

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE
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**INDIAN RIGHTS AND THEIR
PROTECTION***

by

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Our unthinking impatience is the greatest enemy of the Indian today. We keep forgetting that our major objective is to prepare these aboriginal people for full and equal participation in the highly competitive society that we have developed on this continent that used to be theirs, and we seek to effect a quick cure for the Indian problem so that we can be done with it.

As we drove our way West from our initial landings at Plymouth and elsewhere along the Eastern seaboard, we developed a high-minded Indian policy. It included buying land from the Indian, making treaties with their Nations, reserving for their use lands that they thought they would need, and promising solemnly to educate them and to live honorably with them in our new land.

For a time we pacified the Indians when they interfered with our ambitions or resisted our encroachments on ranges that they used, and by military force, we subdued them. It has hardly been 50 years since the United States adopted civilian administration of Indian affairs. Yet, there is already an impatient clamor to be done with it all. We refuse to recognize that in some areas the task that we have set ourselves has not truly been begun—and in

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others, it is far from completed. Here and there, in this broad land and among certain groups of Indians, the work is nearly completed. These are exceptional cases rather than typical ones.

Federal Obligation Still Unfulfilled

How can we believe seriously that the responsibility of the Federal Government to the Navajo has been completed, when the facts are that 65 per cent of the 64,000 members of this tribe can not speak English or read or write, despite our promise in a treaty 80 years ago to provide them one schoolteacher for each 30 children? In the years since that treaty was completed, we have never provided adequate educational facilities and are not doing so today. How can we believe the Indian job is done when 64,000 Navajos are making their homes on desert lands, which will not support more than 35,000, when their resources are fully developed? The answer, of course, is that only unthinking impatience suggests that the job is done. It could not have been completed in the time that has elapsed, even had we worked earnestly at the task.

The Department of the Interior has prepared a 10-year Navajo program that would cost \$90,000,000 and that would improve the school, health, and economic conditions of the reservation, and institute a sound program for encouraging some Navajo families to obtain work and new homes away from the reservation. We realize that even this program is inadequate, in that there still would be many Indians in the area at the end of the 10-year period for whom no sound economic base had been provided. This program is but a start and would have to be followed by a second 10-year Navajo program, and that by a third 10-year Navajo program. After 30 years of earnest and continuing work, unimpeded by temperamental shut-downs by economy-minded Congresses and changes of course by impatient administrators, the Government would be in a position **to begin the work** with a gen-

eration of Navajo Indians which was born into English-speaking homes, to healthy parents who had reasonable expectation of being able to finance the rearing and education of their children. Only when such conditions have been created can we begin the task of working toward the end of Federal supervision of the Navajo and the end of government participation in their problems.

There are scatter-shot marksmen who have new remedies for the Indian problem every year. All of them seem to be based on the complacent assumption that because the Federal Government has not done its job adequately, the job does not need to be done at all. These theorists provide the greatest hazard to eventual completion of the task of preparing the Indian for a useful and satisfactory life among us.

Stereotypes Often Mislead

Indian reservations, many of them, are remote. They are not much in our minds. We are inclined to think of the problem they present in theoretical phrases, like "emancipation" (despite the facts that all Indians are full citizens and have been since 1924 and that all of them can now vote in whatever State they live), and "remove the bureaucratic restrictions," usually meaning regulations that prevent Indians from alienating some of their lands or that prevent white bootleggers from selling liquor in Indian villages, although there are very good reasons for maintaining this Federal supervision in some areas; or "abolish the reservations," which is often a cloak for today's land-hungry whites who still covet Indian property. You know them as well as I. Local option is extended to many white towns and cities. The Indian villages in Alaska, just for an example, have voted liquor out of their towns similarly. Is it a "restriction" if they are enabled to enforce this option? Much of the Indian land is forest or grazing land of the type which for the last 50 years has been reserved in common ownership

generally in the United States. To parcel such lands out to individual Indians, give them fee titles, and to permit them to sell allotments, would be against the sound conservation principles that underlie the National Forest Act, and the National Grazing Act. Usually such sales would make no sense from any point of view since the grazing land takes its value from its relationship to waterholes that serve surrounding areas, and the forest land to sustained-yield forestry programs that preclude subdivision.

