup> .....	9, 690	1, 553, 508
Repayments made in 1933 on reimbursable loans.....	2, 292	82, 250
All other debts <sup>2</sup> .....	10, 505	3, 417, 178

<sup>1</sup> The term "reimbursable indebtedness" refers to unpaid loans from Government appropriated credit funds or from tribal revolving funds.

<sup>2</sup> The term "all other debts" refers to credits extended by stores, car dealers, individuals, and similar sources.

The average reimbursable indebtedness of 9,690 Indians was \$160. The 10,505 Indians having debts other than reimbursable had an average debt per individual of \$325. (See fig. 9.) It is likely that the major portion of "other debts" was for motor cars. The majority of reimbursable debts arose from productive agricultural loans. The ratio of such debts to total debts is indicative of the need for educating the Indian to utilize loans for productive purposes. For a more complete discussion of the credit problems of the Indians, the reader's attention is directed to the discussion in this report entitled "Agricultural Credit Needs of the Indians."

### INDEBTEDNESS ON SELECTED INDIAN RESERVATIONS

FROM THE C.W.A. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF 1933 COVERING ABOUT 12,500 INDIANS ON APPROXIMATELY 60 RESERVATIONS

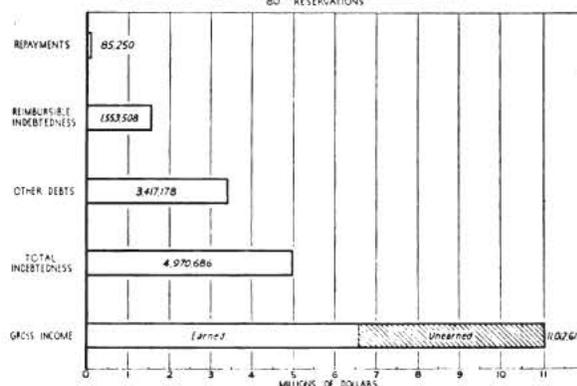


FIGURE 9. - Indians make but limited use of credit, partly because of the trust status of most of their lands. By pledging their unearned income as security against borrowed capital goods they could borrow perhaps 10 times as much as they now owe.

### Homes, Clothing, Bedding

The general statistical material regarding Indian homes is given on the next few pages. Dividing the total number of individuals by the number of homes surveyed gives an average of 5.315 individuals living under one shelter. This is an average of 1.670 individuals greater than the number of families reported according to the definition of family used in the survey. It is well known that among many Indians several family groupings, using family in the sense of parents and children, often live together and form a social and economic unit. Not only do several families often live together, but many families have such unattached members as widows, widowers, divorcees, and old and young unmarried members. Although it is not always true that all people under a common shelter form a working unit, it is safe to assume that in the majority of instances they do. In listing the adequacy of buildings other than houses, the number of houses reported has been used as a basis of comparison. This does not imply that the present number of houses is adequate.

Of the 23,121 houses surveyed, record was made as to the general condition of 14,702 as follows:

Excellent.....	734
Good.....	3, 614
Fair.....	6, 240
Poor.....	4, 114

Total classified as to condition..... 14, 702

Of the houses reported as to general condition about 30 percent are classed as excellent or good. The other 70 percent, classed as fair or poor, are probably inadequate to meet a reasonable standard of living and are certainly well below the average housing

standards of the Indian's white neighbor. The present Indian administration is concerning itself with housing conditions among Indians, and definite steps have already been taken to improve conditions. Although it is impossible from this survey to give accurate quantitative statements as to house conditions, due to the subjective element inherent in the classification, it is possible to make the general statement that a good portion of the 70 percent of houses classed as fair or poor should be improved immediately to meet minimum sanitary and sociological requirements.

More than 90 percent of all the recorded shelters were of frame or log construction; nearly 3 percent were tents. It is assumed that under present reservation conditions tents are wholly inadequate as shelters. The houses surveyed were distributed as to kind of construction as follows:

Frame.....	16,270
Brick.....	87
Stone.....	120
Log.....	5,709
Adobe.....	138
Hogan.....	17
Tents.....	562
Miscellaneous.....	218
Total classified as to materials reported.....	23,121

As regards the material of the foundation, the houses covered were classified as follows:

Stone.....	3,568
Dirt.....	2,054
Logs.....	2,701
Brick.....	314
Cement and concrete.....	4,297
Miscellaneous.....	1,623
None.....	1,359
Total classified as to foundations.....	15,916

More than 20 percent of Indian houses had either dirt foundations or no foundations at all. As the condition of the other materials listed under foundations is not shown, it is difficult to estimate just what percentage of all foundations may be considered as adequate.

It is quite certain, from the general conditions of the houses, that many of the floors are entirely inadequate for protection against the elements; probably they are unsanitary as well. The survey figures for houses classified as to nature of floors are as follows:

Board.....	15,117
Dirt.....	889
Cement.....	47
Miscellaneous.....	34
Total classified as to floors.....	16,087

As for number of rooms per house, the schedule provided for recording the number as from one room to eight

rooms. Of 4,000 houses investigated for number of rooms, 33 percent had only one room, 32 percent had only two rooms, and most of the remaining 35 percent had three, four, or five rooms. Only a negligible number had more than five rooms. As the average number of individuals living under a common shelter was over five, it is clear that individuals are crowded together far beyond a point consistent with hygienic standards.

About 32 percent of the Indians had inadequate clothing, and about 38 percent inadequate bedding. This classification is subject to wide variation, as it rests on the judgment of the enumerators. Still, it has value as a rough index. Perhaps sociologists would object to classifying clothing as adequate or inadequate, pointing out that a wide margin of error might result from the general white conviction that the white man's clothing is one of the indices of civilization. But since the majority of Indians have adopted modern attire, this objection is not very sound. The same objection might be raised against such a classification of bedding, but because of the widespread adoption of the particular type of bedding used by the white population, it is necessary to determine its appropriateness from the point of view of sanitation and protection. Both clothing and bedding are closely allied to housing as problems of sanitation.

Of the 23,121 homes surveyed, approximately 70 percent, or 16,226 homes, had toilets. Nearly 30 percent of the homes enumerated were without toilets. The people living in these homes either shared toilets with others or were entirely without such sanitary facilities. The condition of toilets was not recorded on the survey. Few deductions, beyond the fact that 30 percent of the houses were without toilets, can be made from the survey material. It is certain, however, that a large number of the toilets surveyed would not meet sanitary requirements.

Approximately 48 percent of the houses were supplied by wells; 31 percent had water piped into the house or secured it from springs; and 21 percent were dependent upon surface water for domestic use. It is undesirable for sanitary purposes to use surface water. Wells are often sources of communicable diseases, but they are usually more desirable than surface water as a source of supply. Education in some of the fundamental principles of hygiene would better the water supply among Indians, but certainly some investment will have to be made in the digging of wells if conditions are to be measurably improved. The data afforded by the survey regarding sources of water supplies follow:

Types of water supply:	Number
Wells.....	11,660
Springs.....	4,483
Surface water.....	5,918
Water piped in house.....	2,248

**Buildings, Implements, and Furniture**

The buildings other than houses found in connection with the homes of the Indians were these:

Barns.....	10, 291
Garages.....	4, 029
Chicken houses.....	9, 421
Root cellars.....	8, 540

In determining the adequacy of buildings other than houses, it is necessary to compare their number with the number of houses reported. About 45 percent of the Indians reporting houses had barns, 40 percent had chicken houses, 37 percent had root cellars, and 70 percent had toilets. These figures show clearly how inadequate in number are the buildings necessary to an agricultural people. In many instances several families may have shared supplementary buildings.

One of the most significant findings of the survey was the number of Indians having root cellars. It appears that most Indians have difficulty with food shortage during the winter, but those who have root cellars fare much better than those who have none. Even more than canning and drying, root cellars are indexes of Indian providence. Much is now being done by the Indian Service to encourage the construction of new root cellars, but the survey indicates there is still a deplorable shortage.

Three sets of data will now be given which together indicate how insufficient Indian equipment is compared with the number of homes (23,121) and families covered by the survey. The first group of data relates to farm implements and machinery owned by the Indians:

Item	Number of Indian owners	Number of implements, etc.
Plows.....	10, 885	15, 718
Harrows.....	7, 809	9, 221
Mowers.....	5, 875	9, 363
Rakes.....	5, 276	5, 429
Wagons.....	11, 902	13, 701
Harness.....	13, 032	18, 733
Binders.....	1, 303	1, 347
Cultivators.....	5, 881	7, 032
Autos.....	9, 154	9, 448

The next group of facts relates to musical instruments:

Item	Number of Indian owners	Number of instruments, etc.
Radios.....	3, 348	3, 360
Phonographs.....	4, 167	4, 225
Pianos.....	1, 878	1, 896

The comparatively high percentage of so-called "luxury products", like automobiles, radios, phono-

graphs, and pianos, results partly from the fact that some Indians have incomes adequate for such purchases.

The third set of data concerns house furniture:

Item	Number of Indian owners	Number of implements, etc.
Stoves.....	24, 629	42, 498
Fireplaces.....	2, 064	2, 367
Tables.....	22, 529	35, 808
Chairs.....	20, 868	102, 214
Benches.....	11, 505	16, 414
Beds.....	23, 960	52, 873
Cupboards.....	18, 597	22, 613
Trunks.....	17, 980	28, 746
Sewing machines.....	13, 634	13, 825
Phones.....	787	788

**Education and Agricultural Training**

The 30,692 school children covered by the survey were distributed as follows according to the kind of school they attended:

Kind of school:	Number of Indians
Public.....	19, 113
Day.....	2, 333
Mission.....	3, 573
Nonresident boarding.....	2, 645
Reservation boarding.....	3, 028
Total.....	30, 692

The percentage distribution of the children among different kinds of schools is significant. More than 60 percent were in public schools; almost 20 percent were in reservation and nonreservation boarding schools; 8 percent attended day schools operated by the Indian Service; and 12 percent were in missionary schools.

Of the Indians classified according to highest grade reached in school, 62 percent had never gone beyond the sixth grade; approximately 28 percent had completed the ninth grade; and a small fraction of 1 percent had gone beyond the twelfth grade.

Approximately 12 percent of the school children were not in school at the time of enumeration, and a third of this number were reported as physically unable to attend. The survey figures are:

Grades reached (by those finished):	
1-6.....	29, 373
7-9.....	13, 074
10-12.....	4, 053
All higher.....	444
Total.....	46, 944

At the time of the survey, nearly one-eighth of the children between the ages of 6 and 16 were not attending school. The figures are as follows:

In school.....	24, 081
Not in school.....	3, 227
Total.....	27, 308

The reasons given for nonattendance were classed thus:

Physical.....	1,057
Financial.....	664
Distance from school.....	373
School capacity filled.....	95
Weather, roads, etc.....	33
Local epidemic.....	1
Miscellaneous.....	822
Total.....	3,045

The field-survey cards called for data on the extent of vocational training. No table on this subject is included herein, since the final reports were not sufficiently complete to present an accurate picture. The Wheeler-Howard Act, which authorizes \$250,000 annually for reimbursable loans to Indians for trade, vocational, and higher training will meet this need in a measure.

