

HEPTANS IN AN URBAN SITUATION

A Preliminary Report

by

Robert Ritzenthaler

and

Mary Sellers

December, 1953
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Throughout his early history the North American Indian has been a rural population. Unlike some of the Indians of Central and South America who built substantial cities such as Tenochtitlan and Cuzco, the Indians north of Mexico never developed beyond a band or village pattern. With the invasion of the white man and the subsequent installation of the reservation system in the nineteenth century, the Indian was either moved from, or concentrated in, his traditional locale, but in either case continued on as rural enclaves. Even today the majority of the Indians of the United States are classified as rural dwellers, although there has been an increase in the number of city settlers particularly in the last three decades. To emphasize the fact that this has not been a mass migration are the United States census figures for the year 1940 which lists 26,886 of the total 333,969 Indians as urban (i.e. in cities or other incorporated places having 2,500 or more inhabitants) and 307,083 as rural dwellers.¹ Thus, only one Indian in twelve was a city dweller in 1940. It might be of interest to note the cities claiming large concentrations of Indians. The following is a list of cities of 100,000 or more, with 200 or more Indians as taken from the 1940 Census:

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As this list is limited to the larger cities, the distributional picture is incomplete. Some of the smaller cities have important Indian contingents, for example, Spicer² reports an estimated 1200 Yaquis in 1940 living within the boundaries of Tucson, a city of 32,000. In some instances accurate figures are not available such as for Rapid City, South Dakota for which the Indian population has been reported to be somewhere between one and three thousand in 1951 (Lovrich, p. 29).

At this writing the 1950 Census figures were not available, but there is no doubt that more Indians are city dwellers today than in 1940. With the present Indian Bureau policy of subsidizing the Indian in terms of transportation to the city and during the initial period of contact with the city, a sharp rise in Indian migration to the city is to be expected.

Thus far there has been little done by the anthropologist on the problem of the adaptation of the Indian to urban life, although such studies would be of interest and significance to both the theoretical and applied anthropologist. The importance and potentialities of this area of research, and the reason why anthropologists

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have tended to shy away from it have been very competently pointed out by Beale (1951), and will not be elaborated upon in this paper. What seems to be needed before reliable generalizations on urban processes can be made is a body of literature consisting of actual field studies, with an emphasis on the ethnographic approach, of people such as the American Indian who are involved in the process of changing from a rural to an urban manner of life. It was with this idea in mind that we began a study of the adjustments made among the some one thousand Indians living in the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1951.

This study was also the outgrowth of the realization that while considerable was known about the Reservational Indian communities in Wisconsin, practically nothing was known about the Indians living right here in Milwaukee. We did know some individuals here, what tribes were represented, and that the census figures for 1940 listed 260 Indians living within the city limits. We were rather sure that there was a great amount of mobility both in job and residence among them, that they lived largely in roominghouses in poorer sections of town, and were on the lower end of the income scale. We strongly suspected that they were an encapsulated community with little interaction with the general community except what was required by the practical necessities of living. We knew that there was about a half dozen taverns that were recognized as Indian "hangouts" that served as sort of an English Coffee House where they assembled to dance, exchange news and gossip and in the process frequently got drunk. We knew that they had one organization here called the Consolidated Tribes of North American Indians which claimed a fairly large membership, but actual meetings were held mostly in private homes and the monthly turnout small. We suspected that the main attraction of the city was in terms of employment and that the influx of Indians was greater in the winter when economic conditions grew more serious in their home communities. We knew, too, that while some came (often without any money) only to work for a few months during the winter, there was also a permanent contingent that considered Milwaukee their home.

So, to test these preliminary hunches and to explore other aspects of their urban adjustment, we drew up a five page questionnaire and began interviewing. The plan was to interview every Indian within the city limits over 21 years of age and with enough Indian blood to be so categorized by other Indians. The interview was to take place, if possible, in the home of the interviewee, as part of the questionnaire involved an observational assessment by the interviewer as to class of neighborhood, type of furniture (linoleum vs. rugs on floor etc) and the existence of "luxury" communicational devices (telephone, radio, television sets).