I do not need to tell the Indian Rights Association these things—I know that. You, and organizations like yours, have studied the problem dispassionately and endeavored to aid all of us to maintain a steady course. These things need saying, however, and repeating, for they are not widely understood nor accepted.

Indian Bureau Starved For Funds

Usually at this point in a speech of this kind, it is customary to say, "Of course, the Indian Office has its faults, has made mistakes, and needs reformation." I am not going to do that. The Indian Bureau is maligned, has been maltreated and libeled, starved for funds, and kicked around by friend and foe alike. I am for a fair deal for this agency which has had its morale shaken, but nevertheless, is made up of a high percentage of loyal, intelligent, devoted men and women. Let us stop berating these people for our common failure, the failure to demand that funds be made available to implement the principles under which our obligation to the Indians can be discharged.

Let us look at some facts. Economic rehabilitation requires capital. The loan fund authorized by the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 is the first step which the Government has taken to supply this capital.

Only Half Loan Funds Appropriated

The Indian Reorganization Act authorized the appropriation of \$10,000,000 to establish a revolving loan fund, and the

Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act authorized the appropriation of an additional \$2,000,000—yet the total amount appropriated to date is \$6,600,000, a little over half of what was authorized, out of which the expenses of operating a credit enterprise have been paid. To this the tribes have made available an additional \$1,800,000 of tribal funds.

In the fourteen years since the fund was established, a total of \$16,800,000 has been loaned. In this time, 96.7 per cent has been repaid on schedule, 2.26 per cent has been extended, five hundredths of one per cent has been cancelled, and only ninety-nine hundredths of one per cent is now delinquent. In comparison to the credit needs of the Indian people, this is almost like making bricks without straw. When the Federal Government can find billions of dollars to loan to railroads, insurance companies, and others, in times of stress, it would seem that we have been niggardly with the Indians—and that niggardliness can not be justified by the risk involved, for the repayment rate hardly could be bettered.

Land Losses Accelerated

In the same way, the Indian Reorganization Act authorized the appropriation of \$2,000,000 annually for land purchases, to supplement the depleted Indian estate. In fourteen years, out of \$28,000,000 authorized, the Congress has appropriated only \$5,725,000. Tribal concern with the need has resulted in \$2,350,000 of tribal money being devoted to the same purpose. The Federal money has resulted in the purchase of 333,000 acres of land, outside of Oklahoma. In the same 14 years, 344,000 acres of Indian land have been alienated, largely through land bills passed by the Congress. These are examples of our common failure.

It is easy to blame such failures on the Indian Bureau and go skylarking after some new plan for quick solution of the Indian problem, but the truth remains. The solution is long, hard, and demands consistent work to-

ward perfectly clear goals, whole and not half measures, and willingness through the years to carry the program through.

When inviting me to appear before you, your chairman indicated in his letter that you were interested in obtaining answers to certain questions with regard to departmental attitudes toward Indian affairs.

The Missouri Basin Problem

First, Mr. Steere wanted to know what is going to be done for Indians in the Missouri Basin where the development plans will uproot many families. In discussing the development of the Missouri Valley, it should be clear at once that any plan of this kind must provide for a number of reservoirs to hold the flood waters. This water storage is essential to prevent damage, and it is this water which will furnish 2,686,000 kilowatts of electrical power; it is also this water which can be distributed over vast acreages to bring about an increase in farm production and economic development. It is planned to increase the lands under irrigation by 5,500,000 acres when the project is complete, of which approximately 216,000 acres will be Indian lands.

These dams must be constructed across the main water courses, and the reservoirs will back up water over many acres of river bottom lands. It is not possible to build a dam just anywhere along a river. The Missouri was carefully surveyed for dam sites where storage reservoirs of sufficient size would be produced.

Because of their lifelong dependence on game, and their need for winter shelter from the blizzards of the plains, the Indians originally chose bottom areas along the Missouri and its major tributaries for their reserved lands. The woods of the river bottoms have furnished building material for homes and provided the principal source of fuel. Such wild game as remains has haunted these areas. In view of the extent to which the reservations line the river, it was inevitable that any system of dams would

inundate much of the bottom land upon which the Indians have been dependent. It would be unrealistic, however, to assume that only Indian lands are being taken—or that Indian lands have been taken in undue proportion. Actually, 1,516,000 acres will be flooded, of which about 376,500 acres are Indian land.

