

May 5

Rambbling ideas for a study of a tribe, the Yakimas, Suha tin linguistic stock.

Background: In fact sheet sent and in booklet, 1955-1965-the Yakimas.

Combine "ingredients" of Panapum material.

Expand: By realization that this is an organized tribe, fractured by dissension, with those of "part" Yakim stock blood wishing to sell off the reservation so they can profit as the Klamaths did, individually. Many of these people do not even live on the Reservation, nor have ever been on it. They qualified as members only by reason of one-fourth degree blood. Many are blue eyed, red-haired. Many would never acknowledge they possessed any degree of Indian blood until development of the Yakima Reservation's resources began, until it became evident that their individual share in the revenue, when it came time for "termination" (that's a bad word as far as the government is concerned), would amount to whatever the assessed valuation of the reservation came to, split among the 5,000 plus members. Most of these people of course are not enfranchised, not being regarded as Indians during the period of dividing the reservation, 20 acres per Indian. (Here, prima facie evidence of discrimination over half a century ago. Why were not the Indians entitled to 160 acres of land, each under the Homestead Act, passed 100 years ago?)

Anyway, when all were allotted, there remained over 500,000 acres of reservation. Material on hand in files, blithely and cry about "opening up this land to settlers," time after time. Yakimas successfully resisted.

Then came a time when by marriages with other Indians, Mexicans, etc., blood lines were thinned. Families came into existence with children of only part blood of any of the 14 original tribes or bands of the Yakima Indian Nation. The General Council (a meeting of the entire tribe) met and passed an Enrollment act, setting the minimum degree of Yakima blood at one-fourth. Everyone was happy for a time. Now, blood lines further fractionated. To off-reservation people raise her-

cry that their children, only one eighth, or 1 16th or less cannot be enrolled. This was never material made until money became evident; per capita payments, a possible eventual splitting up of the reservation; the compensation for loss of Celilo Falls fishery; other compensations now being determined which will run to \$10 million or more.

Throwing open the enrollment rolls to all of small degree would increase the tribe's membership to anywhere from 15,000 to 20,000. Hence, the question, "what is an Indian." The government has never determined that. Raises question: Was reservation created for Indians or non-Indians? Raises question of "treaty" rights. And it should be remembered that the Treaty with the Yakimas (there were three ways to create reservations) was approved by the Senate and proclaimed by the President and thus became, as attorneys say, a "Supreme Law" of the land. In a way, the Yakimas are a sovereign power. Hence, many matters now coming up for State legislation will undoubtedly be carried up to the United States Supreme Court. Even though Treaties are binding, perhaps pressure groups will win out.

In this instance, your library reader's index should provide you with a very interesting and well done series on the Indians, Iroquois I believe, and their treaty rights at Niagara and the Inland Waterways, completely overrun and ignored and sidestepped by high courts. Somewhere in my basement I might have this series which appeared in The New Yorker. I might have loaned it out to one of the Indians and perhaps it hasn't been returned. But it's very enlightening as to "ignoring the inherent rights of the original occupants."

Clip ins I have been sending you are the result of pressure groups on the Yakima Reservation, wishing the land opened for sale.

Remember, the Warm Springs Reservation permitted no non-Indians to settle thereon, and they are prospering and have built up their per capita payments to \$300 a year.

But in the case of the Yakima Reservation, "half-breeds" or Indians who obtained patents & fee and were entitled to sell their land, sold and the cities of Toppenish and Wapato came into being. Then the Wapato Irrigation project was developed and Indians "surrendered" 60 acres of their land in return for water rights for irrigation. This was when the government broke its treaty with the Indians. For a period patent fees were granted and land was sold off by Indians to non-Indians, resulting in a checker-board effect of land ownership.

This then leads into your study:

At the Indian Agency, remembering the government is still the guardian with guardianship responsibilities, services.

Services provided by the government. The superintendent represents both Indians and non-Indians or in effect the people, who are the government.

In 1946 the General Council or tribe as a whole elected a Tribal Council, a 14 member body (14 representing the original 14 tribes and bands). This is the business body. It is headed by a general chairman, vice chairman, secretary. Tribal councilmen, seven, are elected every year at a General Council meeting. General Councils are called once a year, in November, unless a special one is called. They operate with a specific agenda, matters for the entire tribe to vote on. Have numerous notes to show arguments etc. and activity of small group of dissenters, the half breeds, and ones attempting to break up the reservation before "termination" so their children, grandchildren, of very small degree of Indian blood (Yakima) can qualify for a share of the tribal timber holdings and other tribal land.