In recent years there has been a definite trend away from boarding-school education. These schools remove the Indian from his cultural context, prepare and accustom him to a totally different mode of life, and then return him to his home with an entirely inadequate preparation for meeting the practical problems of reservation life. In many instances, the boarding school has made him critical and dissatisfied with Indian ways, and he finds himself hopelessly maladjusted. This shift in policy has been one of the marked features of the present Indian administration and the administration just preceding it. Fundamental changes in education come slowly, and it is neither possible nor desirable to abolish boarding schools overnight; but the fact that about one-fifth of all Indian children in the survey are still being removed from family and cultural contacts is concrete evidence that continued educational reform is probably needed.

#### Incapacitating Physical Defects

The Civil Works Administration survey supplied data with respect to persons having various physical afflictions. These cases may be classified as follows:

Blind.....	597
Crippled.....	852
Tubercular.....	1,120
Invalid.....	785
Mental cases.....	213
Aged.....	2,712
Rheumatism.....	125
Eye disease.....	544
Deaf.....	168
Total.....	7,116

Of the total number of Indians enumerated, about 6 percent were listed as having incapacitating physical defects. Of this number, the most prevalent cause of incapacity was old age, which accounted for 38 percent; tuberculosis accounted for 16 percent; blindness and

eye disease, probably mostly trachoma and venereal infections, accounted for 16 percent; and 12 percent were cripples.

#### Transportation

Nearly 12 percent of the Indians covered by the survey live more than 5 miles from a surfaced highway. About 6 percent of the school children not in boarding schools walk more than 2 miles to school. The survey yielded the following data:

Number of children walking 2 miles or more to school..	1,535
Number of Indians living over 5 miles from surfaced highway.....	14,323

#### Membership in Farm Organizations

A large number of Indians belong to farm societies. Livestock associations show the number of Indian stock owners who are engaged in joint economic activities. Great impetus is being given to livestock associations at the present time as a means of using Indian land resources economically and stimulating initiative. The membership figures elicited by the Civil Works Administration survey are as follows:

4-H club.....	2,252
Farm societies.....	3,439
Auxiliaries.....	2,715
Livestock associations.....	718

#### Land

An analysis of the data obtained in the survey on land ownership and acreages involves many difficulties. Data obtained from different reservations were not comparable in all instances. Some discrepancies in checking data appeared. Nevertheless, certain data of significance warrant presentation for purposes of showing conditions in a broad and general manner.

The survey summaries from reservations presented land-ownership figures of 102,933 individuals. Of this total 44,453 individuals or 43 percent held property rights in land; 58,480 or 57 percent were reported as not owning land. These summaries did not include the distribution of land among families and did not present figures showing the number of families which had no land. The summaries show land holdings only in terms of the individual. However, certain data presented would seem to indicate that considerably more than one-fifth of the families have no land holdings. Of those holding land, many have property rights in the form of inherited interests.

The age classification was reported for 119,476 individuals, as follows:

1 to 5 years.....	20,428
6 to 16 years.....	32,023
17 to 50 years.....	50,528
Over 51 years.....	16,497

The total number of persons over 17 years is 67,025. If all land holdings were in the hands of those over 17

years of age, these figures would indicate that 22,572 or 19 percent of those above such age have no allotments or inherited interests in land. It must be borne in mind that generally when the husband was allotted land, the wife, and in most cases the children, also were allotted land. It is a known fact that few children under 6 years of age have individual allotments. However, many from 6 to 16 years of age do have allotments. (On Crow reservation 650 of a total of 935 children under 17 years of age had individual allotments.) It is obvious that the number under 17 years of age owning land would proportionately reduce the number above the age who have land.

The manner in which land was held and the acreages involved are as follows:

	Original allotments	Inherited	Fee patent
Number owning.....	31,314	25,185	3,311
Number of acres owned.....	6,614,425	4,264,980	582,243

Comparing the foregoing figures with the number reported as owning land (44,453) it is concluded that 14,146 or 45 percent of those owning original allotments also had inherited interests in other lands, but that 11,039 of the 44,453 reported as owning land held only undivided interests in inherited land, which was probably fragmented or segregated to an unusable extent in a high percentage of the cases.

A review of reservation reports shows that many Indians who were reported as having no property rights in land have interests in tribal land. Since the reservations surveyed included mainly those on which the bulk of the land was allotted, the acreage and usability of the interests in tribal land are probably limited.

The data obtained with respect to land holdings also show a classification suggestive both of the types of farming operation and of the character of land. The total acreage in this classification is slightly less than the total acreage given in the previous data on land holdings. This discrepancy is not, however, of sufficient importance to change the relationship between the types of classes. The classification follows:

Kind	Number owning	Number acres owned	Percent of total acres
Irrigated.....	4,542	165,687	2
Dry farms.....	21,172	2,004,061	23
Grazing.....	33,018	8,541,812	75

NOTE.—Probably includes barren and waste land.

Two percent of the total land is classed as irrigated. The bulk of this irrigated land is on a few reservations. Four reservations reported 133,555 irrigated acres, or 80 percent of the total. Six reservations reported 29,522 irrigated acres, an additional 17 percent; while 8 reported the balance, 2,610 acres or 3 percent.

Many of the reservations are in an arid or semiarid country, suitable only for grazing.

In conclusion, it should be stated that although the foregoing data show an average holding of approximately 200 acres per individual of those owning land, four distinct points deserve mention:

1. The land is generally of a character which demands large acreages for effective operation because of its low productivity.
2. The distribution of size and character of land holdings among tribes and among individuals within a tribe is very unequal and wide. Herein lie some of the basic difficulties of the Indians in making a living on the land.
3. The fragmentation of holdings makes effective operation difficult and at times impossible.
4. Lastly, it may be repeated, a large percentage of Indians hold no land whatever.

**Summary**

The Civil Works Administration survey has enabled the procurement for the first time of comprehensive and contemporary basic statistical information for a large number of Indian reservations. Previously, the information which had been gathered from year to year was of fragmentary character. The material gathered through this Civil Works Administration survey will be of much practical significance for some time to come, and will be of particular value as a basis upon which to formulate programs for economic development on the different reservations. Also, it has seemed to focus attention of Indians and personnel on manifold social and economic problems of the Indian.

This survey reveals the following fundamental conditions in Indian social and economic life:

1. The analysis of Indian income reveals the average Indian as a petty capitalist and an intermittent wage earner, rather than a commercial or even a subsistence farmer, but it should not be inferred that this is indicative of the Indian's mastery of the white man's money economy.
2. Indian subsistence products, measured in cash, are much below those of the general agricultural population of the United States.
3. Per capita cash income of the Indians, even with its relatively high unearned element, is below agricultural white per capita income.
4. The high proportion of cash income, particularly if the unearned element be deducted, is not in accord with the potential value of Indian resources, despite their inadequacy.
5. The housing, clothing, bedding, and sanitary facilities of the Indian are inadequate.
6. Credit facilities are insufficient to permit the Indian to develop and use his resources properly.
7. Buildings, implements, and furniture are insufficient to fulfill basic Indian needs.
8. Indian education suffers from a lack of sound objectives, and such facilities as are now provided fail to meet minimum educational standards in the United States.
9. The Civil Works Administration survey reveals that the fundamental difficulties in establishing Indians in self-supporting enterprises are (1) lack of land, (2) the fragmentation of land through allotment, heirship, and alienation, (3) and the lack of adequate capital and equipment.

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## SECTION III

### AGRICULTURAL CREDIT NEEDS OF THE INDIANS<sup>1</sup>

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An adequate agricultural credit system is an essential part of the new Indian land program,<sup>2</sup> which proposes to make the Indians self-supporting through using the lands they now have and providing them with additional lands. The problem of Indian credit is unique in that the bulk of Indian property is held in trust by the Government and may not be hypothecated in commercial channels. Normal agricultural credit facilities are therefore inaccessible to most Indians. Moreover, they are not accustomed to loans and to their systematic repayment. For these reasons a purely Indian credit system must be devised which will find security other than hypothecation and which will teach Indians the systematic use of credit.

The Indians as a whole lack the capital, either in money or in equipment, to undertake a large program of rural rehabilitation and self-support. The meager loan funds provided by the Government in the past have been wholly insufficient. The revolving credit fund of \$10,000,000 authorized by the Wheeler-Howard Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 marks the first real beginning of an Indian credit system, and though inadequate will permit the Indians to make real progress in using their undeveloped resources.

#### Historic Background

After the Indians were established on reservations, the Government policy of the day resulted in the disposal of their allotted and surplus tribal lands. The payments for these lands were distributed to the tribes and their individual members from time to time, sometimes in merchandise but principally in cash.

Payments for land both tribally and individually owned provided a small but fairly steady stream of money, which the recipients were permitted to use for their daily wants, real or imaginary, rather than for equipment, seed, livestock, housing, and other capital developments. By leasing to whites much of the land that was not sold, Indians were able to add materially to the income derived from the sale of land. This combined income provided a subsistence which, though meager in most cases, tended to remove the incentive to work.

In the long history of tribal and per capita payments, the Government has generally been unable to provide training in the use of funds and guidance in planned expenditures for economic development. It was

against this background that the system of reimbursable loans was introduced by act of Congress on March 3, 1911. These loans, in the minds of Indians, were very similar to the periodical payments they had received from tribal funds, from the sale of individually owned lands, or from leasing. In all cases they were receiving Government funds, and their signatures were required to make the money available. It is probable that the individual borrowers of the new loan funds realized only vaguely the obligation to repay, and the system has operated with insufficient attention to educating Indians to the proper use of credit.

*A Changing Economy.*—The Indian is now faced with an entirely different situation. Surplus land and a large part of the land necessary for a sufficient livelihood are gone, with the result that the Indians must now turn to the use of their lands as the main source of their subsistence. Opportunities for livelihood other than from their land are limited; and since leasing cannot provide them with sufficient income, they must use their lands themselves, or look elsewhere for subsistence. Sufficient credit wisely administered therefore becomes an instrument for land utilization and economic rehabilitation.

*Factors Limiting Indian Credit in the Past.*—To say that the Indian has been entirely dependent for his credit upon the Government is inaccurate. Certain advances have been forthcoming from the Indian traders for subsistence and for minor production needs. Necessary as traders' credit may have been to the Indians in the past, it is reasonably certain that they have had to pay the equivalent of a high rate of interest for it—interest in the form of higher prices for food, clothing, and other necessities, to recoup the losses caused by uncollectible loans. For major operating costs, for the purchase of livestock, machinery, and seed—for practically all capital costs and improvements—the Indian has been forced to rely on the offerings of the Government. These offerings are meager, as is shown by the fact that credit allowances advanced by the Government are so small that they usually do not permit sufficient development of resources to repay the loans. In short, past loans have served to increase the debt rather than the wealth of the Indians.

Despite unsatisfactory repayment of existing loans, the Indian is not a poor credit risk. It is true that in the past the Indian has not fully understood his credit situation; he has not planned, nor has he been

<sup>1</sup> By H. M. Critchfield.

<sup>2</sup> See Indian Land Problems and Policies. Report of the Land Planning Committee of the National Resources Board, Sec. III, Ch. VI, pp. 227-235.

sufficiently assisted in planning, the use and repayment of his loan. However, under a new and definite plan of loan use and reimbursement, the Indian can and should become as acceptable a credit risk as his rural white neighbor.