Indian Losses Compensated

Indians have been shown the same consideration as whites whose lands have been taken—that is, they will receive compensation for the lands and improvements, and other equities which will be destroyed. In fact, much more time and energy have been devoted to working out a satisfactory solution for the Indians than for the whites. A new and modern solution for Indian problems is being sought in concert with the Indians. An effort is being made to resolve the heirship problems of landownership which have grown up on the various reservations and to find means of arranging closer integration between the Indians and state and county services than has existed heretofore.

While it is true that the Indians will lose land, they will have in return the money to buy new land—and if they wish to do so, the money may be invested in some other form of self-supporting venture. The new land may be bought adjacent to and as an extension of the remaining portions of existing reservations, or it may be bought elsewhere, and the Indians may terminate their collective living. In deciding these problems, the Indians themselves are being aided, and every opportunity is being given to them to study the problem so that the resulting decision shall be in the light of their best judgment.

New Irrigated Land Promised

In selecting colonists to occupy five million acres of newly irrigated land, which will replace the barren areas in many of these states, I shall make an effort to see that

Indians as present residents of the basin, receive preferential treatment over applicants from outside the basin area.

It has been suggested that the Government should have respected the desire of the Indians to retain their lands in their present status, and should have modified the program of valley development to make this possible. We must recognize that in any program of this kind there will be many individuals, Indian and white alike, who would personally prefer to remain as they are, and who will resist developments which are in the interests of all. To take care of such situations, the Government is granted the power of eminent domain, which permits it to take the lands and improvements needed by the many, provided adequate compensation is given to the uncooperative few. In this case, I think we must finally agree that the preferences of some of the Indians were less compelling than the total need for the basin development.

Navajo Rehabilitation Program Static

Second, I was asked to bring you up to date on the Navajo program. You know, of course, that no Congressional action was taken on the long-range Navajo program which Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug proposed to the Eightieth Congress. The Appropriations Committee of the House, responding to a number of claims that the Indian Bureau was not allotting to the Navajo Service all of the funds appropriated by Congress to that Agency—a charge, by the way, which is not borne out by the facts—set up a separate Navajo-Hopi budget. Expenditures for the Navajo and Hopi reservations are now limited to the funds provided within this budget. Previously, for example, the Education Division actually had allotted to the Navajo Reservation a hundred thousand dollars or more a year in addition for school purposes than the per capita rates approved by Congress apparently would have justified. As these rates were averages, this was legitimate. This can no

longer be done. As a result, the Navajo schools had less money at the beginning of fiscal year 1949 than they have had for several years. A supplemental estimate has been requested and will probably be presented to the Congress to permit us to operate Navaho schools for the remainder of the school year.

We have made a complete re-evaluation of reservation activities in formulating the Navajo-Hopi budget for 1950. For the first time in ten years, we have tried to secure a budget which honestly and adequately reflects the program of activities on the reservation. Heretofore, we have had to supplement Navajo funds from non-Navajo appropriations or finance the expensive utility and transportation services at the expense of authorized work in education or health.

1950 Navajo Budget Modernized

The 1950 budget now being justified before the Congress, sanctions a majority of the most necessary adjustments but allows practically nothing toward proposed rehabilitation. It does include \$2,000,000 for continuation of the construction of the Shiprock school and hospital for which an initial appropriation of \$318,000 had been received in a previous year. For the first time, the educational appropriation recognizes clearly that the great majority of Navajo pupils now in attendance at reservation schools are attending on a boarding basis. Funds are provided for the operation of the community schools on a 7-day boarding basis for many of their pupils.

A substantial cut has been made in the welfare appropriation based on the assumption by the Budget Bureau that Navajo relief clients will be acceptable under the Social Security system of Arizona and New Mexico during the fiscal year 1950. The law and order set-up still remains inadequate.

One important and constructive modification of the new budget is the transfer of

common services costs to a separate justification. The most variable costs on the Navajo Reservation have been those concerned with transportation, heat, light and power, and the related office services.

It is the intention of the Department of the Interior to urge again the passage of special legislation outlining a program of economic, health, and educational rehabilitation for the Navajo people to extend over the next 10 years. There has been no substantial change in the nature of the program contemplated.

