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GOVERNMENT PUBLICATION

THE MILWAUKEE INDIAN

A cooperative study by
the Governor's Commission on Human Rights
and
the School of Social Work, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

By John P. McGinty

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PREFACE

This study of one hundred Indian families living in the largest urban area of Wisconsin is in keeping with the long time policy of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights to initiate and encourage research relating to minority group problems. Since 1949 the Director of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, Mrs. Rebecca Barton, has "aided and abetted" dozens of graduate students with their independent papers on aspects of human rights and has also employed and supervised on her staff a score of research people to work directly on special projects for the Commission, covering various problems faced by Indians, migrants, and nonwhites in the state, whether in public accommodations, education, housing or general welfare. The Governor's Commission on Human Rights has sponsored and published many of these studies as a public service and as an educational tool for the citizens of this state whose obligation it is to seek solutions.

In 1952 the Governor's Commission on Human Rights published its pioneering handbook on Wisconsin Indians, followed by more detailed studies of special tribal situations. As time passed it became evident that much was known about the reservation and rural Indian life but little was known about the Indian transplanted to urban life. The current study presented here is a step toward more knowledge of these facts.

With the help of the School of Social Work, the graduate student, John P. McGinty of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, carried out the assignment and plan of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights while serving on the Director's staff, and subsequently became so interested in the project that he also developed it as his thesis requirement for his master of science degree in social work. The University of Wisconsin accepted it in June, 1962.

The pages presented here give the essence of these findings gathered for the Governor's Commission on Human Rights and, later, for the University of Wisconsin. By making this modest product of a modest budget available to concerned citizens the Governor's Commission on Human Rights hopes to encourage more research, more understanding and more equal opportunity for all Wisconsin Indians.

WISCONSIN GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the cooperation of the Indian families living in Greater Milwaukee. It is to them that we are truly indebted. We would like personally to extend our appreciation to Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Baird, who have recently moved to California; to Mrs. Rebecca Barton, Director of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights and to Dr. John Teter (Graduate School of Social Work) of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, who acted as research consultants; to Dr. Sol Tax, Chairman of the Anthropology Department of Chicago University; to the principal and teachers of McKinley Elementary School; to the police officers of Milwaukee; to Dr. Robert Ritzenthaler of the Milwaukee Museum; and to other civic officials who gave their time and advice.

John P. McGinty

INTRODUCTION

This study was initiated by and conducted under the auspices of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights through an agreement with the Graduate School of Social Work of the University of Wisconsin. The Director of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights employed and advised the graduate student who was retained to collect various data on American Indians living in Milwaukee.

The report was written during the 1961 "recession" and to some extent reflects the depressed economic conditions prevailing. It is based on the information obtained by observing and interviewing a sample of Indians in Milwaukee -- More than one hundred and forty individual Indians, representing one hundred families.

In the early part of February of 1961, an administrative meeting was held at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee at which time it was decided that the final report should be submitted by the student in the latter part of the following summer. No formal designs were given. The study was considered to be a pilot project upon which a larger study could be based. The student was directed that the study should be considered a fact-finding survey of Indians in an urbanized area, intended to neither prove nor disprove any preconceived assumptions. The focal point should be an answer to the question: How is the Indian faring in Milwaukee? The answer would be derived from statements made by the Indian people themselves.

Shortly after this meeting, the student drew up a schedule interview which was later abbreviated at the request of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights to provide more time for informal conversation. (See Appendix)

A partial list of Indian families in Milwaukee was secured from a prominent Indian leader, and these were contacted for interviews. The Governor's Commission on Human Rights provided a letter for identification, but in only one case did an Indian informant ask to see it. In only three contacts was information refused. As interviews were held, those interviewed suggested the names of others who might be contacted. Names were also secured from other sources, such as: landlords, local merchants and businessmen, clergymen, educators and civic officials. Thus a substantial number of contacts was made. Had membership lists of organizations been available, or ideally, a total list of Indians in Milwaukee, the sampling process could have been different. As it was, however, names were secured through many sources of different kinds. This provided protection against too serious bias and appears to have resulted in a reasonably representative sample.

The Indian was asked to give information about his education, tribe, service in the Armed Forces, church membership, the number of children and grandchildren, about employment, personal and real property.* In addition, he was asked such subjective questions as, how he felt about living in Milwaukee, how he was getting along, where would he like to live? Many families were willing, even eager, to volunteer information about the "Indian Problem." Besides individual interviews in Milwaukee, two field trips were made to Chicago. During the first trip, the student visited the Chicago Relocation Office, where he met the officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The second trip included a visit to the American Indian Center, a club similar to the Consolidated Tribes; the remaining time was spent at the American Indian Chicago Conference.

* See Appendix

Findings indicated that, in coming to the city, the Indian goes from the familiar to the unfamiliar. On the reservation, the Indian had a certain amount of security; in the city, he may become a maladjusted outsider. While some Indians have made successful adjustments and have become fully assimilated, many Indians tolerate city life and accommodate themselves to it, hoping for the day when they may return "home" or move to a smaller town or to a rural area. In the city, as well as on the reservation, there are serious problems of retardation. The Indian is not an active participant in community organizations. While the Milwaukee Indian gets along with his neighbor, several discriminatory acts have been directed toward individual Indian families.

I

WHO IS HE?

Introduction

The Indian, living in Milwaukee, is one of some 2,000 who have come to the city to improve the economic situation of himself and his family. Some do come for other reasons, such as, to live with a relative. By and large, however, the strongest pulling force is economic necessity. "There was no work on the reservation," is the most familiar response to the question - Why did you decide to move to the city?

Portrait of an Indian

The "average" Milwaukee Indian is a 40-year-old Oneida, though he may be Stockbridge, Chippewa, Menominee, Sioux, Potawatomi, or Cherokee. He may have come to Milwaukee only a few months ago or he may have lived here as long as 53 years. The average (mean) length of residency is 16.2 years per the 142 individuals who made up our sample. It is most probable that he migrated from northern Wisconsin. Some individuals and families have come from neighboring states. A small portion have traveled to Milwaukee from the Western states¹. With the exception of a few cases, it is more than likely that he completed eight years of elementary education. He probably attempted to complete high school, but withdrew before graduation to get a job or to join the armed services. He is more often than not a veteran, having served in the army as an enlisted man.