**Indian Loan Funds**

Heretofore, Indian loans have been provided from two main sources:

(1) The loans to individual Indians during the past 20 years from moneys appropriated by the Federal Government have aggregated about \$5,000,000, or an average of \$250,000 per year. Of this total a little less than \$2,000,000 has been repaid. These funds (except in one single fiscal year) were made reimbursable to the Government, and repayments reverted to the Treasury of the United States.

(2) Certain tribal funds of 28 reservations have been made available by Congress for use as revolving-credit funds. With a total of \$1,116,096 so made available, loans amounting to \$1,239,631 have been made. The total outstanding indebtedness on June 30, 1934, was \$807,614. Despite the facts that on 26 of these 28 reservations the loan funds have been set up only during the past 6 years, and that 4 of these years have been among the worst in the history of agriculture, repayment has gone on at a reasonably healthy rate. The history of the revolving-credit fund has demonstrated its superiority over the reimbursable fund on which payments revert to the Treasury. With the possibility of further loans depending on the repayment of those already granted, a public opinion is created which goes far toward teaching the Indian the nature of his credit obligation, not only to his creditor, but to future borrowers whose chances for credit may be impaired by his default.

**Indian Debt Ratio Low**

Present Indian debts are extremely low as compared to present Indian assets. A tentative summary of the reports on the value of Indian property<sup>3</sup> shows that the land on those reservations reporting on June 30, 1934, was valued at approximately \$220,291,971; and other property, including tribal funds in the Treasury, at \$48,868,628.

The average estimated value of land per family on the reservations reporting is \$4,257.<sup>4</sup> The average

estimated value of property other than land, per family, is \$944.<sup>5</sup> According to a recent survey on about 80 reservations, the average indebtedness is estimated at \$174 per family.<sup>6</sup>

On the basis of the above calculations, the indebtedness is less than 4 percent of all property owned, and less than 19 percent of all property other than land. These ratios are considerably lower than for the average indebtedness of rural whites.

Such low indebtedness may seem desirable. However, a study of the use of land as shown by the number engaged in different enterprises, and the number owning buildings, livestock, and machinery, indicates that credit has been withheld to such an extent that Indians have not been able to develop and use their resources. They must continue to lease their land unless credit is provided for purchasing the necessary equipment to operate their land.

TABLE XIX.—Ownership of property by Indians, 1934

Population, Apr. 30, 1934.....	327, 958
Estimated number of families.....	74, 535
	<i>Percent of total</i>
Families having <sup>1</sup> —	
Dairy cattle.....	12
Beef cattle.....	17
Sheep.....	14
Swine.....	10
Chickens.....	29
Horses, including range horses.....	48
Goats.....	11
Families having <sup>2</sup> —	
Plows.....	39
Harrows.....	28
Mowers.....	21
Rakes.....	19
Harness.....	46
Wagons.....	42
Cultivators.....	21
Binders.....	5
Families having <sup>2</sup> —	
Homes.....	82
Barns.....	38
Chicken houses.....	34
Root cellars.....	30
Toilets.....	57
Wells, springs, or piped water.....	65
Families having adequate <sup>2</sup>	
Clothing.....	68
Bedding.....	62

<sup>1</sup> Estimated from data in the Annual Report of the Division of Extension and Industry.

<sup>2</sup> Estimates taken from the Civil Works Administration social and economic survey on selected Indian reservations.

<sup>3</sup> Does not include an estimated \$185,000,000 worth of oil and minerals in the ground on the Osage Reservation. Other property includes homes, machinery, funds in the Treasury, and like items.

<sup>4</sup> The apparent discrepancy between the indebtedness figure given here, and that given in the Civil Works Administration survey discussion in this report is accounted for by the fact that the figure of \$174 is based on a family of 4.4 individuals.

<sup>3</sup> Annual Reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1934. Lac du Flambeau, Klamath, Southern Pueblos, Flathead, Blackfeet, Five Civilized Tribes, and the New York Indians not included.

<sup>4</sup> A family is based on having an average of 4.4 individuals. The value stated here is based on estimates and may not represent accurate values in all cases. Many families have no land, or only small interests in inherited land. Does not include Lac du Flambeau, Klamath, Southern Pueblos, Flathead, Blackfeet, and Five Civilized Tribes.

### Estimates of Amount of Credit Needed by Indians

It would require a very comprehensive study to determine the actual gross credit needs of the Indians. Such a survey has yet to be made. However, certain estimates are possible on the basis of existing information and experience. In spite of the incomplete nature of the data upon which these estimates have been based, they may be taken as conservative.

The principal credit needs will fall into four groups, as follows:

1. Capital investments (buildings, improvements, etc.) for enrolled Indians .....	\$50, 000, 000
2. Annual farm operating costs .....	5, 000, 000
3. Rehabilitation of unenrolled Indians .....	5, 000, 000
4. Cooperative and tribal enterprises .....	6, 000, 000

Credit needs for capital investments were estimated from the social and economic study<sup>7</sup> previously cited, which covered more than one-third of all enrolled families. This survey was supplemented by data from the annual reports of the Division of Extension and Industry. Credit needs for farm operation, which include such items as seed, fertilizer, and repairs, are based on an estimated average credit requirement of \$80 per family. Information gained from other Government agencies shows that the cost of rehabilitating a rural family on a subsistence basis varies considerably with the area, but is believed to average about \$1,500. The number of unenrolled Indian families requiring such rehabilitation is approximately 3,500.

The estimates of credit requirements for cooperative and tribal enterprises, such as cooperative merchandising, marketing, and livestock associations, cooperative farming enterprises, sawmills, grist mills, fishing, canning, and the development of wild game, are drawn from the experience of the Office of Indian Affairs.

### Principles of an Indian Credit Program

*General Principles.*—(1) Clarifying aims and policies: It is desirable that there be a clear concept of the purposes of a credit program before specific plans for the administration and operation of the credit funds are finally formulated.

(2) Extensive economic development among the Indians is dependent upon an adequate supply of credit to a large proportion of the Indian population. In order that the credit funds available may perform the maximum amount of service, sound loan policies must be adopted to assure a reasonably rapid rate of liquidation.

<sup>7</sup> Data of the Civil Works Administration social and economic survey of selected Indian reservations.

(3) It is basic to the success of a credit program that the Indian be educated to a recognition of his credit obligations and of the economic advantages ensuing from the fulfilling of these obligations. A maximum participation in his own credit transactions is recommended for the Indian.

*Operation of Indian Credit System.*—In addition to the above general principles, certain principles of operation are essential to the success of the credit program:

1. That moneys loaned under the credit program be clearly defined and distinguished from other funds. If the identity of the revolving loan fund is clearly established, the psychological separation of this money from other moneys may be achieved, and the repayment of these funds may not be too greatly burdened by the Indians' indifference toward repayment in the past.

2. In the final analysis, the success or failure of the Indian credit program will be largely dependent upon the care and skill with which the loans are planned. Before any loan is made either to a tribal corporation, to a cooperative group, or to an individual, a program for the use and repayment of that loan should be drawn.

The development and use of programs or management plans should serve to influence more careful study of economic possibilities of proposed enterprises, guard against loss of funds in unsound undertakings, give borrowers clearer conceptions of practices essential to success, and assist in teaching the advantages and responsibilities of soundly used credit.

3. Loans made should carry an interest rate. This rate should be low. It is suggested that the maximum should be 3 percent. The proceeds from interest charges might serve as a reserve insurance fund to make up the losses from uncollectable debts. Part of the expense of administration might also be paid from these funds.

4. It would be highly desirable to leave the local operation of the credit program to organized Indian groups. It is only through acts of voluntary participation that they will receive the training in business methods that they need. However, it is the general feeling of those in direct contact with the Indians that they are insufficiently trained to assume this responsibility. A close supervision should therefore be provided in the developmental period, every effort being made to encourage Indian participation in the credit program, so that in the not too distant future he may assume these responsibilities himself.

5. The prime objective of the credit program should be the constant and healthy circulation of the funds within the reservation unit.

**Specific Recommendations**

1. The \$10,000,000 authorized under the Wheeler-Howard Act should be appropriated in full.

2. The present reimbursable appropriation "Industry among Indians" should be continued, since it provides credit assistance for those reservations not qualified to receive loans under the Wheeler-Howard Act.

3. Tribal funds should as far as possible be applied to productive rather than subsistence use. This requires continuation of the existing tribal revolving funds and the conversion of more tribal funds as well as tribal income into loan funds. General rulings, or legislation if necessary, should be enacted to give the Indian Administration authority to divert such funds into productive channels.

4. The allocation of any funds to the tribe should be based upon a study of the needs, the production ability, the security offered, and the history of the past use of funds.

5. An adequate administration of credit should be provided to carry on an educational program and to secure sound credit operations.

6. Progressive increases in loan authorizations should be made when the Indians have demonstrated their ability to use additional credit economically.

7. The development of credit unions should be encouraged so that individual income may be put to constructive use, and so that individual Indians may be encouraged to assist in satisfying their neighbors' credit needs.

## SECTION IV

### THE TREND OF INDIAN POPULATION<sup>1</sup>

The two main sources of information on Indian population are: (a) the annual censuses published in the reports by Commissioners of Indian Affairs since 1861; and (b) the decennial publications on general population issued by the Bureau of the Census, which showed Indians separately beginning with the year 1850. Both sources contain important errors. Moreover, their respective methods of enumerating and classifying are so different as to preclude close checking against each other. Worse, both sources have frequently changed their methods of enumerating and classifying; hence neither can be readily used to compute trends over long periods.

#### Indians Variousy Defined

The 1910 census<sup>2</sup> classed as Indians "all persons of mixed blood who have any appreciable amount of Indian blood"—obviously a flexible and uncertain criterion. Enumerators of the 1930 census were instructed to include persons of mixed blood "except where the percentage of Indian blood is very small" or where the individual "is regarded as a white person in the community where he lives." A person of mixed Indian and Negro blood was to be returned as a Negro, "unless the Indian blood predominates and the status as an Indian is generally accepted in the community." Enumerators were directed to exclude Mexican laborers in the Southwest trying to pass as American Indians.

The Indian Office, on the other hand, aims specially to count what might be termed official Indians. It has usually defined Indians as person on the official roll of any tribe, and hence has sometimes included in its count many of negligible Indian blood, besides intermarried whites; but the definition is disregarded in its extensive estimating, described later herein. Furthermore, tribal rolls have sometimes had only a mythical existence or have been years out of date, except at reservations where per capita payments are made regularly to tribe members. Needless to say, many Indians on a given tribal roll do not live on the reservation which counts them—a further cause of discrepancies between the Indian Office and the Census Bureau.

#### Census Bureau Figures Unreliable

Unreliability of the Census Bureau figures is proved by their erratic fluctuations. Some extreme examples of these fluctuations, by States, are shown below.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By Ray Ovid Hall and Harry I. Nettleton of the Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.

<sup>2</sup> Indian Population in the United States and Alaska, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Bureau of the Census, unpublished manuscript of a special volume on Indian population in 1930.

Such violent changes could result only from recurrent epidemics or migrations, and these have not occurred.