The Tribal Council organizes its committees, those cover law and order, fish and wildlife, land, scholarships, legislative, credit, timber etc. have complete listing of them in files. Tribal Council selects delegates to go to Washington to seek beneficial

legislation, and to oppose detrimental legislation. Members are paid per diem.

Matters approved by Tribal Council must clear superintendent, then to area office at Portland, then to Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington in vital instances, and as necessary, to Secretary of Interior himself under which Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian Commissioner operates.

(I have extensive notes on Kennedy's task force, sent out a year ago for various stops throughout the country to determine Indian thinking, desires. Have record of Kennedy's platform pledge regarding Indians and their affairs. Attended this three-day task force meeting at Spokane where Indians, all Washington tribes, those from Montana, Ore. and Wyoming presented their desires. Task force included man who has become Commissioner of Indian Affairs, some retired federal judges, two former commissioners, and was headed by handsome non-Indian looking Koller, head of the Cherokee Nation, vice president of Phillips or whatever big gasoline company originates there, "real top-level people. Haven't typed out all the notes yet but I have notebooks full of them, revealing Indian thinking and desired goals)

Tribal Council meets usually on a Tuesday, although sometimes two-and three-days straight. This, in effect, like the board of directors of a big company or corporation. Would gain you admittance to it. I'm always welcomed there. (Paper sent down reporters who have been working up stories for the pressure groups and while the council could have denied them admittance, they didn't. They tell me they just started talking & didn't reporter sat around an hour or so and left).

Tribal council maintains own office in agency, pays rent to the government for the office. It was their officials, while in Washington wrote me at the hospital and I wrote to you about.

One of the committees is the enrollment committee, forgot to mention that. New babies are enrolled after degree of blood papers are examined; applications for other enrollments are considered, approved or rejected and list is sent thru channels up to Secretary of Interior.

One department at agency handles leasing of land. This sore spot. Land been going "dirt cheap", Indians raised price comparable to other land and lessors have been one of strongest pressure groups. Instances of Indian families leasing land for years, remaining poor, those who leased lands became well to do, retired, moved into town and built nice homes.

Indians are not naturally farmers. They are farm workers. Importation of Mexican migrants, cheap labor by farmers have cut down earning income.

Amount of money disbursed through leasing runs into millions.

Debtly and lands division at office (agency) handles leasing, land sales when fee patents are obtained. Could place you in touch with head of this department who could summarize his activities, magnitude of work, complexity of fractionated heirships, small tracts of land sometimes owned by as many as 64 persons.

Another "serv co" is forestry, smart man runs this, puts up timber tracts for bidding, big lumber companies bid. Timbering has been developed to about a million a year on a sustained yield basis. Individual owned timber tracts, allotments, also included. As worked out, by time forest is cut over, new growth will be ready for cutting, years from now, hence "sustained yield." This provides largest share of tribal income, tribal finances, bit split over 5,000 ways, per capita usually runs around \$100 or \$125 a year, each man, woman and child, which isn't much.

Law and order committee works with police force. Indians have highly developed force, better jail than Tompkins. Over a year ago a State Supreme Court Decision held that city police in Topeka etc.

and city courts in Top ools, Papato and small town of Tur-ah had no jurisdiction over Indians. Hence these towns lost rich revenue and became pressure groups for state jurisdiction. Indians built own jail, have own tribal court. Now the tribe gets the revenue. Doesn't mean Indians can run wild. City police, patrol etc. can pick them up, hold them for Indian police. But the revenue is the sore issue. State welfare etc. tried to intimidate Indians, found they couldn't since Indians paid tax on everything but land. Land is still held in trusteeship by the government and "untaxable." Could be rich revenue for county etc., hence county also pressure group for State Jurisdiction. But, could Indians retain land, or would they lose it through tax sales, (remembering, they were promised a reservation, land, homes).

Administration another service, this the superintendent and assistant. They would be willing to talk to you to answer specific questions.

Health and "elfaro, maintains office, they also available.

Newly added service, "education," head of this dept. would be willing to talk to you. His purpose to inaugurate education for Indians adults, teach Indians to speak; shows movies etc. By now he should have good evaluation, been on job about six months.