¹ The place of origin of an individual or family was not an area of major concern because other studies have indicated that there is little relationship between place of origin and successful relocation. Cf. Maureen Sinnott, Problems Encountered by Relocation Indians Served by Milwaukee Traveler's Aid Society, unpublished thesis (University of Wisconsin - 1957) p. 39

Our "average" Indian is married. His wife may be of Indian descent but, as often as not, she may be non-Indian -- German, Irish, Polish, Mexican, in a few cases Dutch, Serbian, Norwegian, English, Mestizo, French, or Italian. The family may include two children or as many as seven. On a per family basis, i.e., per 100 families, there are 2.38 minor children living in the home. He may have an elderly mother or father living with him.

Occupationally, he is either a laborer (construction, dockworker or iron worker) or a craftsman (welder, steamfitter, carpenter, etc.). Being in the managerial or professional field is rare. Very likely he may be unemployed. If he is unemployed, it is due more to his lack of vocational training than the recession per se. The working wife is the exception rather than the rule. If she is employed, it is probably in the clerical category, if she is white, or servant category, if she is non-white.

His possessions do not include a home, for the "average Indian" rents. His home is located in one of the core areas, the Near-North Side or the Near-South Side, both of which are less desirable, sub-standard housing areas. His possessions probably include a late model car, a television set, a gas range, a gas refrigerator, a wringer-type, electric washer. He probably subscribes to the Journal on a daily basis. On Sunday, he receives both papers. He probably subscribes to an outdoor-magazine; his wife, to a home-type magazine.

The "average" Indian has been observed at the "Indian" taverns in Milwaukee. Tavern-going and the television seem to be the center of his recreational activities. If his wife is Indian, he probably belongs to the Consolidated Tribes of American Indians or to the newly-formed Chippewa Club. Whether his wife is Indian or non-Indian, he is not a joiner.

His reluctance to join is reflected in the dominant, selecting type Indian who has sifted out elements and values of both the general cultural configuration

and those of his own culture, the latter slowly reasserting the longer he lives in a non-Indian, urban community. The "average" Indian is shy and withdrawing, who even among his own people is described as one "who would rather walk to the opposite side of the street than face a strange Indian." As to liking life in the city, he replies that he does like to live in Milwaukee but this is based more upon economic factors than anything else. One senses a certain dissatisfaction reflected in the way this average Indian speaks about the city. He seems to convey a tolerance rather than a real liking for life in the city. Be he Roman Catholic or Episcopal - the two most common religions among Milwaukee Indians - he does not seem very hopeful. More than anything, uncertainty pervades his life. He seems to feel that his destiny will be shaped less by his own doing than by external forces - mainly from a fluctuating, paternalistic government policy.

II

ANALYSIS

Introduction

To draw a composite of an urban Indian is a difficult thing to do because of the intrinsic narrowing of the subject. There are definitely examples among our sample who have done much better than the "average" Indian to better his own lot. Hence, we shall analyze our sample demonstrating that there is a range. But we must preface this chapter by reminding the reader that, in collecting the data, the writer observed a frightening similarity among the families in terms of housing, occupation, recreation, education, and so forth.

Family Characteristics

The Accepting Type: Families in this category are those who prefer the White culture to that of the Indian. They are highly critical of the Indian and are ashamed of Indian behavior. They advocate the abolition of the reservations because they believe that the reservation system is a barrier to progress. There are many mixed marriages contained in this group of ten families. In these families, the wife seems to be the most influential factor in the "deculturation" of the Indian element. The values of the families are middle class - self-sustainment, advancement through education, wealth, education for children. Genuine efforts are made to attain these goals. As a rule, the families do not live in or near one of the core areas. Their housing tends to be better than average as do their income and education. Unless for business reasons, relationships with other Indians in the city are kept to a minimum, although they are ready and willing to help if the occasion arises. Indians in lower socio-economic levels hold these families in high esteem. ✓

Only one of these families has ever needed help of any kind which was caused by a disability. One parent may be familiar with the Indian dialect but no attempt is made to teach the children. Some of the families do not go to church; others belong to the regular Christian sects, attending the church in their locale. Again, only 10 per cent of the families fall into this class.

The Selecting Type: The basic characteristic found in this group is that they prefer certain aspects of the Indian and the non-Indian culture. While they do not wish to return to the reservation, many would rather live in a rural town, another but smaller city, or on a farm. When they speak of the city, they almost always relate it to economic factors. Apart from an automobile and a television set, there is no conspicuous consumption. Unlike the accepting type, these families do not act in accord with the middle class values they profess.

They usually live in one of the concentrated areas. If they live outside these areas, it is usually near another Indian family. Like their parents, the children do not finish high school. The families may try to preserve some of the Indian tradition by teaching the various Indian crafts to their children. Their social activities are usually divided between Indian and non-Indian activities. They will usually attend church services where other Indian families attend.

The Rejecting Type: This type of family would return to the reservation immediately if employment were available. These families have lived in Milwaukee either a short while or a very long time. The latter may be free from the responsibility of child-rearing and are ready to return. They have longed for life on the reservation while tolerating and following, on the whole, the ways of the white man. Highly represented in this class are the unemployed and the unskilled. Many families have applied for or are currently receiving public assistance.

The social life of the families in this category is usually limited to interaction with other Indian families or to strictly Indian activities. Most families speak the Indian language and make some attempts to teach it to the children. More members of this category belong to one or the other of the two Indian clubs in Milwaukee than the families of the accepting or the selecting type. Thirty-two families are represented in the rejecting category.

Tribal Representation

The Oneida is the most numerous in Milwaukee. In our sample, 81 were Oneidas, out of a possible 142. The Oneida is by far the most educated, the most cultured, and the most actively interested in improving the Indian's position. The Chippewas were the next largest in our sample, numbering 23. This tribe demonstrated the most overt opposition to this study by either refusing to spell out answers to our questions or refusing entirely to cooperate. Because the families were not informed of our coming in advance any attempts at indirect aggression, that is, pretending not to be at home or not answering the door, were thwarted. The second, most acculturated tribe is the Stockbridge, from which ten members are represented in our sample. While there were no doctors or lawyers represented in the sample, one full-blooded Stockbridge Indian, who is married to a registered nurse of German descent, is in the School of Medicine at Marquette University. Other tribes represented were Potawatomi, Sioux, Menominee, and Cherokee. While no figures are available for the actual tribal representation in Milwaukee, the U.S. Department of the Census reports that there are 996 male Indians and 1,988 female Indians residing in metropolitan Milwaukee². In 1953, the

² Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Census of Population, 1960, Final Report PC(1), 39B.