I am happy to report that the off-reservation employment program has proceeded successfully. Our most recent reports show that about 12,000 Navajos have found work in agriculture and mines, on railroads and ranches, and in miscellaneous employment, mostly seasonal. The general reactions from areas where they have worked indicate that their services have been thoroughly appreciated and their return is anticipated.

Adult Training Program Needed

We have not been so successful in our endeavor to find permanent placement for any large number of these Indians although we have stressed the need for this in our talk and planning with employers and with communities which we have worked. I have great hopes for the future.

One thing has become clear. Some further and consistent effort must be made to provide training for these adults for whom off-reservation employment is sought, to make their general social adjustment more acceptable to the communities in which they will work. Eating, dressing, bathing and toileting habits which are acceptable on the reservation and which cause no embarrassment in a railroad construction camp, are not acceptable in many forms of itinerant farm labor and arouse resistance to the acceptance of the Indians in the small agricultural communities with which they must

trade while engaged in off-reservation employment.

Plans must be made for the establishment of training centers where this type of instruction can be given and where some smattering of English may be taught. If these centers can be so located that they will also serve as off-reservation homes for the Indians between periods of seasonal employment it will promote the program.

Army Hospital Available for Navajo School

In December the Senators from Utah brought to our attention the availability of the former Bushnell Army Hospital at Brigham City, Utah, as a possible off-reservation school, primarily for Navajos. The plant has been carefully examined by representatives of the Education and Construction Division of the Indian Service and has been visited by representatives of the Navajo Reservation, including the Business Committee of the Tribal Council. The use of Bushnell Hospital for this purpose is entirely feasible. With alteration and limited additional construction, the plant can be arranged to accommodate approximately 2,000 children of various ages. On-campus living quarters for the institutional personnel must be provided and classroom facilities, an auditorium, and an additional gymnasium must be built if this number of children is to be sent to Bushnell. A few buildings which will not be needed for school purposes were indicated by the Tribal Council as suitable for the type of off-reservation training for adults to which I have referred. With some alterations and furnishings, 36 families can be accommodated in apartments and as these individuals will vary with the changes in seasonal employment, ultimately a substantial number of adult Navajos could receive training at such a center.

Legislation is before Congress to transfer this hospital to the Indian Service without exchange of funds. Estimates before the Budget Bureau covering the cost of remod-

eling, refurnishing, and new construction which will be necessary before the plant can be placed in use.

Approximately 1,200 students could be accommodated at Bushnell during the fiscal year 1950 if these plans are approved, and a year later, when additional construction is completed, a full 2,000 can be taken care of.

Department Opposes Discrimination

In discussions with local businessmen and government officials at Brigham City, as in our discussions earlier with similar representatives of Sitka, Alaska, while planning on the Mount Edgecumbe School and Hospital, representatives of the Department have it clear that we have no intention of establishing an Indian school or other agency in an area where discrimination will be practiced. We have pledges from these citizens that if the institution is opened, the children and their parents will be welcome in the local restaurants, hotels, stores, and theaters; that they will receive justice if there is occasion for them to appear in the local courts, and that the community will protect them from exploitation by liquor dealers or gamblers. Sitka has profited more from the legitimate business brought to the community by the pupils, patients, and employees of the Mount Edgecumbe plant, than it could have from the activities of those who might have made a business of exploiting them. While mentioning this, I should also pay tribute to the citizens of Seward, Alaska, who cooperated similarly during the time that the Eklutna School was operated in their neighborhood.

During the current year we have 1,800 Navajo students in off-reservation schools at Chemawa, Oregon; Sherman Institute, California; Phoenix, Arizona, Albuquerque, New Mexico; and at Chilocco, Concho, Riverside, and Fort Sill in Oklahoma. Pupils in these schools have maintained an amazingly high ratio of attendance. They are industrious, enthusiastic, and are making ex-

cellent progress. We are now working to assure them summer employment in the areas within which they are attending school and are asking businessmen and farmers to help arrange for their permanent settlement at the conclusion of their educational program.

We can increase the number of Navajo students in off-reservation schools by another 300 next year. By increasing enrollment at reservation schools, and by sending Navajos to off-reservation schools, we have increased by about 50 per cent the number of Navajos in school.

Third, what is happening in Alaska?

Amalgamation of Federal and Territorial Services in Alaska

Considerable strides have been taken during the last two years to amalgamate the educational and medical services of the Alaska Native Service and the Territorial or local governments in all areas where whites and Natives are living and working side by side.