Erval Olney, retired Marine Corps captain, chief tribal judge. He would be available to discuss juvenile and delinquency problems; tribal court operations. (I was at enrollment committee meeting few months ago when he presented some of his children for enrollment, had to be turned down because they lacked necessary one-fourth blood degree. Undoubtedly now, while brilliant man, good chief of tribal court, he will "join forces" with those seeking to reopen the enrollment

There would be no difficulty with contact with any of the "service" departments mentioned, and others like roads, or I could expand on them. This background, with fact sheet and ideas from "nada um" list should expand your study or give you ideas for necessary approach.

Throughout the Reservation are various long house or community groups, each with their own head and committee. One is at Satus, another at White Swan, there will be two others to replace old and fallen-down long houses or burned ones. These will be at Ponish and Napato.

Long Houses serve as "community meeting places," religious service places, where they hold feasts, Christmas observances, George Washington birthday celebration (which I am sure is hangover from 50 years ago, Indian Emancipation Day).

Study of long house operations, committee functions etc. would be a part of evaluation.

Religion: There is the old Indian religion, the "Washat" as developed by Snowhala of Priest Rapids who expanded an older Indian religion; the Shakers, Catholics, Methodists and those of other faiths. The Disciples of Christ (First Christian Church) have operated an Indian mission for half a century; have church now, closing down boarding school, opening new church in Napato. Concentrating on Kindergarten, preschool and youth fellowships and family activities.

Four-H clubs and Extension service operating on Reservation; Boy Scout movement under way there. Indians have built own mountain summer camp, boys mostly now, (girls and boys didn't mix too well). Youth activities and parents club stimulates baseball, basketball.

Study or approach to it would include attitude and results of drinking; attitude toward old culture, preservation of old culture; individual contacts with schools, what school administrators think of Indian students, reasons for drop-out, goals, aims etc. of students (you've done something on that already.) But mainly when you get the individual young person of high school or college age cornered you'll find that reason is usually "he doesn't see a future."

Look around to Ponish and Napato could show non-employment of Indians,

no job opportunities for them. Few go on to college, one works for Department of Public Assistance, would have views on continued education. One works as deputy sheriff "matron" in county sheriff's office, would have views, but she had an unsatisfactory marriage.

Credit: Merchants "over sold" Indians on basis of Celilo payoff, belief of more than normal income, led to unsavory credit dealings with natural percentage of "deadbeats". Automobile dealers had field day, then joined pressure groups. This over selling has happened in past, happened on Klamath Reservation.

Study of fishing rights important, many lost livelihood, fishing, when the Dalles Dam flooded out Celilo Falls.

Gambling: Indians have stick and bone games, other games, black jack etc. Certain ones are gamblers, others are not. These are functions of the social gatherings like the Fourth of July gathering at White Swan; and during fishing season at Parker and Pony Side Dam. These too the drinking element. Of course, state jurisdiction would "outlaw" gambling.

Study of liquor laws would show Yakimas never exercised local option when sale of liquor to Indians became legal few years ago by Congress' local action.

Home slumming (with escort) in taverns at Coosaw, Wapato and especially Maryhill could be revealing. Many Indians live strictly tolerant lives, others have become wastrels.

On hand: program, Yakima Reservation Washington, 1946-1955, 43 pages covers basic data, population and trend, elevation and climate, topography, geology and soils, agronomy, range lands, timber, oil, gas and minerals, wild life and other resources.

Section 2-Present development and use: Dry farm lands, irrigation, range lands, timber, arts and crafts, wild life.

Section 3-Cultural and economic conditions and standard of living (discussion)

Section 4-Services provided by the government: social services, education, health, law and order, extension and credit, land administration, irrigation, soil and moisture conservation, forestry and grazing, road construction .

Part II-Overall plan, general statement, culture, economic and social conditions, estimated costs.

Section 2, development by features: Irrigation, dry farming, range lands, forestry development or improvement, administration facilities forestry and grazing; wild life, soil and moisture conservation, oil, gas or mineral development, land acquisition, arts and crafts, health facilities, road construction, law and order, administration facilities general administrative headquarters, agency warehouse, quarters for personal.

Section 3-Services to be furnished

Social service, education, health, law and order, extension and credit, land administration, forestry and grazing, soil and moisture conservation, road maintenance, administrative facilities.

Section 4: Estimated costs by years and features

Estimated total cost, Yakima development program; estimated total cost, operation costs.

Now this , compared with what has happened would be a part of the study, perhaps.