Milwaukee Museum reported that there were 1,000 Indians residing here³. This represents an increase of almost 1,000 in less than ten years. These Indians are coming to Milwaukee without benefit of government assistance - the Milwaukee Resettlement under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was discontinued in 1955.

Education

An intellectual atmosphere does not permeate the homes of the Milwaukee Indians. The need for high education is not imparted to the children because we find many children following in the footsteps of their parents who withdrew from school before completing high school. On a per family basis we found .03 children in college, .23 were in high school, and 1.25 were in grade school.

When an individual Indian is unemployed because of lack of formal education or vocational education - the median education for Milwaukee Indians is 8.6 - he will verbalize about the need of more training. Actually, this appears to be only lip service when we discover that only 5% of the Milwaukee Indians took advantage of the vocational opportunities afforded them at Milwaukee Vocational School.

Educators in Milwaukee reported that the achievement of Indian children is about "average". The Indian child is not a truant or delinquent problem. He is reported to get along with other children much better than children of other minority groups. The problem seems to rest more with the parents than with the children. Although the parents observe, protect, and encourage the child, they do not play an active part in the educational process. They refuse to come to the school when called. They rarely participate in P.T.A. groups. In mixed marriages, the parents are much more actively involved.

³ Ritzenthaler, Robert and Sellers, Mary, "Indians in an Urban Society," The Wisconsin Archeologist, Vol. 30, No. 4, December, 1955, p. 4.

Housing

While there is some dispersion throughout the city, there are two major Indian communities or "islands" in Milwaukee. One is located on the Near North Side; the other is on the Near South Side. A smaller concentration is located on the Lower East Side. All of these are the older and more run-down areas of the city. The Near North Side community is predominantly Negro. The Near South Side is a melting-pot for Indian, Puerto Rican and Mexican elements. These two major areas are known for their Indian inhabitants, that is, people living in the same vicinity can point to the area wherein Indian families dwell. Because of the unobtrusiveness of the Indian people, these areas do not appear influenced by the Indian inhabitants. However, there is in each of these communities a tavern or hang-out which is predominantly Indian but which is frequented by non-Indians. While the majority of the Indians live within the core of these areas, the majority of the mixed marriages live on the periphery of these areas or outside the areas completely.

While some mixed marriages indicate refinement in housing and living conditions, the Indians' urban dwellings reflect reservational life. Whether a family has been in the city two or twenty years, living conditions are pretty much the same. Not that the Indians resist and oppose living standards imposed by the White Man but rather that their "Indianness" reasserts itself. Initially, a dramatic change would not be possible or expected when the Indian family relocates itself. But after a given time - seven years - we might look for gradual assimilation. While this does occur in the Indian's "public world", on his job, by force of economic necessity, the "private world" of the Indian, his home, his domain, remains essentially unchanged. The absence of rugs on the floors, barren, unpainted walls, an ascetic yet basic diet, all reflect the gradual reassertion of Indian background to which the Indian is bound.

The exterior of his home, be it a small cottage, bungalow, or rooming-house, is not kept up. Indeed, this may be, in some way, the landlord's method to control overhead but it may also be, as may the Indian's reluctance to purchase a home and take up roots permanently, evidence of his perennial uncertainty. It may also be that his living accommodations are much more livable than were those on the reservation. This seems especially reasonable when over 80% of our respondents said that they did have a good place to live.

Our sample showed that the Milwaukee Indian is less sedentary than indicated by the Milwaukee Museum Study⁴. As evidence of this, a list was supplied to us by Dr. Ritzenthaller. This list contained almost 400 families from which the sample for the earlier study was obtained. Only a handful of Indians were found living at the address indicated on the list. Our data shows that, while mean length of residency in Milwaukee was over sixteen years, the average length of residency at the present address is only six years. One Indian volunteered that even though the Indian family does not move out of the low-rent areas, there is constant traffic from core area to core area.

In some cases, even among mixed marriages, there is overcrowding but this is due usually to the number of children rather than the "man-who-came-to-dinner". There were at least a dozen cases of large families not having sufficient room. The most dramatic case was where there was a ratio of 9:3, that is, nine persons to three rooms. Many of these families have tried to relocate but were repeatedly turned down because of the number of children. In some 13 cases a grandparent or a recently discharged serviceman - usually a brother - was found living in the home. In these cases, room was available and the person was not considered a financial burden because he usually had some "invisible income"⁵.*

⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

⁵ Social Security, pension, unemployment compensation, etc.

* N.B. All Indian families said that they called a doctor when a member of the family was ailing unless the sickness was minor, like a cold.

Economics

Of 68 employed heads of households and 13 working wives, 33.5% were classified as laborers; 27% as semi-skilled workers; 22% were placed in the skilled category; 6.8% were clerical workers; 6.0% were found in the professional category; 1.5% fell into the managerial category; less than 1.0% were working in the selling field; two people were self-employed.

Also, of 100 heads of household 21% were unemployed because they were laid off or unable to find work. In the professional categories, such occupations as civil engineer and registered nurse were represented. In the skilled category were craftsmen but less glamorous ones - steamfitters, welders, painter, furnace repairman. The laborers were mainly employed as dockworkers or iron workers. Of the 13 wives who were employed, seven were working on a part-time basis. Only three wives were working to support a husband. The working wife usually comes from a mixed marriage. One found in a pure, Indian family is extremely rare.

By transferring certain figures to categories similar to our occupational ones, we find that there does appear to be little difference between the current occupational proficiency and that of the Indian workers in 1953⁶. In that year, there were 58% in the unskilled category. This study shows that 56% of our sample were unskilled. In the professional category, there was only one Indian. The others were spouses. In 1953, no professionals were found in the sample. Two Indians were self-employed in our study. None were self-employed in the earlier study. The only real difference is that more than a few had trades.

Except for the transient or migrant worker - none were found or included

⁶ Ritzenthaler, op. cit., p. 5.

as part of this study - the job mobility has remained constant, that is, steadiness of employment is quite common. In 1953, 29% worked at their job for 1 to 5 years; 49%, in 1961. The higher, current rate of job mobility was brought about by conditions prevailing in a state of economic recession. In 1953, 19% had been at the same job from 6 to 10 years; in 1961, 21%. For those who had remained in the same job for more than 11 years, there were 3% more in 1961. Four Indians had been with the same company for more than 20 years in 1953; seven demonstrated this job stability in 1961.

Workers in certain categories made known to us their hourly wage. After checking, we discovered that non-Indians in similar categories were paid the same wages. The highest and lowest hourly wage disclosed were in the laboring category (unskilled) - \$2.00 to \$4.47 per hour. The lowest stated wage was \$2.00 per hour.