After a number of test interviews, the questionnaire was revised to some extent. We next approached a class enrolled in a group study course in the school of Social Work at the University of Wisconsin Extension in Milwaukee. The project was "sold" to them as a class project and we thus obtained the assistance of eighteen students to help with the interviewing.

The class was given government post cards with names and addresses of Indians. Each was given seven cards grouped by neighborhoods with instructions to mail out these announcements of their arrival three days before the interview. Actual interviewing began around April 1, 1951 and continued for a month and a half. Early experiences were somewhat disappointing in terms of the fact that many of the people either were not at home or refused to answer the door in spite of the fact that cards had been sent telling them the time of interview with the opportunity to change the time if not convenient. We decided that some just didn't bother to remain home, while the refusal of others to answer the door was their way of handling the situation. This by the way fits in with Hallowell's analysis of the

Chippewa pattern of indirect aggression.¹ While no doors were slammed in interviewees' faces, they took the indirect way by not answering the questions. The final coverage was much below what we had anticipated with interviews for 75 out of the 306 households obtained, a coverage of about 25 percent. The results, which follow, are presented under subject headings as covered by the questionnaire.

The Migration

The migration of the Indians to Milwaukee began during the 1920's. Of the 75 heads of households interviewed 17 moved in during this period, particularly during the years of 1922, 1923, and 1924. Of these 17 all were Oneidas except for one Stockbridge, and one Chippewa. Thus the Oneidas are not only the largest group in Milwaukee, but also the earliest group to settle there. They are also the only group to lay claim to having Milwaukee born adults. Three of the 75 household heads listed Milwaukee as their birthplace. The 1930's saw little movement of Indians to the city. A total of five came during 1930 and 1931, but during the next eight years only three moved in. These were depression years when jobs were few, and some of the families already established in the city were forced by economic circumstances to return to the reservation. With the boom of World War II during the 1940's there was a major influx of Indians to Milwaukee with readily available jobs in the defense plants. During this period twenty-eight of our interviewees arrived. Of these twelve were Oneida and nine were Chippewa. The movement to the city continued during the early 1950's with nine arriving in 1950 and four coming in during the first three months of 1951 at which time our survey ended.

The correlation of economic conditions with the movement of Indians to and from the city, coupled with the statements of the Indians themselves show that the essential reason for the urban migration is to obtain employment. Seventy-three percent of our interviewees stated that they had come to Milwaukee to find work. They had selected Milwaukee for such reasons as: they had heard that wages were higher there, that there was a wider opportunity for jobs, they had friends or relatives already living there. Other reasons given for coming to Milwaukee were: to go to school (3%), came for a visit and stayed (10%), parents moved here (5%), to live with relatives (5%), others (14%).

It is also apparent that while the majority of the Indian population in Milwaukee is a permanent one, or at least semi-permanent, there is always a small floating population. The floating population is made up of those who come to the city particularly in the winter when work is scarce in the Reservation areas with no intention of remaining more than a few months. Frequently only the husband will come, get a job to tide the family over the winter, and return to the Reservation in the Spring. It is difficult getting data on this group, but the general pattern seems to be that they will move in with friends or relatives, find a job and work for two or three months, and then leave. The family, if small, might be sent for and an independent residence taken, but this is impossible if the family is large.

There is also some correlation between urbanization and acculturation in the Wisconsin scene. The Oneida and Stockbridge are by far the most acculturated tribes in Wisconsin and have provided the largest urban contribution relative to their size in the state. The other tribes are roughly similar to one another as to stage of acculturation and are represented in Milwaukee in approximate proportion to their

1. Hallowell, A. Irving

Reservational numbers. Thus the Chippewa who make up about one-half of the total Indian population in Wisconsin rate second to the Oneida in numbers in Milwaukee. The breakdown is as follows:

<u>On Reservation</u>		<u>In Milwaukee</u>
<u>Individuals</u>		<u>Families</u>
Chippewa	6000	59
Menominee	3000	4
Oneida	1700	190
Winnebago	1500	14
Stockbridge	500	26
Potawatomi	220	13
		306