State	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Alabama.....	1,143	177	909	405	465
Arizona.....	29,981	26,480	29,201	32,980	43,720
New Mexico.....	15,044	13,144	20,573	19,512	28,041
North Carolina.....	1,516	5,687	7,851	11,824	16,579
Texas.....	708	470	702	2,100	1,001

From the nature of things, Census Bureau enumerations seem less reliable than the careful, year-by-year counts made on at least some of the Indian reservations. Census Bureau counts are made 10 years apart by a changing personnel, and much of the Indian country is noted for its great distances or its inaccessibility. They are useful, nevertheless, for what they show of age distribution, degrees of blood, occupations, fecundity, illiteracy, and the like—topics not covered in the annual figures of the Indian Office. They cover Alaska, also, whereas the Indian Office figures do not.

The first Census Bureau report which counted Indians apart from other races in the general population was that for 1860.<sup>4</sup> The first to enumerate Indians on reservations or in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was that of 1890.

The 1910 census is the only one which used a special schedule for Indians, and for that census special agents were appointed in Indian country—mostly ex-employees of the Office of Indian Affairs. That special schedule gave great attention to linguistic stocks, but it was not used in enumerating Indians scattered in small numbers outside Indian country. In all other decades the Census Bureau gathered Indian information incidentally, on its regular schedule.

The unpublished Census Bureau manuscript on Indians in 1930 states<sup>5</sup> that in North Carolina "and also in many other areas the proportion of full-bloods is much too high." This error, it adds, is commonest in tribes having a high mixture of Negro blood.

#### Indian Office Counts Largely Estimates

Unreliability of the population figures of the Indian Office is admitted in the footnotes to its annual tables. The table for 1910 will serve as a normal example. For 8 agencies, reservations, or bands, it was frankly admitted that the figures were estimates; 5 other bands were probably estimated since they were "not on res-

<sup>4</sup> P. xciv of the census for 1850, published in 1854, gives an estimated table by tribes of unrepresented and untaxed Indians, prepared by the Indian Commissioner in 1853 as of June 30, 1850.

<sup>5</sup> P. 13.

ervation" or were "not under agent"; for 6 reservations or bands the figures were taken from the 1900 census; those for 3 were taken from pay rolls or reports dated prior to 1900; and those for 11 were taken from reports dated from 1901 to 1908. The figures reported for the foregoing 33 agencies, reservations, or bands, totaled some 63,000.

In addition to the foregoing estimates of 63,000 Indians, is the large and curiously fashioned figure for the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma (101,287 in 1910).<sup>6</sup> That figure never purported to be a count of individuals living at any one time; it was a cumulative count of land allotments made to tribe members, including freedmen and intermarried whites, over a period of about 11 years ending on March 4, 1907. Nevertheless, that figure was used by the Office of Indian Affairs almost unchanged,<sup>7</sup> for the years 1907 to 1931, inclusive. In summary, only about 46 per cent of the total number of figures reported by the Office of Indian Affairs for 1910 was based on actual counts.

The table for 1910 is selected, to repeat, purely for illustration. In all other years the figures of the Office of Indian Affairs are in similar degree mere estimates. No accurate count has ever been made of the large nomadic population of the six reservations on the Navajo area, for which the Office of Indian Affairs figure for 1930 is 43,740. Every population table ever issued by the Office of Indian Affairs, prior to about 1931, should have been labeled "Estimates", or "Estimates and counts of Indian population."

*Other Defects of Indian Office Figures.*—Comparability of Indian Office figures has been otherwise impaired. Beginning with 1929, Indians not under Indian Office jurisdiction (a changing criterion) were excluded from the totals, although separate figures for these persons were printed annually. Beginning with 1931, freedmen and intermarried whites were dropped from the totals of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma.

Populations by Indian agencies or by States are not readily comparable. There are numerous instances where a given reservation has been shifted from the administration of one agency to that of another,<sup>8</sup> sometimes in another State. There have been changes, also, in the names of reservations or tribes.

<sup>6</sup> The figure includes fully 10,000 claimants with so little, if any, of Indian blood as to have been repudiated by the Indian tribal courts while those courts were still in existence (Mooney, J. *THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF AMERICA NORTH OF MEXICO*. In Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 80: 7 Publication 2955, p. 8., 1926).

<sup>7</sup> Increased to 101,521 allotments of land under act of Congress of Aug. 1, 1914, and revised to 101,506 later; see Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1915, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Examples: (1) In 1900, the Flandreau band in South Dakota was listed under Nebraska, but was later shifted back to South Dakota. (2) In 1920, the Ponca and Santee Reservations in Nebraska were listed under South Dakota, but were later shifted back. (3) The Navajos in Utah and New Mexico are sometimes listed under Arizona; Navajos in New Mexico for 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, and 1920, appear as follows: 0; 8,000; 191; 8,421; and 362.

Statistics of the Office of Indian Affairs, in general, have been highly unprofessional. Until recent years, there was no separate statistical division or section, and almost anybody in the organization might be assigned to the task of getting up the annual table on population. Furthermore, inaccuracy, delinquency, and general slovenliness in reports from the field have rarely, if ever, been made a cause for disciplinary action from headquarters—this because many of the reservations have been distressingly understaffed, and because no one person at headquarters compiled more than two or three classes of statistics. The Meriam Report<sup>9</sup> mentions that for one jurisdiction the population had long been given at about 3,700, whereas a new superintendent who came in attempted an actual enumeration and found only 2,200.

Especially misleading is a one-sheet mimeographed table of "Indian population of the continental United States from 1759 to 1931" still being issued by the Office of Indian Affairs as bulletin 5. Its figures for selected years from 1759 to 1900 were copied from a carelessly compiled table published in the Indian Commissioner's report for 1900. The earliest estimates in the source, supposedly comparable, have been found definitely not to relate to the area of the present-day continental United States,<sup>10</sup> although there is no warning footnote. The figures for 1877 and possibly also those for 1876 and 1878, omitted large numbers of Sioux on the warpath; though estimates of the number of these persons were included previously and afterward. The figures for the 4 years 1881-84, though credited to "reports by the Indian Office", are each 66,407 greater than the Indian Commissioner's figures for those years. The clear purpose of these four unannounced adjustments was to force a closer reconciliation of Office of Indian Affairs figures with the decennial report of the Census Bureau for 1880. Similar unexplained manipulations were made for certain other years. Notably, the figures credited to the Office of Indian Affairs for the 4 years 1875-78 are each greater than those originally published for those years by 25,731, this being the Census Bureau figure for "Indians out of tribal relations" in 1880.

#### A New Registration Area for Indian Population

Some of the population figures of the Office of Indian Affairs are, nevertheless, quite trustworthy. Many reservations have been covered by actual count every year. Where the counting was done in order to distribute per capita payments from tribal funds, extreme accuracy may be assumed, and there are more than

<sup>9</sup> Meriam, L. and others. *The Problem of Indian Administration*, p. 171. Baltimore, 1928. The name of the reservation is not given in the source.

<sup>10</sup> See Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1877, pp. 488-90.

## COMPARABLE SAMPLINGS OF INDIAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

(ALASKA EXCLUDED)

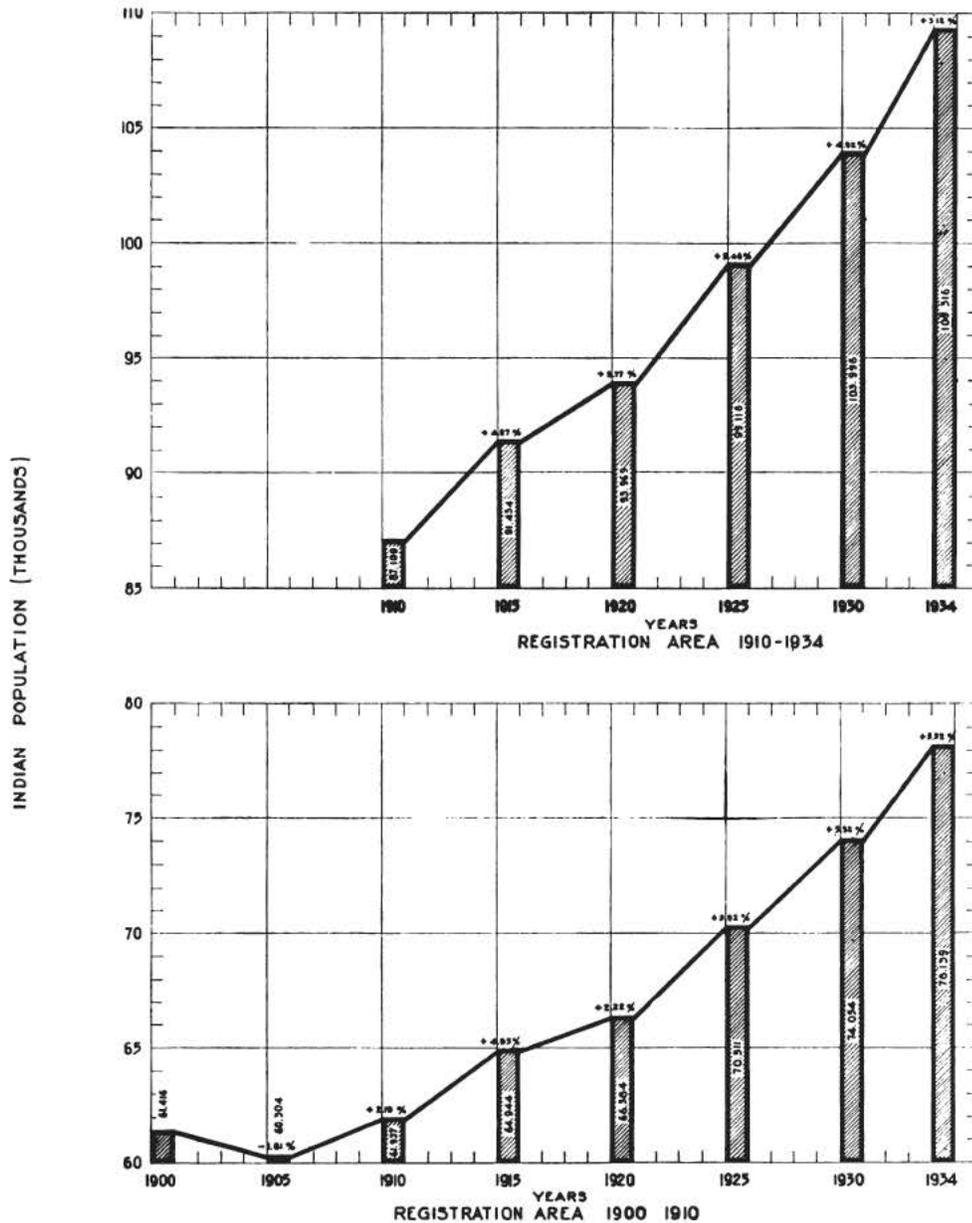


FIGURE 10.—The annual figures of the Indian Office for population on most reservations are rough estimates corrected by actual counts only when special administrative need arises. To compute population trends it was necessary to segregate the reservations or bands for which actual yearly counts were apparently made. The result was 2 newly constructed registration areas, covering respectively 64 reservations or bands from 1900-34 and 92 reservations or bands from 1910-34. The samplings indicate that from 1910 to 1930 enrolled Indians increased at almost precisely the same rate as total Negroes of the United States. Indian population probably declined, at varying rates, for about three centuries prior to about 1905. Increases since then have been largely or wholly among persons of mixed blood.

50 such reservations. Another condition which makes for extremely fine accuracy here and there in Indian country is the smallness of many Indian communities. Some superintendents know every individual on the reservation.