With the exception of one or two Native communities, Federal schools in southeastern Alaska have been closed and the pupils accepted by the local Territorial school. Where none such existed, as in the cases of Hoonah, Kake, Klawock, and Metlakahtla, the Native population has organized a public school district under the laws of the Territory and is now engaged in operating its own school without support or interference from the Federal Government. The remaining schools operated by the Federal Government are in Native communities.

Further Amalgamation Distant

In many parts of the Territory there are thousands of Eskimos, Aleuts, and Indians who are living in their own villages where there are no whites save an occasional trader or a representative of the Alaska Native Service as teacher. This teacher represents the contact of the Natives with government and with non-native Americans. He must be

concerned with credit activities in connection with the operation of the native store and with the handling of livestock in assisting with the Native reindeer herds. He must be an expert in first aid to assist in health emergencies. The wiser and better adjusted of our teachers become general counselors in many aspects of Native life. This is a type of responsibility foreign to the thinking of the average public school teacher in Alaska or elsewhere, and until the Government is prepared to supply this kind of activity by a Federal employee, and in addition finance the extension of the Territorial school service to these communities, there is little more that can be done toward the transfer of present responsibilities carried by the Indian Service to Territorial agencies for some years.

As rapidly, however, as any Native community reaches the development of Klawock or Metlakahtla, steps will be taken to encourage it to organize under the Territorial law rather than to remain dependent upon the Indian Service.

Native Property Rights Must Be Settled

Before we can progress much further in Alaska, however, it will be necessary to determine finally the Native property rights within the Territory. Repeatedly, since Alaska was transferred from Russia to the United States, Congress has affirmed the right of the Natives to the undisturbed occupancy of any lands actually in their use or occupation. This was covered in the Treaty of Cession, and in the Act of May 17, 1884, and several other subsequent laws, this assurance was repeated.

Despite assurance, it rested with the Act of May 1, 1936, which extended many of the benefits of the Indian Reorganization Act to the Natives of Alaska, to provide a procedure by which Native title might be defined clearly and recorded. Proceeding under this act, the Secretary has established eight reservations in northern Alaska. Aside from these steps, and the actions of an ear-

lier day to vest title to village lots in the Native residents of a few communities, the land map of Alaska carries no official recognition of the extent of the Native title about which Congress has been so solicitous.

A well considered bill setting a pattern for negotiation and settlement of Native claims and removal of this problem, both as a threat to development of the Territory and to the security of the Natives, was before the Congress last year and will be re-submitted this year. It was H. R. 7002. It will be improved by additional loan fund provision but will remain much as it was presented last year. I think that this proposal will provide the means for completion of the task of settlement of the land titles in a manner fair and just to all.

Appropriation Cuts Have Reduced School And Hospital Services

During the last two years, cuts in Alaska appropriations have resulted in the closing of 21 day schools in Native communities. No other school facilities are available and the children have been out of school. For 1950, the Budget Bureau has approved funds for the re-opening of these schools. During the same period of time, it has been necessary for us to terminate contractual arrangements with private hospitals throughout the Territory for the hospitalization of Native people and it has also been necessary for us to terminate many of the field nursing services and field physicians previously maintained by the Department. The budget recommendations for 1950 should enable us to correct this.

Contracts have been entered into with the Territorial Department of Public Welfare for services by that department to Native clients in areas where both whites and Natives are living and working together. This should unquestionably continue, but funds should be made available to the Department of the Interior for the continuation of welfare services to Natives in areas where the Territorial welfare services do not ex-

tend. During the last year or two, there has been a serious diminution of such necessary services. We hope that this year will see a correction of the situation. Those activities which can be carried on effectively by the Territorial Government should continue and those which for some years to come can best be rendered through the Alaska Native Service should be supported adequately.

Understanding by Citizens Needed

You have asked for my opinion as to the place of such public interest organizations as this one in Indian matters. It is highly desirable that public interest be maintained in what happens to the American Indian. The continued recognition by the Federal Government of its obligations to Indians and the just acceptance of Indian people as citizens by state and local agencies may depend largely upon such groups as yours providing leadership until such acceptance becomes a matter of course.

Despite their legal rights, Indians face a great many discriminatory practices which indicate that they have yet to be accepted by the general public on a basis of equality with the non-Indian citizenry. You can help eliminate this.