And on hand, a rare copy, Revised revisional draft, Over-all Economic Development Program, Yakima Indian Reservation Development area, Wash. Feb. 20, 1962. This, 60 or 80 pages, mimeographed, submitted submitted under the government's Area Development Program, now being implemented. Sets up goals, resources developments etc. running into the millions.

This would show present goals, attempts to retain tribal unity; to prepare for "termination", etc.

There would be no difficulty in gaining access to some homes, to see how the Indians live, and specific examples of individual attitudes, on drinking, religion, birthdays, Christmas etc. These would be friends of mine, who would permit you to stay a day or so with them if necessary.

Individual approaches and continuing studies could be set up through patterns of such studies, John Ewers' The Story of the Blackfeet; Vern Ray's The Tanpoil on Nespelem, Salishan peoples of Northeastern Washington.

A study would include present knowledge of ethnic stories, (Folklore) contrasted to existing or known stories of these people; surveys of some of the Indian Notes and Monographs, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge and published by the Heye Foundation, New York, Museum of the American Indian. I have some, such as String "ecards of the Northwest; Indian Houses of Puget Sound on list of publications of the Museum of the American Indian, a bibliography.

A pattern on ethnobotany would be James Teit's The Ethnobotany of the Thompson Indians of British Columbia. Linguistics, except general references, I think you can forget. This is a complex study in itself.

A study of tribe can be found in Anthropological "ecards 14:1, the Quileute of La Push, 1775-1945, by George A. Pettitt, University of California Press, 1950. (This for pattern)

I've an extra copy of The Ethnobotany of the Thompson Indians of British Columbia, I'll send. And I've paper-back of Ruth Benedict's Patterns of Culture, an analysis of our social structure as related to primitive civilisations. I'll send that to you, just because you are YOU.

And I've got lots of other things like Julian H. Steward's "Two Paiute Autobiographies; Barnett's Culture Element Distributions : VII Oregon Coast, A three logical records," Vol 1, No. 3, pp 155-274, 2 figures in text, 1 map, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1937; Leslie Spier's Tribal Distribution in Washington, General Series in Anthropology; the Department of Interior's Report of Commissioner on "The Problem of Indian Administration," January 10, 1929; Julian Steward's Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political groups, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120; Anthropological Papers, Numbers 19-26, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 133; and Bernard Bloch and George J. Brager, Outline of Linguistic Analysis, plus dozens of others. Most of them, if not all, are out of printnow, and I wouldn't want to "lose" any of them.

But Teit's Ethnobotany and Ruth Benedict's Patterns of Culture are yours.

This has been pretty rambling, but it should, with a smart little gal like you, enable you to throw something together that shows years of research. And with the questions you have, which I may or may not be able to answer, should provide you with plenty to work on.

Sorry it's "disjointed and disconnected" but most of it is "of the cuff."

Lesson No. VI...

May 4, 1962

Rambling ideas on th study of a people:

Specifically, a single group. In this instance the Wanapum Band (not tribe) of Priest Rapids, Sahaptin linguistic stock.

This would be a study of the adaptation of a displaced Indian group to modern day life.

In this instance the documentation, would in effect, be an example of how one group of Indians, overcome by a new civilization, have adapted themselves to cope with the new century of living. In other words this would illustrate what Indians can do, when displaced from their customary way of life.

However, in the instance of this group, they were fortunate in being befriended and being given jobs, housing etc. by the Grant County Public Utility District, constructors of the Priest Rapids Project , a-Priest Rapids Dam, b, Wanapum Dam. Not all displaced Indians can expect to be so fortunate when the government's so-called "termination" of guardianship of Indians takes place as is now being carried out by Joint Senate and House (concurrent resolution) "tht the government 's going out of the Indian business."

"his "resolution is a natural happening and is being carried out under advice of the Solicitor General's Office. Rememberin: That as long as the government maintains guardianship of Indians, the government, as a trusteeship of a bank, is held responsible for the assets of the people. Illustration: With some 800 claims against the government for failure of proper guardianship now being processed, by Congressional consent, what would keep Indians "yet unborn" when they reach maturity, to band as tribes andthrough attorneys becoming expert in Indian legislation (there are over 4,000 laws relating thereto) from suing the government again for not protecting their inherent treaty rights? This could go on and on for generations. Adjicitation of

claims now in process, will mean congress will be called upon to appropriate from \$ to 18 billion dollars.