In the present survey it was discovered that there are about 64 agencies, reservations, or bands whose figures are comparable and reasonably accurate for the first 34 years of this century. They might be visualized as a sort of registration area widely dispersed in 19 States, with a total Indian population of 61,416 in 1900, or 22.7 percent of the Indian Office estimate of Indian population for that year. Figures for that area, by 5-year periods beginning with 1900, appear in table XX.

For 5 of the 19 States, the figures include all Indians under Federal jurisdiction. These States are Colorado, Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Wyoming.

A defect in this method of sampling for other States needs to be clearly understood. Indian agencies and reservations having accurate vital statistics probably have better public health, medical, and hospital facilities, as well as more settled populations. Offsetting that bias to some extent is the rejection by the compilers of reservations or bands showing an increase of more than one-fourth in any semidecade, despite the known fact that the Osage Reservation once approximated that rate.<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, several tribes for which only estimates exist for recent decades have so completely adopted the white man's modes of living and of sanitation as no longer to be regarded as Indians for Federal administrative purposes. The approximately 75,000 members of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma are in this large group.

#### An Accelerating Upward Trend Discovered

Table XX shows that within the selected areas the Indian population rose from 61,416 to 78,139 during the first 34 years of the twentieth century. That would indicate an increase of 27.2 percent. If all Indians increased at the same average rate, and if the estimated total for 1905 (not 1900) was reasonably accurate, there were about 84,000 more Indians in the continental United States in 1934 than in 1905.

The sampling indicates that the rate of increase has been more rapid in recent years than during the first years of the century. There was, indeed, a small shrinkage during the first 5 years. From 1905 to 1910, the ratio of increase was only 2.71 percent; during the

<sup>11</sup> Sharp upward fluctuations occur sometimes when really careful counting suddenly becomes necessary; then the superintendent may include in a given year many unrecorded births of earlier years.

succeeding semidecades the corresponding ratios were 4.85; 2.22;<sup>12</sup> and 5.32. The last 4 years (depression years) showed the fastest growth ratio of all, 5.52 percent.

According to the samplings in Table XX, Indian population declined, during the 34 year period, in only 5 of the 19 States, Colorado, Idaho, New Mexico,<sup>13</sup> Oregon, and Utah. During the period 1920 to 1934 (after the war and influenza epidemic) only Idaho and Nevada showed declines.

#### Broadening the Bases of Trend Computations

Table XXI covers a broader registration area for a briefer period, 1910 to 1934. About 30 agencies, reservations, or bands for which only estimates were available in 1900 or 1905 made comparable counts thereafter. The larger sampling (92 areas in all) included 28 and 33 percent, respectively, of the published estimates of the Indian Office for the two years 1910 and 1934.

During the 24 years covered by table XXI the Indian population increased by 25 percent. The 5-year rates of increase were remarkably uniform, ranging between 5 and 6 percent except during the period of the war and the influenza epidemic. There are, nevertheless, indications of a slight acceleration in the rate, when it is considered that the last period covered only 4 years. (See fig. 10.)

In each of the 19 States except Oregon, according to the samplings, there were more Indians in 1934 than in 1900. Several States having large Indian populations showed increases of more than 30 percent—including Oklahoma, the Dakotas, California, and Montana. On the other hand, the stationary States (those showing increases of less than one-tenth during the 24 years) are three having small Indian populations: Colorado, Idaho, and Utah.<sup>14</sup>

During the last 14 years of the period, the samplings show declines in only Idaho and Nevada. Those States, however, warrant the "stationary" classification for the period, their losses having been very small.

#### Growth Rates of Indian, Negro, and White Populations

The rate of increase of Indians during the two decades ending in 1930, indicated by table XXI, closely paralleled the rate of increase of Negroes in the United

<sup>12</sup> Influenza and the war perceptibly slackened the rate of growth between 1915 and 1920.

<sup>13</sup> The sample for New Mexico is far too small to be trustworthy, being only about one-fiftieth of the total.

<sup>14</sup> For reasons not discovered, Indians have not multiplied in the intermountain area. The facts might be brought to the attention of the Health Division of the Indian Office. Nevada increased by barely one-tenth.

States. As might be expected, however, it is much smaller than the rate of increase of native-born whites with native parentage. Totals of this latter racial stock are continually inflated by the grandchildren and subsequent descendants of white immigrants. Following are the rates of growth of the three races for the last three decades:

Racial stock	1900-10	1910-20	1920-30
	<i>Percent</i> <sup>15</sup>	<i>Percent</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Percent</i> <sup>16</sup>
Indians in registration areas .....	0.85	7.90	10.67
Total Negroes <sup>17</sup> .....	10.63	6.47	13.64
Total native-born whites with native parents <sup>17</sup> .....	20.85	18.05	20.05

<sup>15</sup> See table XX.

<sup>16</sup> See table XXI.

<sup>17</sup> See Fifteenth Census of the United States, vol. II, p. 46.

The growth of the last two of the foregoing racial stocks was retarded perceptibly during the second decade of this century by the influenza epidemic and by military service. Deaths resulting from military service were probably less important than the reduced births resulting from the temporary segregation of some 7,000,000 males. Indian population must have suffered from all these influences. Those bad years over, its rate of increase during the 9 years ending with 1934 leaped to 10.29 percent.

#### Negative Research Into the Eighties and Nineties

The present investigation included a search for sufficient "registration areas" to establish the trends of Indian population by semidecades from 1880 to 1895, inclusive. There are 83 agencies, reservations, or bands in 15 States (including present-day Oklahoma) having apparently comparable counts of population for those 4 separate years. Numerous ups and downs by reservations, unexplained in the source, suggest estimating or the transferring of Indians from one reservation to another. On the other hand, some of these fluctuations resulted from the deadly epidemics known to have occurred during this period of adaptation to reservation life.

Areas so numerous would seemingly constitute a broad enough base. Their total population for 1895, however, was only one-sixth of the estimated total published by the Indian Office for that year. There were no comparable samples at all for Arizona and New Mexico, both very important as Indian States. Totals of Indian population in the 83 areas follow:

1880 .....	45,270
1885 .....	43,947
1890 .....	44,292
1895 .....	45,355

Superficially observed, the sample seems to establish that Indian population was stationary for the period as a whole, with a decline until about 1885 and a slow

but accelerating rise thereafter. In reality, it establishes almost nothing. Besides being a very small sample, the diversities of Indian country considered, it has a known statistical bias. It includes in the main the older Indian reservations, or at least those so well organized as to have trustworthy statistics. Assumedly, such reservations were much farther advanced, also, in public health and in adjustments to new modes of living than the other reservations. In other words, the reservations in the sample had already attained standards at which the others would not arrive until 20 or 30 years later, when the population trend of the Indian people as a whole turned unmistakably upward.

#### The Three Century Decline in Population

The rapid dying off of Indians, continuous for nearly three centuries, slackened late in the nineteenth century and terminated definitely about 1905. During those three centuries the number of Indians in present-day continental United States declined to about 270,000, from some very broadly estimated figure probably about 500,000 greater.

Wars between tribes, destructive enough before white men arrived, may have cost even more Indian lives than the warfare waged by the whites. Tribes forced away from their habitats by the whites often had to fight the tribes into whose regions they were driven. The introduction of the horse by Europeans caused many intertribal wars, especially among plains Indians. Horses were an important new kind of wealth to be seized in warfare or by stealth, with bloody retaliation to follow. Slave raids in the Gulf States by Spaniards in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries further reduced the population there. Moreover, infanticide was a common practice in certain tribes.

Great epidemics, brought by the whites, may have been more deadly than the countless wars of extermination among tribes and between the two races. Smallpox seems to have been the deadliest of these, but there were horrible scourges of unidentified fevers and possibly of the plague. Measles, a children's disease in the white race, inflicted a percentage of mortality among Indians comparable with that of smallpox until a degree of immunity was developed. The disease was often followed by tuberculosis. Smallpox, fevers, and measles took their greatest tolls during the preservations centuries. After Indians were confined to reservations, tuberculosis<sup>18</sup> became their worst disease; though venereal disease<sup>19</sup> caused much sterility.

<sup>18</sup> In 1925 the death rate from tuberculosis among Indians was about seven times as great as among the general population. (Meriam, L., and others, *The Problem of Indian Administration*. Institute for Government Research, p. 200. Baltimore, 1928.) The Pawnee population of Indian Territory shrank to less than half during the 11 years ending with 1887, due to consumption, serofula, and syphilis. (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887, p. 88.)

<sup>19</sup> Venereal disease caused but little insanity and Indian immunity to typhoid is often commented upon.

Whatever else reservation life did, its ultimate effect was to save and multiply Indian lives. Wars of extermination by red or white enemies ceased entirely. Epidemics were prevented, checked, or stamped out by doctors and nurses in Federal employ.<sup>20</sup> The white man's standard of living and of sanitation could be at least partly learned and imitated on the reservations. The imitation process has been so painfully slow, however, as to account perhaps for the decades of delay in finally reversing the tide of Indian population.

### Exaggerated Estimates in Colonial Times

Most estimates of total Indian population in the colonial centuries have been absurdly exaggerated. Writing nearly 70 years ago, Major S. N. Clark<sup>21</sup> cited seven causes of such exaggeration:

(1) Reports by Spanish explorers of their military conquests would not underrate the strength of the conquered.

(2) French explorers were largely "ecclesiastics whose minds were kindled by \* \* \* the heathen multitudes they would win to the cross."

(3) English settlers naturally settled on watercourses, which were great highways of Indian travel, or at coastal points to which large numbers of Indians resorted seasonally. Similarly, trade brought Indians to the points of exchange from great distances. Thus, actual contact was had with a relatively large proportion of the total Indian population.

(4) Indians in warfare gave exaggerated impressions as to their numbers. They would "strike a hamlet here today and another 50 miles away tomorrow."

(5) For purposes of their own, Indians themselves magnified their numbers and importance.

(6) The vastness of America compared with the limited areas of the old country of the Spaniards, French, and English, which were densely populated, led them to magnify the New World population.

(7) A large savage population cannot exist without abundant natural supplies of food. Often, however, the converse has been assumed: that where such supplies exist the savage population is large.<sup>22</sup>

To Major Clark's interesting analysis it might be added that Indians were fewest in precisely those areas now having the densest white population. They left behind them—as they moved westward, died off, or became assimilated—hundreds of geographic names and a rich legend of warfare, besides their mounds and stone-age chippings. In the Eastern States and also in California were numerous tribes and bands now totally extinct.

Writing in *The Forum* in 1893, Mr. J. W. Powell, of the Bureau of Ethnology declared, "It is now known that the pristine number of Indians was small as compared with popular belief." His own estimate lay be-

<sup>20</sup> Vaccination in Indian Service schools became universal in 1907.

<sup>21</sup> Author of a 38-page monograph published in the Indian Commissioner's report for 1877 and entitled, *Are the Indians Dying Out?* This contains a formidable collection of estimates of American Indian population in early times.