Except for a small group whose socio-economic status places them in the upper middle class, the majority of the families enjoy lower class status. Some of these families are economically successful but, again, there is no evidence of conspicuous consumption. Paula Verdet wonders if this might account for the lack of understanding and friendliness between Negro and Indian.⁷ Salaries are about equal for both the Indian and the non-Indian. Why, then, is there not visible evidence of this?

Although the 1953 study demonstrated that 29% of the sample had savings accounts⁸, this is not sufficient evidence to say that the urban Indian is "thrifty" even though he may save more than the rural or reservation Indian. Indians have pointed out that they are not interested in amassing possessions

⁷ Paula Verdet, Summary of Research on Indians in St. Louis and Chicago, an unpublished study printed by the Anthropology Division, Montiel College, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 1959.

⁸ Ritzenthaller, op. cit., p. 5.

or in keeping up with the Joneses. Another factor is that the Indian family much more than the mixed marriage gets a great deal of joy out of sharing with needy Indian families. They will spend quite lavishly to celebrate the arrival of a new family.

Religion

Among our respondents, no members of the traditional religions were found. None espoused Peyotism or belonged to the Native American church, which has "the largest membership of any Indian group in the United States"⁹. A variety of Christian religions were represented in our sample. While most Indians ascribed membership to one religious sect or another, they are not active in church rituals or functions.

A "conclusion" established in an earlier study proposed that Christian Indians "tend to carry on in the faith they had followed before coming to the city"¹⁰. That same study indicated that 89% of the Oneida continued in the traditional Episcopal religion after they had been in the city. Only 37% of the Oneidas in our sample claimed to be Episcopal. Hence, they could not be used as a control group.

The Christian ethic permeates the life of the Indian as evidenced by the fact our respondents did not succumb to the everyday polite-lying which is part-and-parcel of the dominant culture.

Social Interaction

As we stated earlier, there seems to be an absence of understanding and friendliness between Negro and Indian. One Indian mother of six children wished she could move out of the dominant Negro neighborhood because she feels

⁹ Ruth Underhill, "Religion Among American Indians", Annals (May, 1957), p. 127.

¹⁰ Ritzenthaler, op. cit., p. 9.

that her children are the subject of persistent threats and name-calling perpetrated by Negro neighbors. Another Indian living in the same area felt very bitter against the Negro because the local government "has done so much for the Negro but nothing has been done for the Indian".

An Oneida woman who works part time as a maid offered what seems to be the typical feeling between Indian and Puerto Rican: "The feeling towards the Puerto Rican is quite different from the resentment shown towards the Negro. They [the Puerto Ricans] don't understand us and we don't understand them."

All of our respondents said they had some white friends. The non-Indian female spouse was quite emphatic in indicating that the family's friends consisted only of white. Only a few families stated that most of their friends were Indians. Most said that their friends were both Indians and non-Indians.

Discrimination

In Milwaukee, there are not the overt acts of discrimination such as signs prohibiting Indians from public places¹¹. Here, it is a more subtle thing. On the surface, we discovered eight separate occasions of Indians being barred from moving into a residence apparently because of their race. Two Indians were allegedly turned away from potential jobs because of their being Indian. One Indian was not permitted membership in a fraternal organization when the membership committee "uncovered" his background. While it is true that an aggregate of eleven cases of discrimination is proportionally small, the effect of even one case of discrimination is disturbingly large because of the very effective "underground" communication among the Indian group.

¹¹ An Indian from Oklahoma reported to the author that signs of this nature - No Dogs or Indians - are commonly posted before hotels, taverns, etc. This testimony was given at the American Indian Chicago Conference.

Among many Indian families, kinship ties are very important but the Milwaukee Indian group seems like "one big family" when it comes to news involving even one Indian person. There is no Indian tabloid but there is this remarkable communication system. The earlier study mentioned that Indians themselves "do not regard discrimination as a problem."¹² We do not feel that this is accurate. The Indian communication system has told individual families of the other families being turned away as prospective tenants. In other words, even one case of discrimination is a spark setting off an explosion which tells an already unprotesting, non-violent minority group to beware. Single acts of discrimination are as devastating as multiple acts because they instill fear into families who might be considering moving out of a slum area into a better area.

Unemployment and Relief

Twenty-one of 100 heads of households were laid off or unable to find work. The majority of the unemployed were unskilled. While the economic recession played an important role in the number of unemployed, the Indians themselves felt that their being out of work was due to their being untrained. They lamented the fact that they did not have the training which would place them in the running for good jobs.

For those who need assistance, the pattern seems to be to exhaust all resources - family, friends, etc. - before applying for public assistance. It can be shown that, on a proportional basis, the Indian has more aid to dependent children claimants and general assistance claimants than the white claimants but less than the Negro claimants.

¹² Ritzenthaler, op. cit., p. 8.

Mixed Marriages

Miscegenation is a common social phenomenon among our Indian population. Milwaukee seems very liberal towards mixed marriages between Indian and non-Indian, especially when a number of states still outlaw white-Indian marriages¹³. Of the 70 marriages, almost half, 33 families, consisted of mixed marriages. Mixed marriages occur between persons having a variety of ethnic backgrounds.

As long as one's sample is limited to the lower class there are no significant economic differences. Those families who had college education, whose children were in college, who lived in the better neighborhoods, who were in the higher income bracket, who advocated the abolishment of reservations, who visited the reservations only on business, who were only nominal members of Indian organizations, were mainly mixed marriages.

¹³ States banning white-Indian marriages are Arizona, Georgia, North Carolina (to third generation), Oregon (more than one-half), and South Carolina (mestizo included).

III

JOINING AND ORGANIZATIONS

Although 43 families claim membership in one organization, the organization is usually an Indian group: - the Consolidated Tribes of American Indians or the Chippewa Club. Only ten families belong to two organizations and only three families belong to three organizations. Both Indian organizations are loosely organized and advance "Indianness" and Indian purposes. Neither group could be conceived as a pressure group. Consequently, the individual Indian's effectiveness in the community is nullified.

To illustrate a point, we shall compare the structure of the Consolidated Tribes of American Indians of Greater Milwaukee and a similar organization in Chicago, the American Indian Center¹⁴.

M I L W A U K E E

C H I C A G O

CONSOLIDATED TRIBES

AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER

Membership:

Membership open to Indians, people of Indian descent, those who have intermarried, or someone who has contributed to the welfare of Indians.

Membership:

Membership open to Indians and non-Indians without qualification.