"Termination" of the Klamath tribe in Oregon is a bellwether. This has now been carried out and other tribes are in the process of slow termination. The government has learned to slow down, but pressure throughout the United States is building up, because of developed resources of reservations, timber land, mineral rights, irrigable land. (I have clippings on file pertaining to the Klamath Termination.) That was once the Klamath Forest has become government owned and U.S. Forest land.

Process of termination can be explained. For instance, one group of Klamaths voted not to "terminate." Their share of the reservation is operated by employed experts, and a Portland Banking firm handles this deal. In other words, they incorporated, just like an agricultural or forest farm. Earnings from their property and investments are paid out as per capitias, or just as the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co. would pay dividends. An members, could, as stockholders in the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co., meet and dissolve the corporation, by selling it.

These remarks are removed from the special case of the Wanapums, but relate generally to Indian background, the Yakimas for instances

Back to the Wanapums: First you could give some historic background, as available in Drummers and Dreamers.

Then you would reduce the survivors to a certain number, four families. a-Where do these families live? b-How many children, their ages and public school opportunities. c-The heads of the families and their salary scale, the kind of work they do, and job classification. (This would be obtainable from the PUD)

Then there would be a comparison of this wage scale with the prevailing wage scale in the region; a comparison of this compared with the former living standard.

You would list the kinds or years of cars the families have;

You would cite what cultures of their race they retain or attempt to retain, which would include , fundamentally, the background of any culture , its religion. For without a religion or culture, a race would perish.

Standings of the children in their class work, compared with non-Indian children would be made. You would attempt to determine the goals of the children; the goals of their parents,or what goals the parents set for their children.

Are they accepted in the community as citizens. Do they exercise citizens' rights of voting? What is their attitude toward drinking? Do they read books, listen to the radio, read newspapers, watch TV?

What is their attitude toward continued education? Military service? What are their health conditions, sanitation habits? If there are marriages upcoming, are they limited by staying within a certain social group. Are their social activities restricted to Indian social groups?

What deaths have there been in the families within the past five years? Where were the burials and in what custom? What birth increase has there been within the past five years?

The approximate grade-level of the parents (how far did they get in school, and why did they drop out)?

How versed are the young people on old customs and traditions? What interest do they have in them? Do they perpetuate the "arts and crafts" of their ancestors? What is their preference in entertainment.? Recreation?

Do they feel they are being sidestepped or shunned by non-Indians? Do they believe in "modern" medicine or medicine men? What is their attitude toward Fourth of July, Sunday, New Year's Eve, Christmas, Thanksgiving?

Do they feel "discriminated" against if they go to non-Indian functions; restaurants, etc.

Do they believe in insurance? What thrift habits of saving have they or is it possible for them to save anything.

What is the thing they most desire: a-a better home; b-a better car? jobsecurity?

Would they be willing to move to another area if a job opportunity was afforded? What is their attitude about job opportunities?

Do they consider themselves better off than five years ago? and why?

Do they speak English or Indian at home? Can the young people speak Indian? At what age do the little boys and girls learn Indian?

These questions pertain not only to the Wanapums, but also to the Yakimas, which in the latter case, would be expanded as I will attempt to do and explain.

Actual contact with these people, going into their homes, as could be arranged, seeing how they live etc. could be arranged.

The cultural background could be obtained from Drummers and Dreamers.

I could make contact with the proper PUD people who could provide some information.

Contact could be made with the proper PUD people to determine "What kind of an employee if this man, compared to non-Indian employees; their advancement and progress in skill.

At first glance, this might appear a more interesting study than the more complex Yakima situation.

One interest point, however, would be paramount. These few people represent, in a way, the Indian of the future, when thrown onto his own with this one exception, the benefactor PUD.

I have documents and copies of agreements, whereby the PUD, because of moral obligation alone, befriended this group. I do not believe all Indians will be so fortunate. But this is evident: If provided

5 opportunities, could not most other Indians "aculturate" themselves?

This leads to the interesting speculation? What is the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in "rehabilitating tribes under government guardianship (which the Wanapums are not, outwardly. What programs has the Bureau of Indian Affairs introduced to prepare the Indian for his new way of life? Or, is the Bureau of Indian Affairs a gigantic agency, employing people in office, in line with the government's trend of increasing governmental employes, determined to "keep itself" in office, after years of undeniable mismanagement of Indian Affairs.

Enuff for this lesson. It's 11:30 now and time for bed. I'll cover the Yakima field and "individual studies" in subsequent "Lessons." (And in between will be other "lessons.")