<sup>22</sup> "So easy it is to populate unexplored countries", Major Clark observes on p. 500. He then proceeds to blast specific estimates, notably one of 705,000 for California.

tween 500,000 and 1,000,000 but nearer to the former than to the latter figure. He believed that in 1890 there were "about half as many Indians as when the good Queen sold her jewels".<sup>23</sup>

Probably the most detailed and painstaking estimate of Indian population in colonial times ever compiled until very recently is that of the late James Mooney, published by the Smithsonian Institution, February 6, 1928. The total of his estimates for varying dates of first European contact, for the present-day continental United States, is 849,000. A treatise by A. L. Kroeber, awaiting publication at the Bureau of American Ethnology, revises Mooney's estimate downward.<sup>24</sup>

### Increasing Admixture of White Blood

The full-blooded Indian population seems doomed to diminish and finally to disappear, if only through mixed marriages. Through infant mortality, the death rate of Indians of full blood is probably much higher than that of persons of mixed blood, though complete statistical proof of this assumption is not at hand.<sup>25</sup> The fecundity of pure-blooded Indians, as shown by the decennial census for 1910, was much lower than that of persons of mixed blood. Marriages between Indians of full blood had resulted in no issue in 10.7 percent of all cases; whereas the ratio for childless marriages of persons having "more than one-half and often three-fourths Indian blood" was only 5.8 percent.<sup>26</sup>

The ratio of full bloods to mixed bloods has been declining very rapidly. In the two decades between 1910 and 1930, that ratio fell in 19 of the 20 States having the most Indians.<sup>27</sup> In 4 of the 19 States the ratio fell by more than one-half in that brief period. Further evidence of the decline of the full-blood ratio is the fact that the average age of full bloods is greater than that of mixed bloods.

### Future Indian Population and the Pressure Upon Land

Total Indian population in 1934, as estimated by the Indian Office, was 327,958. This has been shown to be a rapidly built up bulk, and the conditions and forces which created it can hardly fail to enlarge it, in obedience to the so-called laws of population. During the past 4 years of depression the rate of growth actually increased somewhat. Should the rate of growth of the past 24 years (as sampled) project itself into the immediate future, there will be about 83,000 additional American Indians at the end of the next 25 years.

<sup>23</sup> *Are the Indians Decreasing?* In Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1893, p. 361f.

<sup>24</sup> A summary of this treatise appeared in the *American Anthropologist*, 36: (1), 1934.

<sup>25</sup> Indian Office statistics of births and deaths are extremely untrustworthy.

<sup>26</sup> *Indian Population of United States and Alaska in 1910*, p. 157.

<sup>27</sup> Unpublished manuscript of Census Bureau.

Among these persons, however, there would be a still higher admixture of white blood than at present.

A rapidly growing pressure of Indian population upon existing reservation lands seems inevitable. Of total Indians enumerated by the Census Bureau in 1930, no less than 90.1 percent were rural residents. Although the next two or three decades may show a stronger movement of Indians away from the land, we can hardly expect that their present high ratio of rural

TABLE XX.—Indian population of continental United States, by reservations for which comparable data exist, by 5-year periods (1900 to 1930, inclusive), also for 1934

[Figures herein were selected from annual reports by Commissioners of Indian Affairs. Excluded herefrom are all agencies, reservations, or bands for which an estimate was apparently used in at least 1 of the 8 years, as indicated by footnotes, by suspiciously rounded figures, by upward fluctuations exceeding 25 percent in a semi-decade, or by the description, "Not under agent." The groupings of Indians by agencies, reservations, or bands are those of the 1930 report. Only in the case of Colorado, Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Wyoming do the totals cover all Indians in the State under Federal jurisdiction. The letters A., R., and B. in parentheses on the stub signify agency, reservation, and band, respectively.]

Selected agencies, reservations, or bands, by States	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1934
Grand total (all Indians) <sup>1</sup> .....	270,544	284,079	304,950	333,010	336,337	349,595	340,541	327,958
Grand total (this table).....	61,416	60,304	61,937	64,944	66,384	70,311	74,054	78,139
Arizona.....	2,512	2,610	2,767	2,862	2,924	3,058	3,096	3,169
Fort Apache (A. and R.).....	1,928	2,090	2,269	2,388	2,495	2,602	2,659	2,718
Truston Canyon, (A.).....	584	520	498	474	429	456	437	451
California: Hoopa, (B.).....	421	412	436	435	517	547	551	554
Colorado.....	995	887	815	890	796	792	813	834
Consolidated Ute (A.): Southern Ute (R.).....	420	385	352	366	334	355	369	389
Ute Mountain (R.).....	575	502	463	524	462	437	444	445
Idaho: Fort Lapwai (R.).....	1,634	1,562	1,433	1,572	1,462	1,400	1,399	1,399
Iowa: Sac and Fox of Mississippi (B.).....	385	342	365	364	345	363	380	419
Kansas.....	1,119	1,090	1,293	1,375	1,466	1,522	1,602	1,860
Iowa (B.).....	212	225	273	303	339	345	346	498
Kickapoo (B.).....	255	185	209	216	250	277	286	308
Potawatami (B.).....	578	601	724	759	786	803	875	985
Sac and Fox of Missouri (B.).....	74	79	87	97	91	97	95	99
Minnesota.....	3,345	3,239	3,111	3,240	3,284	3,582	3,760	3,931
Cass Lake (R.).....	448	465	447	457	476	492	500	514
Leach Lake (R.).....	892	890	797	865	782	850	897	891
White Oak Point (R.).....	655	563	463	492	504	542	564	558
Red Lake (A. and R.).....	1,350	1,353	1,404	1,486	1,522	1,698	1,799	1,968
Montana.....	6,370	6,130	6,064	6,303	6,415	6,660	7,149	7,653
Crow (A. and R.).....	1,941	1,794	1,740	1,669	1,719	1,781	1,966	2,082
Fort Belknap (A. and R.): Gros Ventres (B.).....	603	551	501	571	570	594	650	1,367
Sioux (B.).....	694	684	696	634	647	604	601	
Fort Peck (A. and R.).....	1,753	1,689	1,756	1,943	2,067	2,273	2,453	2,663
Tongue River (A. and R.).....	1,379	1,412	1,401	1,456	1,412	1,408	1,479	1,541
Nebraska.....	3,506	3,630	3,784	3,917	3,987	4,287	4,358	4,408
Omaha (R.).....	1,182	1,221	1,276	1,313	1,381	1,523	1,575	1,642
Winnebago (R.).....	1,134	1,074	1,063	1,056	1,080	1,067	1,119	1,187
Ponca (R.).....	211	249	250	329	361	361	398	362
Santee Sioux (R.).....	1,019	1,005	1,155	1,179	1,165	1,306	1,290	1,277
Nevada: West Shoshone (A. and R.).....	450	516	502	602	670	679	688	516

TABLE XX.—Indian population of continental United States, by reservations for which comparable data exist, by 5-year periods (1900 to 1930, inclusive), also for 1934—Continued

Selected agencies, reservations, or bands, by States	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1934
New Mexico: Jicarilla Apache (A. and R.).....	815	795	743	642	588	635	647	680
North Dakota.....	8,059	7,741	8,256	8,710	9,018	9,911	10,793	12,338
Fort Berthold, (A. and R.): Arikara, (B.).....	395	379	411	409	415	443	465	1,569
Gros Ventres (B.).....	453	471	495	483	526	584	664	
Mandan, (B.).....	250	249	255	262	264	283	291	
Fort Totten (A. and R.).....	1,041	1,000	980	999	950	948	917	960
Standing Rock (A. and R.).....	3,388	3,429	3,454	3,434	3,440	3,610	3,645	3,776
Turtle Mountain, (A. and R.).....	2,329	2,207	2,684	3,123	3,423	4,043	4,811	6,034
Oklahoma.....	6,143	6,122	6,468	6,930	7,501	8,129	8,794	9,167
Kiowa (A. and R.): Caddo and Wichita (B.).....	925	979	1,021	1,123	1,141	1,256	1,305	1,157
Comanche (B.).....	1,499	1,401	1,476	1,523	1,635	1,754	1,920	2,035
Kiowa (B.).....	1,136	1,195	1,366	1,500	1,596	1,725	1,921	2,083
Pawnee (A.): Ogkian (R.).....	59	54	53	50	80	50	46	46
Tonkawa (R.).....	372	368	411	476	552	622	664	722
Otoe (R.).....	650	646	653	679	731	809	844	906
Pawnee (R.).....	566	564	583	622	664	739	763	800
Ponca (R.).....								
Quapaw (or Seneca) (A.): Seneca (R.).....	337	366	380	415	487	524	624	697
Shawnee (A.): Iowa (R.).....	90	89	80	87	78	83	105	108
Shawnee (R.).....	509	460	445	455	537	567	602	613
Oregon: Siletz (R.).....	482	437	480	425	432	436	443	465
South Dakota.....	14,569	14,612	14,896	15,565	16,054	16,874	17,656	18,235
Cheyenne River (A. and R.): Crow Creek (A. and R.).....	2,530	2,526	2,590	2,708	2,763	2,964	3,143	3,288
Flandreau, school.....	1,047	1,009	997	955	953	932	936	953
Lower Brule (R.).....	288	278	275	282	286	311	328	345
Pine Ridge (A. and R.).....	475	466	460	481	515	587	605	693
Sisseton (A. and R.).....	6,619	6,763	6,758	7,240	7,225	7,628	7,905	8,370
Yankton (R.).....	1,890	1,932	1,994	2,053	2,307	2,474	2,620	2,658
Yankton (R.).....	1,700	1,698	1,753	1,844	1,945	1,978	2,029	2,018
Utah: Uintah and Ouray (A. and R.).....	1,689	1,320	1,202	1,161	1,118	1,172	1,165	1,251
Washington.....	4,380	4,474	4,872	5,275	5,048	5,274	5,431	5,507
Neah Bay (A.): Makah (R.).....	360	399	407	405	413	429	410	403
Taholah (A.): Skokomish (B.).....	171	204	185	210	198	196	170	188
Squaxon Island (B.).....	116	98	93	77	77	55	43	39
Tulalip (A.): Lummi (R.).....	322	412	453	469	459	515	618	628
Muckleshoot (R.).....	145	155	163	161	189	183	208	200
Port Madison (R.).....	156	165	181	168	196	183	175	171
Swinomish (R.).....	313	281	267	267	226	239	260	273
Tulalip (R.).....	488	460	444	429	376	479	639	653
Yakima (A. and R.).....	2,309	2,300	2,679	3,146	2,917	3,001	2,908	2,942
Wisconsin.....	2,843	2,682	2,779	2,973	3,011	3,186	3,300	3,485
Menominee (R.): Lac du Flambeau (A.): Tomah, school (Winnebago).....	1,366	1,370	1,500	1,730	1,760	1,800	1,928	2,077
1,447	1,312	1,270	1,243	1,251	1,206	1,378	1,408	
Wyoming.....	1,642	1,694	1,701	1,705	1,748	1,808	2,014	2,178
Shoshone (Wind River) (A. and R.).....	801	878	863	871	868	891	997	2,178
Arapahoe (B.).....	841	816	840	834	880	917	1,017	

<sup>1</sup> As estimated and counted in the source. The apparent decrease in 1930 is due mainly to acceptance by the Indian Office of the Census Bureau count of the Navajos, exaggerated estimates having been previously used. The decrease shown in 1934 results from the exclusion (beginning with 1931) of freedmen and intermarried whites of the Five Civilized Tribes.

<sup>2</sup> The Ponca and Santee Reservations in Nebraska, included under Yankton Agency in South Dakota in 1920 and 1925 in source, are carried uniformly under Nebraska in this table.

residents will decline suddenly and radically. Any land-acquisition program for the Indians must count, therefore, upon a sharp increase in the already large number of landless or inadequately landed Indians.