Our census for the Milwaukee Indian is at best approximate. The Oneidas had compiled a list of families with address and number of children, but for the others it was necessary to interview individuals as to friends and relatives of their own tribe now living in Milwaukee, and cross-checking the results. We feel that the 306 families is very close to the actual number, and by extension we arrived at our estimation of one thousand individuals for the total population. This figure is far above the United States Census Report for 1950 which lists only 381 Indians for Milwaukee as follows: 194 males, 187 females. This disparity between Census Reports and estimates by people in direct contact with the situation is noted for the St. Paul - Minneapolis area. The Census Report for 1950 lists 589 Indians for the twin cities, while Mrs. H.P. Mudgett, Assistant Professor of Intercultural Education of the University of Minnesota states "Whether the figure is close to 8500 (current opinion estimates) I do not know, but I have on my desk the membership roll of one small Indian organization representing 120 families - which rather settles the question of the Census Reports."

Part of the answer as to why the Census Reports do not record all Indians as Indians lies with the method of obtaining information on race. Race is regarded as a sensitive area of inquiry by the Census Bureau, and enumerators are instructed to fill in the racial identification on the basis of observation, with the direct question as to race used only when doubt exists. As the enumerators ordinarily have no training in determining race, there is considerable likelihood of Indians, especially those of lighter skin, to be recorded as white.

Where They Live

The Indians of Milwaukee are concentrated in four communities: one on the lower East side, one on the near South side, one on the near North side, and one on the near West side. In all four cases these are the older, less desirable areas of the city and largely made up of rooming houses or furnished room dwellings. These perhaps should be considered areas of concentration rather than communities for the Indian population is so small and ununified as to leave the area uncolored and uninfluenced by their presence. One informant volunteered the observation that Indians do not group together because they particularly want to live together but that they select a place because of cheap rent. It is interesting to note that while roughly 90% of the Indians live in one of the four areas, only 50% of the mixed marriages live therein.

It was found that 88 percent of the Indian households were renters with the remaining 12 percent owners. The general Milwaukee population in 1950 consisted of 71 percent renters and 29 percent owners.

ECONOMIC LIFE
Type of Occupation

Of male interviewees working 42% were engaged in skilled occupations, 50% in unskilled, 10% were unemployed, 22% were engaged in construction work (both skilled and unskilled), 35% engaged in factory work (both skilled and unskilled), 17% were laborers. Few have trades, none were in any kind of a business, and none in professions.

The length of service data revealed a high degree of job mobility. The fact that a good many come to the city to get a job for the winter and then return is indicated by the fact that 37% of male workers interviewed had held their present job less than six months. On the other hand, considerable steadiness of employment is indicated by the following figures:

Worked at present job from 1 - 5 years:	29%
6 -10 years	19%
11 or more years	16%

Four Indians had been with the same company for 20 years or more.

Income

Amount of income was an optional question, and about one-third of interviewees did not answer it, and we feel we have no reliable data to offer. Of those who did check one of our income categories however, the category "\$3000 or over" was the mode. It appeared that the more successful were less hesitant about revealing their income.

Savings

Thrift is a trait generally regarded as largely absent among the Wisconsin Indians. The urban Indians, however, seem far ahead of the rural in their ability to save money. In Milwaukee 29% of the Indians had a savings account in a bank. This figure is below the general average for Milwaukee, but far above that of the rural Indian. Sixty-seven percent carried life insurance. This was surprisingly high to us, and certainly far above the rural figure. Eighteen percent had government bonds. Twenty-seven percent had no savings of any kind.

The greater ability to save of the urban over the rural Indian population is undoubtedly due to the factor of greater income and steady income for the urban dwellers. The marginal existence of most of the rural population makes saving very difficult.

Type of Dwelling

The breakdown on type of dwelling was as follows:

Furnished rooms	29%
Unfurnished flat	29%
Unf. Apr. House	10%
Unf. Bungalow	9%
Furn. Bungalow	7%
Furn. Flat	5%
Unf. Rooming House	4%
Furn. Apt.	3%
Trailer	3%

In the two largest categories it is to be noted that the most permanent group, the Oneidas, are almost entirely absent from the furnished rooms, but make up nearly all of the unfurnished flat category.

Housing Mobility

It was our impression that there was a high degree of housing mobility among the Milwaukee Indians. The study showed that this was not so. Sixty-seven percent of our interviewees had lived at only one address since their arrival with the record being one family who had lived in the same place for 25 years. There were a few families which moved rather often; one moved 4 times in 2 years, and 3 families had moved 3 times in 2 years, but in general the Milwaukee Indian is a sedentary phenomenon.