Objectives:

- 1) To preserve Indian traditions,
- 2) to promote fellowship among Indian people,
- 3) to encourage and promote the educational, vocational and social welfare of our Indian Youth.
- 4) To aid sick members,

Objectives:

- 1) To promote the affiliation of American Indians of all tribes who reside in Chicago and their non-Indian friends into an educational, civic and cultural organization to establish and operate an Indian center,
- 2) to promote fellowship among the

¹⁴ The following information is taken from the By-Laws of the respective organizations.

MILWAUKEE, cont'd.

- 5) to aid in paying funeral expenses of deceased members.

Structure:

Independent agency, financed by membership dues.

Policy-Making Group:

Board of Directors
Number: 5
Race: all Indian

Staff:

President
(part-time and unsalaried)
Vice-president
(part-time and unsalaried)
Secretary
(part-time and unsalaried)
Treasurer
(part-time and unsalaried)

Facilities:

An old brick building houses both groups. Both structures have same number of floors and about equal layout.

CHICAGO, cont'd.

- American Indian people of all tribes living in Chicago and fellowship between Indians and non-Indians living in Chicago.
3) To stimulate the natural integration of American Indians into the community life of Chicago,
4) to foster the educational and economic advancement of American Indian people.
5) To encourage artistic and avocational pursuits by American Indian people,
6) to preserve and foster American Indian arts, crafts, and cultural values.

Structure:

A member organization of the Welfare Council of Chicago and the Chicago Community Fund, and has been endorsed by the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry.

Policy-Making Group:

Board of Directors
Number: 15
Race: 12 of Indian descent
3 are non-Indian

Staff:

Nine full-time, salaried workers -
1) Executive
2) Program Director
3) Caseworker (MSW)
4) Group Worker Aide
5) Youth Group Worker
6) Administrative Aide
7) Fund-raising and Promotion Worker
8) Secretary-receptionist
9) Maintenance Man

By scanning the information pertinent to each organization, one finds a rather conservative organization on the one hand and a more down-the-middle one on the other. In other words, the Consolidated Tribes is strongly Indian in purpose and goals, whereas the Chicago Club is more an amalgamation of community ideas for the advancement of the community. It is very interesting to find the "gradual integration of American Indians into the community life of Chicago" included in the "Purposes" of the American Indian Center.

The Indians of Milwaukee have lauded the fact the Chicago Club has, as part of its staff, a professional caseworker who is Indian. Milwaukee Indians have recounted the deeds of this caseworker who has helped Indians of Milwaukee and Chicago "who have gotten in scrapes". In particular, one story was told of an Indian who had been arrested on a felony charge. He would not talk to anyone for three days. Finally, the Indian caseworker was brought before the suspect and almost immediately established communication.

While Chicago has almost five times the population of Milwaukee¹⁵, the proportional difference of Indian to non-Indian between Chicago and Milwaukee does not warrant an Indian organization including similar staff¹⁶.

¹⁵ According to the Bureau of Census, P1C (A2) -1, March 31, 1961, Chicago has 5,129,725 persons.

¹⁶ Dr. Sol Tax, Chicago Sun-Times, June 11, 1961, reports that there are 4,000 Indians in Chicago.

IV

MILWAUKEE RESETTLEMENT AND FEDERAL RELOCATION

Milwaukee Resettlement

During the years 1952 to 1955, forty-four Indian families came to Milwaukee under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Travelers Aid Society of Milwaukee served as a field relocation office¹⁷.

These families who came to Milwaukee under the Relocation Program came when the program was only in its embryonic stage. Now, the Federal Relocation Program is of vast proportion. The Chicago office, alone, is equipped to handle up to 500 individuals or families¹⁸.

Federal Relocation Program

In the fiscal year of 1952, 227 were relocated; in 1957, 1,580 were assisted through this program¹⁹. The program is designed to help Indian people and families, who are moving from the reservation to areas of broader opportunity, make the transition. The Relocation Service helps the Indian in two ways, a) subsidization, job placement, and home finding and b) vocational training.

The first service begins back on the reservation where the area relocation officer may help an interested family to learn more about life in the city by showing the parties brochures and photographs. If a family wants to go, it must wait for 90 days while undergoing tests, interviews and health

¹⁷ Sinnott, op. cit., p. 36.

¹⁸ "Pressures Pushing Indians to Chicago," Human Relations News of Chicago, (August, 1959), p. 2.

¹⁹ Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs Voluntary Relocation Services, Publ. No. 25186, p. 3.

checks. When the family arrives in the city, the head of the household is placed on a job. The Relocation Office finds housing facilities for the family. A small allowance is given for food, clothing and furnishings until the wage earner receives his first pay check. The family is covered by health insurance for one year.

One of the Relocation Office staff visits the family after 90 days; he may make another visit after six months. Communication between the Office and the relocatees is kept to a minimum after this time to promote the family's independency²⁰.

The vocational training phase of the Relocation Service helps untrained individuals acquire a skill through school. The candidate applies, is given tests, is interviewed; if selected, he is sent to a school under government subsidy²¹.

Remaining Families

In 1957, a report indicated that only seventeen of the original forty-four relocated families remained in Milwaukee²². After intensive search, only four of these seventeen were found during the time of this study. Of these four families, all live in the less desirable areas, all have low incomes and all are the rejecting type or the ones who would return to the reservation if they could find a job. Each family stated that the only help that was given was the money for transportation. One Indian man had recently been trained under the Vocational Training Program. He stated that he would "go

²⁰ Human Relation News, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

²¹ Bureau of Indian Affairs, Vocational Training Activity, Publ. No. 981 (11-5-58).

²² Sinnott, op. cit., p. 37.

back tomorrow" if he had the chance, economically speaking.

- At present, no service is extended to the Indian who comes to Milwaukee. Most Indians come on their own.

It was interesting to find out how few Indians knew of the Relocation Program at all. On the other hand, the few Indians who knew of the Program resented the assistance given to those who are subsidized.

THE INDIAN SPEAKS

City or Reservation?

If the Indian is well educated he probably has no desire to return to the reservation. In a mixed marriage, the wife stands at the end of each opposing pole: either she is strongly against Indian ways or she is strongly in favor of "Indianness". If the wife is Indian, she seems to have greater power in assimilating a husband than does a male Indian husband in assimilating his wife. It is also the woman who seems more bound to things "back home on the reservation" than is the man.

Length of time in the city in itself is not highly correlated with preference for the city, for we find just as many "oldsters" as newcomers who want to return.