TABLE XXI.—Indian population of continental United States, by reservations, for which apparently accurate and comparable data exist by 5-year periods, 1910 to 1930, inclusive (also for 1934)

[Figures herein were selected from annual reports of Commissioners of Indian Affairs. Excluded herefrom are all agencies, reservations, or bands for which an estimate was apparently used in at least 1 of the 6 years—as indicated by footnotes, by suspiciously rounded figures, by upward fluctuations exceeding 25 percent in a semidecade, or by the description, "Not under agent." The groupings of Indians by agencies, reservations, or bands are those of the 1930 report. Only in the cases of Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming do the totals cover all Indians in the State under Federal jurisdiction. The letters A., R., and B. in parentheses on the stub signify agency, reservation, and band, respectively.]

Selected agencies, reservations, or bands—by States	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1934
Grand total (all Indians)	304,950	333,010	336,337	346,585	340,541	327,958
Grand total (this table)	87,109	91,434	93,069	99,118	103,996	109,316
<b>Arizona</b>	5,231	5,744	5,876	5,432	6,262	6,452
Fort Apache (A. and R.)	2,269	2,388	2,465	2,402	2,659	2,718
Havasapai (A. and R.)	177	170	181	184	198	201
Hopi (A. and R.): Hopi (B.)	1,804	2,193	2,227	2,100	2,454	2,538
Kaibab (R.)	83	98	106	94	96	93
Phoenix School: Camp Verde (R.)	400	421	438	406	418	451
Truxton Canyon (A. and R.)	498	474	429	456	437	451
<b>California</b>	2,069	2,143	2,288	2,289	2,318	2,304
Fort Yuma (R.): Yuma (B.)	655	788	824	836	842	819
Hoopa Valley (R.): Hoopa (B.)	436	435	517	547	551	554
Mission (A.): Inaja (R.)	33	35	36	36	31	33
Los Coyotes (R.)	126	125	107	104	89	88
Manzanita (R.)	84	70	63	48	58	67
Mesa Grande (R.)	193	194	207	204	210	218
Pala (R.)	265	196	216	246	219	205
Parma (R.)	54	50	57	63	64	69
Pechanga (R.)	186	202	217	203	220	216
Sycuan (R.)	37	47	47	40	34	35
<b>Colorado</b>	815	890	796	792	813	834
Consolidated Ute (A.): Southern Ute (R.)	352	366	334	355	369	380
Ute Mountain (R.)	463	524	462	437	444	445
<b>Idaho</b>	1,970	2,173	2,075	1,965	2,004	2,033
Coeur d'Alene (A.): Coeur d'Alene (R.)	537	601	613	595	605	634
Fort Lapwai (A. and R.)	1,433	1,572	1,462	1,400	1,399	1,399
<b>Iowa</b> : Sac and Fox (B.)	365	364	345	363	389	419
<b>Kansas</b>	1,293	1,375	1,466	1,522	1,602	1,860
Iowa (B.)	273	303	309	345	346	408
Kickapo (B.)	209	216	250	277	286	308
Potawatami (B.)	724	759	786	803	875	955
Sac and Fox of Missouri (B.)	87	97	91	97	95	90
<b>Minnesota</b>	4,677	4,790	4,985	5,533	5,888	5,856
Consolidated Chippewa (A.): Bois Fort (R.)	637	530	587	602	648	627
Cass Lake (R.)	447	457	476	492	500	514
Fond du Lac (R.)	929	1,020	1,114	1,349	1,480	1,298
Leech Lake (R.)	797	805	782	850	897	891
White Oak Point (R.)	463	492	504	542	564	558
Red Lake (A. and R.)	1,404	1,486	1,322	1,698	1,799	1,908
<b>Montana</b>	8,359	8,605	8,959	9,379	10,046	10,617
Crow (A. and R.)	1,740	1,699	1,719	1,781	1,966	2,082
Flathead (A. and R.)	2,265	2,302	2,544	2,719	2,897	2,904
Fort Belknap (A. and R.): Gros Ventres (B.)	561	571	570	594	650	1,367
Storx (B.)	696	634	647	604	601	1,367
Fort Peck (A. and R.)	1,756	1,943	2,067	2,273	2,453	2,663
Tongue River (A. and R.)	1,401	1,456	1,412	1,408	1,479	1,541

TABLE XXI.—Indian population of continental United States, by reservations, for which apparently accurate and comparable data exist by 5-year periods, 1910 to 1930, inclusive (also for 1934)—Continued

Selected agencies, reservations, or bands—by States	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1934
<b>Nebraska</b>	3,784	3,917	3,087	4,287	4,358	4,498
Omaha (R.)	1,276	1,313	1,381	1,523	1,575	1,642
Winnebago (R.)	1,063	1,096	1,086	1,097	1,119	1,187
Ponca (R.) <sup>1</sup>	290	329	361	361	398	392
Santee Sioux (R.) <sup>1</sup>	1,155	1,179	1,165	1,306	1,266	1,277
<b>Nevada</b>	1,433	1,015	1,622	1,702	1,802	1,585
Moapa River (R.)	128	123	125	133	206	198
Fallon (R.)	319	324	346	374	416	426
Walker River (R.) (Paute)	484	566	483	516	492	445
Western Shoshone (A. and R.)	602	602	670	679	688	516
<b>New Mexico</b>	2,383	2,245	2,401	2,567	2,610	2,731
Jicarilla Apache (A. and R.)	743	642	588	635	647	680
Zuni (A. and Pueblo)	1,640	1,603	1,813	1,932	1,963	2,051
<b>North Dakota</b>	8,256	8,710	9,018	9,911	10,793	12,338
Fort Berthold (A. and R.): Arikara	411	400	415	443	465	1,569
Gros Ventres (B.)	466	483	526	584	664	
Mandan (B.)	255	282	264	283	291	
Fort Totten (A. and R.)	986	999	950	948	917	990
Standing Rock (A. and R.)	3,454	3,434	3,446	3,610	3,645	3,775
Turtle Mountain (A. and R.)	2,684	3,123	3,423	4,043	4,811	6,034
<b>Oklahoma</b>	9,594	10,158	10,815	11,511	12,244	12,758
Cheyenne and Arapaho (A. and R.)	2,585	2,628	2,702	2,687	2,703	2,760
Kiowa (A. and R.): Caddo and Wichita (B.)	1,021	1,123	1,141	1,256	1,305	1,157
Comanche (B.)	1,476	1,523	1,635	1,754	1,920	2,035
Kiowa (B.)	1,366	1,500	1,596	1,725	1,921	2,053
Pawnee (A.): Oakland (Tonkawa) (R.)	53	50	80	50	46	46
Otoe (R.)	411	476	552	622	664	722
Pawnee (R.)	633	679	731	809	844	906
Ponca (R.)	583	622	664	739	763	800
Quapaw (Seneca) (A.): Seneca (R.)	380	415	487	524	624	697
Shawnee (A.): Iowa (R.)	80	87	78	83	165	108
Sac and Fox (R.)	541	600	612	695	747	831
Shawnee (R.)	445	455	537	567	602	613
<b>Oregon</b> : Siletz (R.)	480	425	452	456	443	465..
<b>South Dakota</b>	19,932	21,082	21,484	22,574	23,726	24,597
Cheyenne River (A. and R.)	2,599	2,798	2,763	2,964	3,143	3,288
Crow Creek (R.)	997	955	953	932	936	953
Flaudreau School	275	282	286	311	328	345
Lower Brule (R.)	469	481	515	587	605	603
Pine Ridge (A. and R.)	6,758	7,240	7,225	7,628	7,995	8,370
Rosebud (A. and R.)	5,096	5,519	5,430	5,700	6,070	6,362
Sisseton (A. and R.)	1,994	2,053	2,367	2,474	2,620	2,658
Yankton (R.) <sup>1</sup>	1,753	1,844	1,945	1,978	2,029	2,018
<b>Utah</b> : Uintah and Ouray (A. and R.)	1,202	1,161	1,118	1,172	1,165	1,251
<b>Washington</b>	7,639	8,354	8,387	8,791	9,126	9,432
Colville (A.): Colville (R.)	2,263	2,468	2,038	2,821	2,956	3,118
Spokane (R.)	504	611	641	700	739	807
Nehalem Bay (A.): Makah (R.)	407	408	413	429	410	403
<b>Tahola</b> (A.): Skokomish (B.): Squaxin Island (R.)	185	210	198	186	170	188
93	77	77	55	43	39	
<b>Tulalip</b> (A.): Lummi (R.)	453	469	459	515	618	628
Muckleshoot (R.)	163	161	186	183	208	200
Fort Madison (R.)	181	168	196	183	175	171
Swinomish (R.)	267	207	226	239	260	273
Tulalip (R.)	444	429	376	470	659	663
Yakima (A. and R.)	2,679	3,146	2,917	3,001	2,968	2,942
<b>Wisconsin</b>	5,986	5,978	6,167	6,554	6,836	7,108
Hawyard School Jurisdiction and Lac Court Oreille (R.)	1,373	1,259	1,292	1,369	1,532	1,559

TABLE XXI.—Indian population of continental United States, by reservations, for which apparently accurate and comparable data exist by 5-year periods, 1910 to 1930, inclusive (also for 1934).—Continued

Selected agencies, reservations, or bands—by States	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1934
Wisconsin—Continued.						
Keshena (A.):						
Menominee (R.):	1,509	1,730	1,760	1,890	1,928	2,077
Lac Du Flambeau (A.):						
Bad River (R.):	1,147	1,040	1,083	1,162	1,171	1,211
Lac Du Flambeau (R.):	687	706	781	837	827	853
Tomah School (Winnebago):	1,270	1,243	1,251	1,296	1,378	1,408
Wyoming.....	1,701	1,705	1,748	1,808	2,014	2,178
Shoshone or Wind River (A. and R.):						
Arapaho (B.):	861	871	898	891	997	2,178
Shoshone (B.):	840	834	880	917	1,017	

<sup>1</sup> As estimated and counted in the source. The apparent decrease in 1930 is due mainly to acceptance by the Indian Office of the Census Bureau count of the Navajos, exaggerated estimates having been previously used. The decrease shown in 1934 results from the exclusion (beginning with 1931) of freedmen and intermarried whites of the Five Civilized Tribes.

<sup>2</sup> The Ponca and Santee Reservations in Nebraska, included under Yankton Agency in South Dakota in 1920 and 1925 in source, are carried uniformly under Nebraska in this table.

### Letters of Comment on Indian Population Study

The foregoing paper, *The Trend of Indian Population*, was sent to a number of population experts and anthropologists before publication and the following letters contain resultant comment and criticism on its methodology and findings. Although not official, the monograph covers important ground on this highly controversial subject.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,  
Washington, D. C., January 15, 1935.

HON. JOHN COLLIER,  
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,  
Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. COLLIER: I have read the report on *The Trend of Indian Population* by Messrs. Hall and Nettleton and find little to criticize adversely. Their findings conform in general with my impressions. I am submitting a few comments from my own experience which you may find of use.

Many of the early blanket estimates of population are far too high, but when more accurate estimates are attempted there is often a tendency to overestimate small tribes and underestimate big ones.

Smallpox and other epidemics, largely those of European origin, brought about rapid and spectacular reductions in population, but such losses were often recouped in a rapid but less spectacular manner.