SOCIAL LIFE

Joining Organizations

The Milwaukee Indians are not joiners. Exclusive of church organizations, it was found that 66% did not belong to any organization, 29% belonged to one organization, and 5% belonged to two organizations. If Louis Wirth's observation that the urban individual becomes effective only as he acts through organized groups, it would follow that the Milwaukee Indian is essentially an ineffective member of his community. The joiners belong to the local Indian organization known as the Consolidated Tribes of North American Indians. This organization has officers and regular monthly meetings held in the homes of the members, and a few social events each year. While the membership roll is fairly large, turnouts at the meetings are small. Lack of interest and a certain amount of factionalism prevent it from being a really effective and representative instrument of the Milwaukee Indians at the moment. The only other Indian organization in town is the Oneida Guild. The Oneida Guild is an organization of Indian women with elected officers which meets at All Saints Episcopal Church once a month. The women work on various projects from 10 o'clock until noon, have prayers and lunch, and a business meeting until 3 o'clock. In 1952 there were 15 active members, mostly Oneidas, but a few Stockbridge and Chippewa. All Indians are welcome regardless of religion, but most are Episcopalian. Most of the work is done for the church. They sponsor luncheons, make "safety-pin rugs" etc., and have one project for the Indians - namely raising money for an old folks home to be erected at Oneida (They have \$135 in the treasury for this purpose now). Part of the function of the organization is purely social - to help Indian women get acquainted. They have 3 square dances a year at the Guild Hall at All Saints.

Contact with Reservation

The question "How often do you go back to the Reservation for a visit" was asked to determine how much actual contact with the Reservational community was maintained. Thirty percent stated that they never visit the Reservation. Of the 70% who have not severed relations with the Reservation, the modal visit is once a year, with the next highest being once a month.

Indian-White Relationships

Most of the people stated that their friends consisted of both Indians and whites. In a few cases they said they had no white friends, and in a few cases (mostly among mixed marriages) it was stated that they had only white friends. There was some tendency to select Indian friends from among their own tribe.

Tavern Visiting

On the question as to frequency of visits to taverns, 34% stated that they did not visit taverns at all, 20% said they visited them occasionally, 37% stated that they visited a tavern at least once a week. The mode was once a week.

The most common reason given for visiting taverns was to meet their friends. This was the response given to nearly all the interviewees. Other responses were as follows: to drink and dance, cash pay checks, to shoot pool.

Most stated that they did not visit any special tavern, or if they did it was one in the neighborhood. However, there are six taverns in Milwaukee that are recognized as Indian hangouts. One is owned and operated by an Indian, the others by whites. All but one are located on the lower east side of town.

The chief social function of the tavern seems to be that of the old English Coffee house. The Indians go to visit their friends, meet new people, exchange news of their friends and relatives back on the Reservation. In the process they sometimes get drunk. One of the hangouts has dancing on weekends. While we never attended one of these, we heard various reports to the effect that these were fairly raucous affairs with considerable drinking, and fights not uncommon.

Movies

The mode for movie going among the Milwaukee Indians is once a week. The types of movies attended in order of preference are:

1. Western
2. About Indians
3. Detective
4. Love
5. Comedy

Of those selecting "Love" as their favored type of movie, all were women but one.

Discrimination

The attempt to arrive at the amount of discrimination encountered by Indians in Milwaukee was handled in the questionnaire by the direct question method. It was asked as follows: "Because you are an Indian have you ever had any trouble in Milwaukee in:

- A. Getting a job
- B. Finding a place to live
- C. In public places such as hotels and restaurants
- D. In joining an organization
- E. With a policeman

A simple yes or no answer was expected for each part of the question, but if a yes answer was forthcoming, we asked for the details of the instances or instances. Ninety percent of the interviewees answered no to all five questions. Of the eight persons who said they had encountered discrimination three had experienced it in connection with getting a job; one in both job and in finding a place to live, and in joining an organization, and in a public place (hotel); and one who stated that the owner of a house refused to sell it to him because he was an Indian. It is of course, often difficult to determine whether or not a person has actually been discriminated against, or if other factors were in force. Our findings are thus not to be regarded as completely accurate, but we feel that the general picture is revealed. That discrimination is so rare as to be an unimportant problem to the Indians of Milwaukee is apparent not only from the questionnaire, but from the fact that none of the Indians consulted regarded it as a problem in their adjustment to Milwaukee life. A common response was that while many companies in their reservational communities refuse to hire Indians, they had encountered none of that in Milwaukee. What seems most significant is that the Indians themselves do not regard discrimination as a problem.