One Oneida who has worked for the same company for over fifteen years and who is a respected member of the Indian community said:

For those who do not wish to come to the city,
create industry on reservation lands. For those
who do come, have a better screening process.
On my reservation, a priest or minister helped
select those who wanted to come. Some come who
do not have the strength to remain here. I have
never had it good until I came to the city; I
would never return.

On the other hand, his wife prefers the reservation. She is an officer of one of the Indian organizations. She feels that the Indians have been neglected in Milwaukee:

An Oneida woman who is proprietor of a tavern had this to say about city life:

The city has given us a chance to save enough so that we can move out into a rural town.

A non-Indian woman whose husband is an Oneida said:

We don't make an issue of race. But I think the Indians are living in the past - in the glory of the Old West.

On Social Problems

An Irish woman married to a Stockbridge Indian:

[On Education
and Child
Rearing]

Indian children are not as educated as other children. But I always tell my children they are never better but just as good. The rules in our home are more strict. They are prepared for the outside.

[On Organiza-
tions]

They [the Indians] don't realize that it [Milwaukee] is not like a small town. They can't do much on their own.

[On Progress]

They want to live like 25 or 50 years ago. Things change so rapidly, they can't live in the past. They push things back and back. If Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse saw them, these great warriors would turn over in their graves. It is harder to get them to know and to understand than any other nationality.

[On Social
Interaction]

Indians get more out of their own people. They should have an Indian caseworker here.

An Oneida husband and wife:

- [Alcoholism] The biggest problem in Milwaukee or anywhere else where Indians are is liquor.
- [Segregation] School integration has worked well in Wisconsin. The children are well satisfied.
- [Organizations] Indians don't believe in unions and communism. They will never go on strike for wages. Indians have been quite fortunate to stay away from communism.
- [On Relocation] I have always told people to have enough for three weeks when they decide to come to the city. The biggest trouble is the people coming into town without job or job prospect. They won't read the pamphlets put out by the government.
- [On Housing] Housing is the second biggest problem. They move into low rent areas, like the Sixth Ward, and won't move out.
- [On Vocational Training] Indians don't take up trades because they don't feel they can afford it. It doesn't take long to learn a trade.

A Chippewa laborer:

- [On Relocation] For some families it's hard to find jobs. They get discouraged, run out of funds, and have to go back to the reservation.

An Oneida office worker:

- [On Organizations and Drinking] We discontinued belonging to the Consolidated Tribes because we wanted to be a credit to the race. We

felt we could do more for ourselves. They drank too much at the meetings. We are not stoic; we like to have fun. But there is a limit. Their drinking may stem from a lack of acceptance.

[On Progress] My hope for the next generation is education!

An Oneida machinist:

[On Relocation] [The] government should prepare young people before they come to town so they can do occupations the community affords.

An Oneida woman who is expecting a child and in Milwaukee only a few months:

[On Recreation] Milwaukee is all right for the week-days, I guess.

An Oneida factory worker:

[On Crime] A police official told me that Milwaukee has the least trouble with Indians²³.

[On Social Interaction] The guys I work with are especially nice. I made friends very readily.

An Oneida, mother of nine, married to a Mexican:

[On Housing] Housing is better here. Houses are small up North - just one big room.

An Oneida civil engineer:

The three biggest problems are liquor, housing, and education.

²³ The author, in talking with various police officials and police patrolmen, discovered that the only real problem in the area of crime among the Indian people is one of drinking or an occasional battery or aggravated assault.

An Oneida woman, married to an Englishman:

- [On Alcohol] The majority of Indians are honest so they drink to build up prestige, courage and ego.
- [Social Interaction] The biggest problem is that they don't get along too well. They don't co-operate with one another. There is too much tribal competition.

A Chippewa mother of seven:

- [On Education and Child Rearing] Indians are afraid to talk up because they lack education. And they don't care what happens to their children's future. The children are backward on the reservation. They withdraw when they come to the city - they are shy.
- [On Alcoholism] To reduce alcoholism the Indian should integrate. The only thing that has helped reduce the problem is force.

VI

CONCLUSIONS

Although the following is subjective in style, the author has tried to sift and synthesize what he has learned and observed from the Indian population of Milwaukee.

1. In coming to the city, the Indian goes from the familiar to the unfamiliar. On the reservation the Indian had a certain amount of security; in the city he quickly becomes a maladjusted outsider.

2. While some Indians have made successful adjustments and have even become fully assimilated, most Indians tolerate city life and accommodate themselves to it, hoping for the day when they may return "home" or move to a smaller town or to a rural area.

3. In the city, as well as on the reservation, there is economic and educational stagnation.

4. The Indian is not an effective member of the community because of his status as a non-joiner.

5. While the Milwaukee Indian gets along with his neighbor, several discriminatory acts have been directed toward individual Indian families.

VII

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Adopt a uniform policy toward the Indian. Either the Indian is to be gradually and fully assimilated or the city is to be an interim place where the Indian learns and brings back his knowledge to the reservation. To hold these simultaneously violates the principle of non-contradiction. An uncertain, changing Indian policy has created an uncertain, dependent Indian.

2. An Indian caseworker who is professionally trained should be stationed at the present Milwaukee Indian facility (Consolidated Tribes of American Indians). The Indian caseworker would: a) help the Indians to help themselves by organizing themselves into a pressure group which could become an effective organ of this minority group; b) act as a vocational counselor helping the Indians to understand the value of education and to take advantage of the vocational opportunities of a large metropolitan area; c) help the Indians to rely less on the obsolete past and help them to cultivate the new.

3. An increase of 1,000 in less than a decade warrants the re-inauguration of a sub-office of the Relocation Service. Many Indians who have come here on their own have had to return because of lack of funds. The same Indian caseworker could serve as area Relocation officer. An Indian working in this capacity would unquestionably establish better rapport with Indian clients.

4. Legal action should be taken against provable discriminatory acts which are devastating to the morale of the Indian, who himself will not protest.