After white contact the smaller tribes tended to disappear by union with the larger ones, and part of the decrease shown by smaller tribes that did survive was due to transfer of population to larger units. For

this reason decrease in the number of tribes is not as significant as is commonly supposed.

It seems evident that some increase in Indian population came about through the curtailment of intertribal warfare brought about by the whites.

It is beyond doubt that the adaptation of Indians, both physically and psychologically, to conditions imposed by west European culture caused not only fluctuations in population but also an absolute decline over all. This decline involved the extinction of some tribes, the reduction of others to very small bodies, and the reduction of all except a very few which gained by absorbing fragments of others or, as in the case of the Navajo, happened to make an early and successful adjustment to the new conditions. But after a certain period most of the surviving tribes seem to have passed a critical point and to have begun recovery. I think it evident that this was true of the Indian population as a whole regardless of the fluctuations of individual tribes. It is to be noted that the passage of such a crisis has been associated in many cases with a religious movement such as the appearance of Mormonism among the Catawba, the rise of the Shaker religion, and more recently of the native American church. It involved the return of the people to racial self-respect and a general lifting of the mental outlook.

It appears to me that, instead of one Indian population, we have three Indian populations to consider, including respectively, biological Indians, cultural Indians, and legal Indians.

Biologically our native tribes ceased to be 100 percent Indian the first time any admixture with old-world peoples took place. There are, however, fair grounds for classifying as biological Indians mixed-bloods more than half Indian or even half bloods. But when mixtures of less than 50 percent Indian blood are included this form of classification has begun to lose its significance, and as further mixture will extend with every generation, even though no new mixtures occur, the biological "Indians" are Indian-whites, or Indian-whites-blacks, or Indian-blacks.

Cultural Indians include not only persons of Indian descent who have accepted the culture and usage of their ancestors, and persons of mixed Indian and white or Indian and Negro origin who so accept them, but even pure whites or pure Negroes who have been adopted into the tribe through capture, or have grown up in it, and have accepted its usages. On the other hand it does not include mixed or full-blood Indians who have become separated voluntarily or involuntarily from their people and have accepted Old World cultural patterns.

The term legal Indians includes full-blood Indians and Indians of all degrees of admixture, and may at times extend to full-blood whites or full-blood Negroes while occasionally omitting full-blood Indians. Plenty of whites and Negroes are willing to be "Indians" if pecuniary advantage happens to attach to that status.

These three types are all disappearing, becoming slowly but surely absorbed by their biological, cultural, and political environments. I think our concern is mainly with the cultural Indians, though they are, it must be understood, becoming less and less biological Indians. Just as their blood gradually seeps out into the masses of the American people and the blood of the American people seeps in, so will their culture change. But inasmuch as the culture of any people is enriched or impoverished by all elements entering into it, it should be our effort to preserve for gradual incorporation in the general sum of our culture those Indian elements which will enrich it, allowing those which would impoverish it to die out. Let us not make the mistake of supposing that we are protecting biological groups of Indians in the exercise and perpetuation of a culture which is and always will be peculiar to themselves. We are seeking to do justice to groups of Indians which are gradually dissolving before our eyes and ceasing to be such, and we are seeking to conserve for ultimate use, and perhaps exercise, by our people as a whole, cultural elements of Indian origin which will be confined less and less to Indians.

The perpetuation of the biological fiction and attempts to perpetuate cultural patterns and legal status are, however, apt to depend in considerable measure on economic and social advantage. If the economic or social status of Indians is made particularly advantageous, the number of such "Indians" will tend to increase rather than decrease. The number of white "Indians" who have effected a lodgment on tribal and governmental rolls for the pecuniary benefits to be obtained thereby, and the ambition of southern bands of mixed-blood Indians to keep themselves distinct from Negroes are cases in point. No doubt there will be plenty of "Indians" as long as Indians are endowed. The problem is to assist them to find their natural position in society, not to place or preserve them in an artificial position.

Much of this is perhaps beside the present point but it is not very far beside it.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN R. SWANTON,  
*Ethnologist, Bureau of Ethnology,  
Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.*

### Believes Many Trends Evident

Hon. JOHN COLLIER:

Indian population in the United States is made up of a great many groups who live within enclaves scattered over wide regions. These population groups have been immobilized within these enclaves through administrative measures and remain largely isolated from one another by reason of these, as well as by virtue of the differences in their culture and history. Many of these groups live more in an essential isolation from one another than they do from the surrounding population. They are today continuing the processes of a history which has been a vast ordeal of adaptation and survival.

The average trend for this population is in reality composed of many trends indicating the broad movement of this historic process. An examination of the population figures in Hall and Nettleton's paper from this point of view indicates that these 93 groups fall into four types of population movement:

1. Declining population: Where there is indicated a definite downward trend. Some 19 out of 93 groups show this tendency.

2. Stationary population: Where figures on successive 5-year periods fail to indicate a consistent departure of 5 percent or more from the population figure of the initial year. Six groups.

3. Rise followed by decline of population: Where a clear-cut upward trend has been followed by a distinct downward step. Five groups.

4. Increasing population: Where the increase of population is shown to be consistent and continuous. Sixty-three groups.

In figure 11 are shown examples of each type.

Assuming, for the moment, a substantial accuracy for all the figures, it appears that 32 percent of these groups exhibit tendencies other than an increase. The fact that the population in this, nearly one-third of the groups covered, is relatively smaller in numbers does not alter the importance of the indication. We are here dealing with Indian groups with distinct histories of adaptation and survival.

A uniform degree of dependability for all the figures through all the years is assumed by Hall and Nettleton. This assumption is to be questioned.

First, because with all possible care and exercise of good judgment in the selection of these samples, it will remain true that the figures for the more important groups, say those exceeding 1,000 in population, are probably largely estimates for periods at a time.

Second, the establishment and the reporting of the estimates of population in the Indian Service in the past have been influenced by subjective elements too insistent and compelling to be neglected. It is only necessary to remember that prior to the administration of Commissioner Francis E. Leupp (1904-9), at any rate, the general attitude dominating Indian affairs was determined by the confident hope that the Indian problem would soon be liquidated. The known trend of Indian population at the time seemed to confirm this hope. Estimates during the years well into the middle of the longer period in table XX were made against this background.

Following Commissioner Leupp, the letter if not the spirit of his reform administration was carried forward for 20 years, and stage by stage during this latter period circumstances made it a matter of urgency that a rapid improvement in the condition of the tribes be demonstrated.

The present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in testifying before a committee of the United States Senate in

1927, had occasion to deal extensively with the nature and the adequacy of the Indian Bureau population data.<sup>28</sup> This testimony is well worth reading again.

The object here is not to deny that increase in Indian population took place during the period studied, but to indicate the existence of what might be termed "an administrative bias" which has very probably operated in the direction of low or careless estimates during the early part and at least in the direction of full and more anxiously painstaking estimates during the later part of the period.<sup>29</sup>

The decisive operation of such a factor, if it could be definitely proved, would make for a significant correction in some of the rates of increase shown, but would not affect the fact of increase which seems clearly demonstrated for a large portion of these population groups.

Hall and Nettleton very properly deal with this fact of increase from an administrative point of view. They do not, however, deal at all adequately with the theoretical significance of their findings.

The greatest single event in the population history of the Indians dealt with in this study is the catastrophic decline in their numbers which took place during recent historic time. The fantastic proportions of this cataclysm of depopulation looms enormously in the background of all the more recent population movements.

It is important to realize this because the significance of what is taking place today is to be understood in terms of the process of depopulation. Before any appreciable increase in population could occur, a level of stability had to be reached, and that level of stability is continuous with the trend of depopulation itself.

Now, depopulation is not merely a problem in public health, or a problem in education. It is not merely a problem of relative vulnerability to disease. Introduction of public health measures or the opening of schools will not account for the increases of population shown. "Biologic help from other races" will not account for them. It is because of a belief in the possibility of this biologic help from other races that the authors deal with increases of mixed blood populations as though they represented the continuous growth of Indian population groups.<sup>30</sup>

The authors also deal with the future of full-blood populations as though increase by virtue of admixture of non-Indian blood was the only manner of increase possible for them. As a matter of fact several series in their population data constitute evidence contrary to such a view. Figures for Arapaho, Hopi, Zuni, and

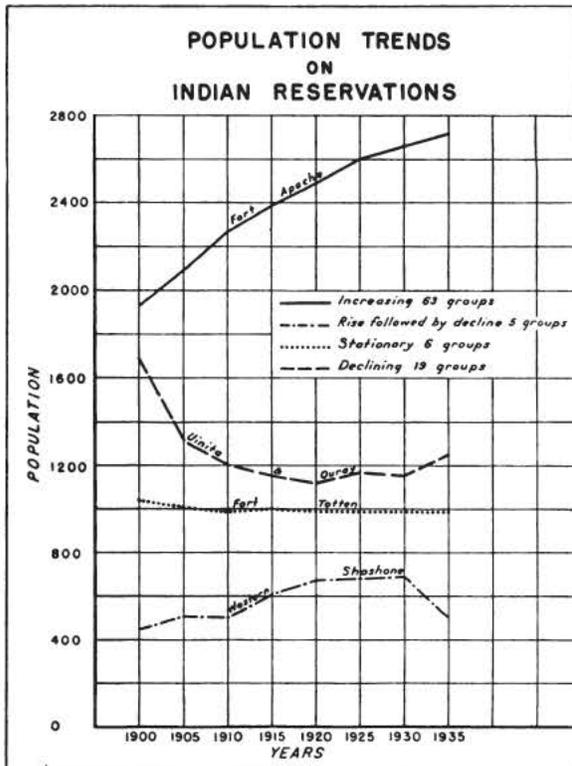


FIGURE 11.—Four types of population trends deduced from a sample of 93 reservations, tribes, or bands.

<sup>28</sup> HEARINGS ON THE KING RESOLUTION. 69th Cong., S. Res. 341, pp. 54-63. 1927.

<sup>29</sup> For other possibilities see the record in King resolution hearings and note accompanying fig. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Pitt-Rivers, G. H. L. F., *The Clash of Culture and The Contact of Races*, London, 1927. See p. 75 for a more complete discussion.

Fort Apache refer to Indian groups with the smallest admixture of non-Indian blood. They are shown to have exhibited a consistent rate of increase over the years.

With reference to the statistical treatment of the increase of mixed-blood populations there is a point to be investigated which does not seem to have been considered heretofore. For this I am indebted to a suggestion made by Commissioner John Collier. Lack of pertinent data prevents full development, but in brief it refers to the crucial difference between a census increase and a biologic increase in population.

Specifically: What is the mechanism whereby a full-blood group is transformed into an increasingly mixed-blood population? Obviously, the addition of individuals of alien blood. In the case of smaller popula-

tions such as those dealt with here, each such addition will account for an appreciable percentage increase. In a hypothetical population of 1,000 Indians, for example, 10 marriages contracted with non-Indians would appear as an increase of 1 percent. Over a 10-year period 100 such marriages would produce the showing of a 10-percent increase over and above any increase which may be due to the addition by birth of mixed-blood children. The recognition of such possible modes of increase in population, among others, would seem to constitute an elementary prerequisite of any statistical discussion of population trends among Indians.

(Signed) ESHREF SHEVKY,  
*Project Director, Pueblo Land Research Unit,  
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