Mixed Marriages

Of the 75 households investigated sixteen were found to consist of mixed marriages. Eleven of these were marriages of Indian women to white men, and five were Indian men married to white women. Eight of the first group were women of the Oneida tribe, one was Potawatomi, and one was Chippewa. All non-Indian spouses were of European derivation (i.e. Caucasoid) except in the case of one woman who was married to a Mexican. In the case of Indian women married to white men the identification and interaction is with the whites, although in three of the thirteen cases there was also some interaction with the Indian community. Four of the five cases in which Indian men had married white women also identified themselves with the whites. There is no significant economic differences between the families of mixed marriage and those in which both spouses are Indian. Both are in the lower income brackets and live in the same type of below average neighborhood.

An interesting generalization that can be derived from this study is that an urban area offers a greater miscegenation potential to the Indian. Twenty-two percent of the marriages investigated turned out to be mixed marriages. This is in extreme contrast to the reservational communities where it is doubtful that more than one percent of mixed marriages can be found. Thirteen of the sixteen Indians met their white mate in Milwaukee. In intertribal marriages many of the members of different tribes met at Indian Schools.

Religion

We were interested in learning if the Indian changed his religion upon becoming an urbanite. As far as the traditional Indian religions are concerned there are no rites or meetings held in the city. If the person is a psyote or Medewiwin member he will return to the reservational community to participate in the ceremony. However, the number of these seems small. The Christians tend to carry on in the faith they had followed before coming to the city. The best control group are the Oneidas who are nearly 100% Episcopalian in their home community and were of that faith before coming to Wisconsin in 1822. Our figures show that the Oneidas carried on their religious beliefs in Milwaukee with 89% of those investigated being members of an Episcopalian church in the city.

MISCELLANEOUS

Educational Background

The background of the Milwaukee Indian adults is low. The amount of formal education seems to be somewhat greater for the Milwaukee Indians than for the rural, but somewhat less than for the general Milwaukee population. It is readily apparent that the women have had more schooling than the men. Of our interviewees, 11 did not finish grade school, 19 finished grade school but did not go to high school, 38 went to high school, but only 13 finished, and only one person went to college.

Communication

Of 55 households answering to the question as to their ownership of television sets, radios, and telephones it was found that 16 had television sets, 52 radios, and 28 telephones. Nine of the 16 television sets were in the homes of mixed marriages. It is interesting to note that only 3 families did not have a radio.

Reading Habits

Nearly everyone reads at least one newspaper. A small number read two or more newspapers.

While most of the Indians read the newspaper, few read books. The survey showed that 75% of those asked had not read a book during the last three months.

Voting

Nearly 50% of the Indians have never voted in Milwaukee. Of these a few have voted in their reservational communities. Of the people who do vote in Milwaukee, one-third did not vote in the last election, but have voted within the last two years.

Dancing

Greatest preference is for modern (ballroom) dancing, with square dancing as second preference.

Music Preference

Greatest for popular music, with others in order of preference as follows: square dance, western, classical, and semi-classical.

Conclusions

The shift from reservation life to Milwaukee life involved some important sociological changes for the people concerned. It was a step from a classless into a class society. It was a change from a situation in which a person knew and was usually related to every other person in the community to a situation in which few of his neighbors were kith and fewer kin. It was the change from the slow tempo of the rural life to the accelerated pace of urban life. It was the change from a situation offering limited choice to one offering considerable choice in terms of types of entertainment, employment, acquaintances, mates and housing. It was the change from a homogeneous to heterogeneous society. Some have made the change relatively easily, some reluctantly (there are those who state they would return to the reservation community tomorrow if a living could be made there), and some give up the attempt and return home. That urban life has caused changes in the individual is recognized by the urban dwellers themselves, who think of the newcomers as country cousins and claim to be able to distinguish them by their clothing and actions.