Tax Status of Indian Land Overemphasized

Despite the fact that the tax-free status of Indian land is a matter of treaty agreement and is written into the constitution of most of the western states, and the further fact that Indians in general are subject to state and federal income taxes, state and federal inheritance taxes, sales taxes, automobile use taxes, and the various excise levies, there is still a continuing political agitation against extending to Indians full state and county services by schools, welfare agencies, public hospitals, and similar public institutions. Agitation of this kind completely ignores the fact that in a great many of the western states in which much is made of the Indian tax issue, a great many white citizens enjoy tax exemption for homestead

holdings of varying value. For example, in Oklahoma, which includes more than one-third of the Indian population of the country, homestead exemptions plus veterans' exemptions, have removed more land from the tax rolls than all of the Indian land in that state put together.

People who talk about abolishing reservations with a view either to placing the Indian lands on the public tax roll or because they argue that if these Indian land holdings are broken up, Indians can be forced to find homes and occupations among the non-Indian population, are ignoring two or three Indian rights which I believe we are all bound to observe. The reservations, many of them at any rate, were not given to the Indians, but were retained for Indian use in exchange for land elsewhere when the Federal Government bought the remainder of the vast domain originally under Indian control.

Tribal Land Ownership Similar To Industrial Corporations

Some of these Indian reservations contain resources of great value. The fact that in some cases ownership of these resources is by a tribe rather than by a series of individuals is beside the point. It has been convenient in the industrial development of the United States for thousands of people to band together to own the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the United States Steel Corporation, or the Celanese Corporation of America, which are examples of thousands of corporations which represent the American system. The fact that the Indians extend a similar joint ownership to land and its resources should not be the source of either surprise or criticism. Indians enjoy living together among their friends and relatives. It is not only Indians who enjoy such association with their friends. In many parts of the United States there are communities which have grown up as the result of religious, ethical, philosophical, or economic unity. Many non-Indians

think it not unusual for whites by restrictive covenants to attempt to exclude Indians from land occupancy within a selective community, yet consider it strange when Indians are quite content to live together with other Indians where they are at home among friends.

Indian Land Base Inadequate

The important issue with regard to the desirability of reservation life does not hinge upon whether reservations are good or bad but grows out of the fact that the land which was reserved for Indian use 50 or 100 years ago is no longer adequate to support the present population of Indians who are remaining in the area.

It has been said repeatedly that Indians lack economic resources. One of the most important reasons for this lack is that more of them are living in economic areas than the resources of those areas will support. The best estimates of our soil conservationists are that the approximately 2½ million acres of the Pine Ridge Reservation will support not more than 6,000 of the almost 10,000 Sioux Indians now living in the area. I could give many examples.

Tribes Need Loan Fund To Buy Land

Our best planning and our best intelligence must be applied to the problem of finding successful economic adjustment for this surplus Indian population whether it be Sioux, Pueblo, Navajo, Papago, or Chipewa. Proposals will be made before the present Congress for additional loan funds which will make it possible to purchase heirship lands and lands of Indians who wish to sever their connection with their tribes and move elsewhere. This money could be made available to the tribes and would ultimately be repaid over a 30- or 40-year period as this land is put into productive use as part of consolidated assignments which may be made available for use by the tribal members remaining in the reservation areas.

If this were done, every Indian would be

free to leave the reservation if he so wished, converting his equity in the tribal estate to cash, while those Indians who wished to remain in the rural areas to make their living as stockmen or farmers could continue to do so.

Varied Educational Program Important

A great majority of present-day Indians are rural minded, but a substantial number of young Indians are becoming interested in making their living in other ways. The vocational schools of the Indian Service at Chilocco and Sequoyah in Oklahoma, at Haskell in Kansas, and at Flandreau in South Dakota, for example, are offering a training to young Indians which is resulting in many finding employment in urban areas and among the non-Indian population. Many of the young people who are obtaining their vocational training in reservation high schools are seeking training which will enable them to exploit successfully the resources of the reservation areas and remain rural residents. Both attitudes are important, both should be continued and both will produce desirable results.

Your understanding of these many problems, and your support of those who seek their intelligent solution are a continuing necessity. Start-and-stop policies will never take us to our goals. Only with long and patient work will we reach them. That is why your help today, next year, and in the more distant future, means so very much to the Indians.

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