A P P E N D I X

(Sample Interview Guide)

BACKGROUND STUDY OF MILWAUKEE INDIAN GROUP

FAMILY BACKGROUND

FATHER - (OR MAN)

1. Name _____ Age _____
2. Years in school completed: (Circle last grade completed)
Grade school 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 High school 1 2 3 4 College 1 2 3 4
Vocational school? Yes _____ No _____ Where? _____
3. Tribe _____ Percent Indian _____
4. Member of Armed Forces? Yes _____ No _____
Branch _____ Rank _____
5. Church member? Yes _____ No _____ Name _____
6. Attend sometimes () often () regularly () none ()

MOTHER - (OR WOMAN)

1. Name _____ Age _____
2. Years in school completed:
Grade school 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 High school 1 2 3 4 College 1 2 3 4
Vocational school? Yes _____ No _____ Where _____
3. Tribe _____ Percent Indian _____
4. Church member? Yes _____ No _____ Name _____
5. Attend sometimes () often () regularly () none ()
6. Does she have a job? Yes _____ No _____ Part-time? Yes _____ No _____

CHILDREN

1. Number of children _____
2. Number of children in grade school _____
High school _____ College _____ Trade school _____
3. Number of children married _____
4. Number married to Indian _____
5. How many grandchildren _____

ECONOMIC LIFE

1. Present occupation _____
2. Skilled? Yes _____ No _____ Unskilled? Yes _____ No _____
3. How long at present job? _____
4. Where did you work before?

How long? _____

How long? _____
5. Do you own a car? Yes _____ No _____
Year and model _____
6. How financed? Savings? Yes _____ No _____
Loans from family? Yes _____ No _____
Loans from finance company? Yes _____ No _____
7. Did you have trouble in Milwaukee getting loan from finance company?
Yes _____ No _____
8. Which of the following do you have? (check)
 - () Television set
 - () Telephone
 - () Radio
 - () Refrigerator
 - () Gas or electric range
 - () Central heating
 - () Electric washer
 - () Daily newspaper _____
 - () Magazines _____

HOUSING

1. Present address _____
2. Residential () business-residential () mostly business ()
Industrial-residential ()
3. Dwelling furnished () unfurnished ()
4. Number of rooms occupied () Number of occupants ()
5. Is house owned? Yes _____ No _____ Rented? Yes _____ No _____
6. Also occupied by others? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, are they renters () relatives () friends ()

General - House is good () fair () poor () very poor ()
Furnishings are good () fair () poor () very poor ()

ADJUSTMENT

1. How long have you lived in Milwaukee? _____
2. Do you think Milwaukee is a good place to live? Yes _____ No _____
3. Have you had trouble getting a job? Yes _____ No _____
4. Have you had trouble getting a good place to live? Yes _____ No _____
5. Are most white people you meet
friendly () helpful () unfriendly ()
6. Do you have any friends among white people? Yes _____ No _____
Have they visited you at home? Yes _____ No _____
Have you visited with them? Yes _____ No _____
7. Are most of your friends Indians? Yes _____ No _____
Do you usually speak Indian with them? Yes _____ No _____
8. Has any person or group helped you get a job? Yes _____ No _____
Name _____
9. Has any person or group helped you find a place to live?
Yes _____ No _____ Name _____
10. When you get sick do you
call a doctor? Yes _____ No _____ treat yourself? Yes _____ No _____
11. Have you ever needed help when sick or out of work? Yes _____ No _____
Who helped you _____
12. During the past 6 months has the government helped you? Yes _____ No _____
Church? Yes _____ No _____ In what way? _____
13. Do you belong to the Consolidated Indian Tribes? Yes _____ No _____
Do you belong to a Lodge? Yes _____ No _____
Other organization? Yes _____ No _____ Name _____
14. If you had your choice today, where would you most like to live?
In Milwaukee _____ Another city _____ A rural town _____ On a farm _____
On a reservation _____
15. Many families in a big city occasionally have problems and must have help
from outside the family or from friends. If this has happened to you,
who has been most helpful? Church person _____ Social worker _____
Government agent _____ Other _____
What kind of help has been given _____

16. What is your feeling about the Milwaukee police force?
() very pleasant
() quite pleasant
() pleasant
() no feeling
() unpleasant
() quite unpleasant
() very pleasant