While changes in habits, manner of living, and values have taken place, it is not to be thought that the Indian is a radically different person as a result of his life in the city. The accommodations of the Indian to urban life has, perhaps, resulted in some modifications, but the basic personality pattern of the Indian seems to have survived in the urban environment.

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It is also apparent that while the majority of the Indian population in Milwaukee is a permanent one, or at least semi-permanent, there is always a small floating population. The floating population is made up of those who come to the city particularly in the winter when work is scarce in the reservation areas with no intention of remaining more than a few months. Frequently only the husband will come, get a job to ride the family over the winter, and return to the reservation in the spring. It is difficult getting data on this group, but the general pattern seems to be that they will move in with friends or relatives, find a job and work for two or three months, and then leave. The family, if small, might be sent for and an independent residence taken, but this is impossible if the family is large.

The correlation of economic conditions with the movement of Indians to and from the city, coupled with the statements of the Indians themselves show that the essential reason for the urban migration is to obtain employment. Seventy-three percent of our interviewees stated that they had come to Milwaukee to find work. They had selected Milwaukee for such reasons as they had heard that wages were higher there, that there was a wider opportunity for jobs, they had friends or relatives already living there. Other reasons given for coming to Milwaukee were: to go to school (3%), came for a visit and stayed (10%), parents moved here (5%), to live with relatives (5%), others (14%).

The migration of the Indians to Milwaukee began during the 1920's. Of the 75 heads of households interviewed I moved in during this period, particularly during the years of 1922, 1923, and 1924. Of these 17 all were Oneidas except for one Stockbridge, and one Chippewa. This the Oneidas are not only the largest group in Milwaukee, but also the earliest group to settle there. They are also the only group to lay claim to having Milwaukee born adults. Three of the 75 household heads listed Milwaukee as their birthplace. The 1930's saw little movement of Indians to the city. A total of five came during 1930 and 1931, but during the next eight years only three moved in. These were depression years when jobs were few, and some of the families already established in the city were forced by economic circumstances to return to the reservation. With the boom of World War II during the 1940's there was a major influx of Indians to Milwaukee with readily available jobs in the defense plants. During this period twenty-eight of our interviewees arrived. Of these twelve were Oneida and nine were Chippewa. The movement to the city continued during the early 1950's with nine arriving in 1950 and four coming in during the first three months of 1951 at which time our survey ended.

The Migration

While no doors were slammed in interviewees' faces, they took the indirect way by not answering the question. The final coverage was much below what we had anticipated with interviewees for 75 out of the 306 households obtained, a coverage of about 25 percent. The results, which follow, are presented under subject headings as covered by the questionnaire.

Reservation numbers. Thus the Chippewa who make up about one-half of the total Indian population in Wisconsin rate second to the Oneida in numbers in Milwaukee. The breakdown is as follows:

On Reservation		In Milwaukee	
Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families
Chippewa	6000	59	4
Menominee	3000	190	14
Oneida	1700	26	13
Winnebago	1500	26	13
Stookbridge	500	26	13
Potawatomi	220	13	13
Total	13000	306	306

Our census for the Milwaukee Indian is at best approximate. The Oneidas had compiled a list of families with address and number of children, but for the others it was necessary to interview individuals as to friends and relatives of their own tribes now living in Milwaukee, and cross-checking the results. We feel that the 306 families is very close to the actual number, and by extension we arrived at our estimate of one thousand individuals for the total population. This figure is far above the United States Census Report for 1950 which lists only 381 Indians for Milwaukee as follows: 194 males, 187 females. This disparity between Census Reports and estimates by people in direct contact with the situation is noted for the St. Paul - Minneapolis area. The Census Report for 1950 lists 589 Indians for the twin cities, while Mrs. H.F. Mudgett, Assistant Professor of Intertribal Education of the University of Minnesota states "Whether the figure is close to 8500 (current opinion estimates) I do not know, but I have on my desk the membership roll of one small Indian organization representing 120 families - which rather settles the question of the Census Reports."