Why do you feel this way? _____

Table 1

Ecology of Milwaukee Indian Sample

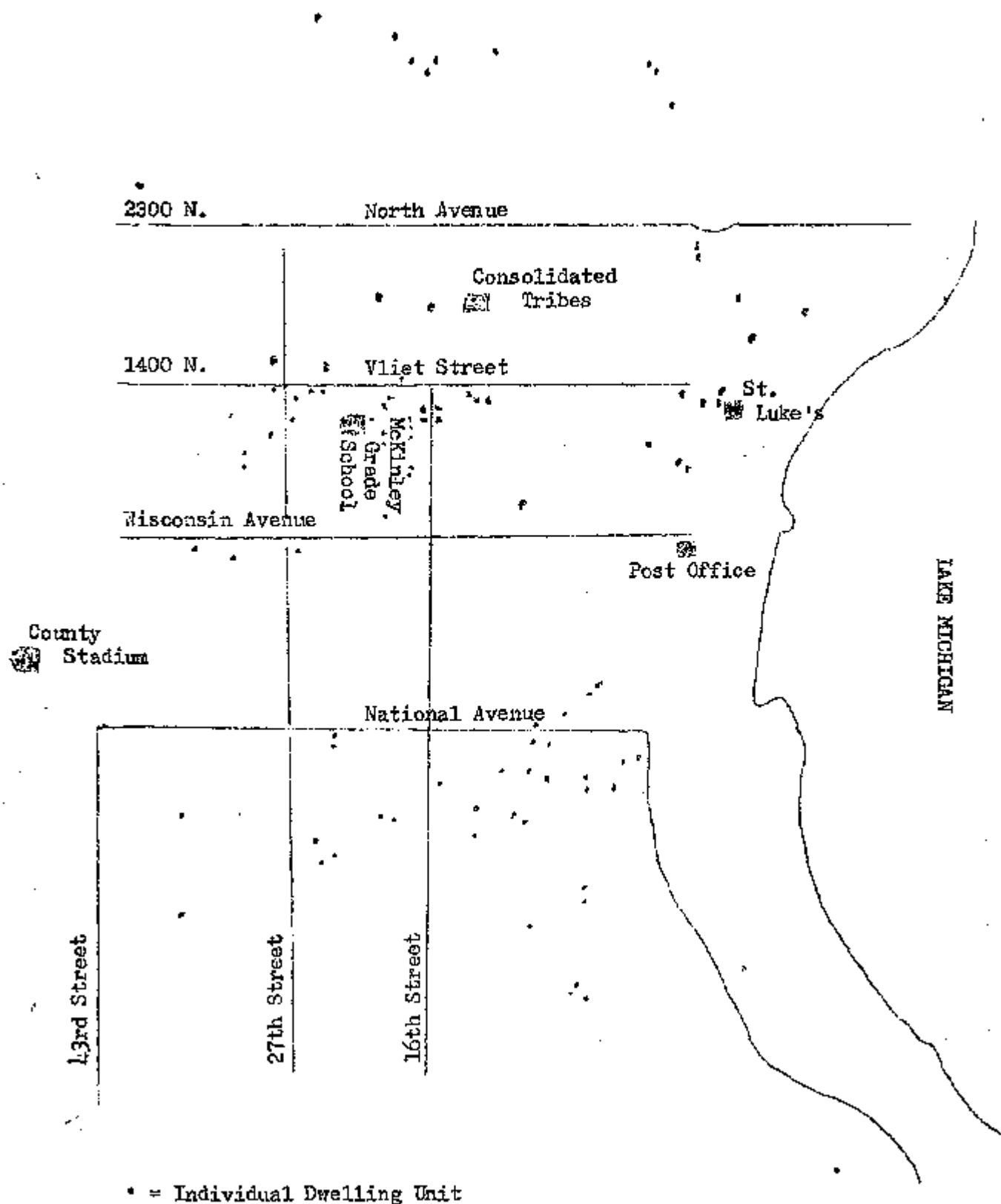


Table 2
Occupations

Title	Total Persons	Sex	Wage, if stated
Assembler	8	6M, 2F	2.84 per hr.
Bookkeeper	1	M	
Bricklayer	1	M	
Cashier	1	F	
Chemist	1	M	
Dispatcher	1	M	2.15
Engineer	3	M	
Film Technician	1	F	
Foreman (Factory)	1	M	
Furnace Repairman	1	M	
Inspector (Factory)	1	M	2.35
Laborer	20	M	2.00 - 4.47
Laundress	1	F	
Machine Operator	5	M	2.15
Maid	8	F	
Mechanic	2	M	
Metal Processor	1	M	
Nurse (R.N.)	1	F	
Nurse's Aid	1	F	
Painter	1	M	3.68
Pipe Fitter	1	M	
Punch Press Operator	2	M	2.57
Seamstress	2	F	
Secretary	2	F	
Set-up Man	1	M	
Steamfitter	2	M	3.67
Switchman	1	M	
Timekeeper	3	2M, 1F	2.25
Truck Driver	1	M	
Welder	4	M	2.70
Self-employed	2	1M, 1F	

Table 3

Preferred Place of Residence, by
Educational Attainment of 142 Indians

Educational Attainment	Community Preference					Total
	Reservation	Milwaukee	Farm	Rural Town	Another City	
Years of Schooling						
16	0	2	0	0	2	4
15	0	2	0	0	0	2
14	0	0	0	0	1	1
13	0	3	0	2	3	8
12	7	17	3	3	0	30
11	5	7	0	5	0	17
10	14	10	0	2	0	26
9	2	4	0	0	0	6
8	13	7	0	8	5	33
7	2	4	0	0	0	6
6	2	2	0	0	0	4
5	0	0	1	0	1	2
4	1	1	0	0	0	2
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	1	0	0	0	0	1
1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	47	59	4	20	12	142

Table 4

Preferred Place of Residence, by
Occupational Proficiency of 100 Heads
of Households

Degree of Skill	Community Preference					Total
	Reservation	Rural Town	Milwaukee	Another City	Farm	
Skilled	3	1	12	2	1	19
Semi-skilled	6	3	15	2	1	27
Unskilled	19	9	22	3	1	54
Totals	28	13	49	7	3	100

Table 5
Tribal Membership
of
142 Indian Respondents

Number	Tribe
84	Oneida
12	Stockbridge
24	Chippewa
9	Menominee
9	Sioux
2	Potawatomi
2	Cherokee
142	

Table 6
Age Distribution

Age Range	Total Males	Total Females	% Males	% Females
20-29	15	16	21	22
30-39	23	25	34	35
40-49	13	10	19	14
50-59	10	14	15	19
60-69	4	7	6	9
70-79	2	1	3	1
80-89	1	1	2	1
90-99	0	0	0	0

Table 7
Ethnic Mixed Marriages

Male		Female
1.	Mestizo	Oneida
2.	Oneida	Polish
3.	Dutch	Oneida
4.	Irish	Oneida
5.	Oneida	Mexican
6.	Mexican	Oneida
7.	Oneida	Polish
8.	Polish	Oneida
9.	Irish	Oneida
10.	Oneida	German
11.	German	Oneida
12.	Irish	Oneida
13.	Oneida	German
14.	English	Oneida
15.	Oneida	Serbian
16.	Oneida	Polish
17.	Oneida	German
18.	Mexican	Oneida
19.	Italian	Oneida
20.	Polish	Oneida
21.	Irish	Oneida
22.	Oneida	Norwegian
23.	Sioux	Irish
24.	Mexican	Sioux
25.	Sioux	German
26.	French	Sioux
27.	Stockbridge	German
28.	Stockbridge	German
29.	Chippewa	German
30.	German	Chippewa
31.	German	Menominee
32.	Potowatomi	German
33.	German	Cherokee

Table 8 *

Church Affiliation, by Tribal Membership

Tribe	Religious Preference									
	Catholic	Episcopal	Methodist	Lutheran	Presbyterian	Pentecostal	Baptist	Mormon	Orthodox	None
ONEIDA	12	28	15	11	0	0	2	0	2	18
STOCKBRIDGE	5	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2
CHIPPEWA	17	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	2
MENOMINEE	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SIOUX	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
POTOMATOMI	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
CHEROKEE	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Totals	44	37	16	15	3	3	2	1	2	19

Table 9

Highest Educational Attainment
of Indian Informants

Years of Schooling	Males	Females
Less than 8	8	0
8	14	0
9	2	4
10	8	18
11	11	6
12	16	14
13	1	6
14	1	1
15	1	1
16	3	1
Over 16	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
	68	74

Table 10

Indian Attendance at
Milwaukee Vocational School

Nos. Attending	Course
3	Business
7	Crafts
<u>5</u>	Services
15	

Table 11¹

Home Ownership for Indians (This Study)
Total Non-Whites and Whites
1962

Group	Percent Owning Own Home
Indian	19.0
Total Non-White	36.1
White	62.7

Table 12

Relief Categories for December, 1960
Correlated with Total Milwaukee Population
of White, Indians and Negro

Kind of Assistance	White	Negro	Indian
Aid to Dependent Children	1.4	2.6	1.9
Blind Aid	.14	.037	.05
Child Welfare	.74	.36	1.2
Disabled Aid	.62	.17	.15
General Assistance	3.0	4.0	3.8
Old Age Assistance	5.2	.69	.8

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