Part of the answer as to why the Census Reports do not record all Indians as Indians lies with the method of obtaining information on race. Race is regarded as a sensitive area of inquiry by the Census Bureau, and enumerators are instructed to fill in the racial identification on the basis of observation, with the direct question as to race used only when doubt exists. As the enumerators ordinarily have no training in determining race, there is considerable likelihood of Indians, especially those of lighter skin, to be recorded as white.

Where They Live

The Indians of Milwaukee are concentrated in four communities: one on the Lower East side, one on the near South side, one on the near North side, and one on the near West side. In all four cases these are the older, less desirable areas of the city and largely made up of rooming houses or furnished room dwellings. These Indian population is so small and unutilized as to leave the area uncolored and unimpacted by their presence. One informant volunteered the observation that Indians do not group together because they particularly want to live together but that they select a place because of cheap rent. It is interesting to note that while roughly 90% of the Indians live in one of the four areas, only 50% of the mixed marriages live therein.

It was found that 88 percent of the Indian households were renters with the remaining 12 percent owners. The general Milwaukee population in 1950 consisted of 71 percent renters and 29 percent owners.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Type of Occupation

Of male interviewees working 42% were engaged in skilled occupations, 58% in unskilled, 10% were unemployed, 22% were engaged in construction work (both skilled and unskilled), 35% engaged in factory work (both skilled and unskilled), 17% were laborers. Few have trades, none were in any kind of a business, and none in professions.

The length of service data revealed a high degree of job mobility. The fact that a good many come to the city to get a job for the winter and then return is indicated by the fact that 37% of male workers interviewed had held their present job less than six months. On the other hand, considerable steadiness of employment is indicated by the following figures:

Worked at present job from 1 - 5 years	29%
6 - 10 years	19%
11 or more years	16%

Four Indians had been with the same company for 20 years or more.

Income

Amount of income was an optional question, and about one-third of interviewees did not answer it, and we feel we have no reliable data to offer. Of those who did check one of our income categories however, the category "\$3000 or over" was the mode. It appeared that the more successful were less hesitant about revealing their income.

Savings

There is a trait generally regarded as largely absent among the Wisconsin Indians. The urban Indians, however, seem far ahead of the rural in their ability to save money. In Milwaukee 29% of the Indians had a savings account in a bank. This figure is below the general average for Milwaukee, but far above that of the rural Indian. Sixty-seven percent carried life insurance. This was surprisingly high to us, and certainly far above the rural figure. Fifteen percent had government bonds. Twenty-seven percent had no savings of any kind. The greater ability to save of the urban over the rural Indian population is undoubtedly due to the factor of greater income and steady income for the urban dwellers. The marginal existence of most of the rural population makes saving very difficult.

The Milwaukee Indians are not joiners. Exclusive of church organizations, it was found that 66% did not belong to any organization, 29% belonged to one organization, and 5% belonged to two organizations. If Louis Wright's observation that the urban individual becomes effective only as he acts through organized groups, it would follow that the Milwaukee Indian is essentially an ineffective member of his community. The joiners belong to the local Indian organization known as the Consolidated Tribes of North American Indians. This organization has officers and regular monthly meetings held in the homes of the members, and a few social events each year. While the membership roll is fairly large, turnouts at the meetings are small. Lack of interest and a certain amount of factionalism prevent it from being a really effective and representative instrument of the Milwaukee Indians at the moment. The only other Indian organization in town is the Oneida Guild. The Oneida Guild is an organization of Indian women with elected officers which meets at All Saints Episcopal Church once a month. The women work on various projects from 10 o'clock until noon, have prayers and lunch, and a business meeting until 3 o'clock. In 1952 there were 15 active members, mostly Oneidas, but a few Stockbridge and Chippewa. All Indians are welcome regardless of religion, but most are Episcopalians. Most of the work is done for the church. They sponsor luncheons, make "safety-pin rugs" etc., and have one project for the Indians - namely raising money for an old folks home to be erected at Oneida (They have \$135 in the treasury for this purpose now). Part of the function of the organization is purely social - to help Indian women get acquainted. They have 3 square dances a year at the Guild Hall at All Saints.

Joining Organizations

SOCIAL LIFE

It was our impression that there was a high degree of housing mobility among the Milwaukee Indians. The study showed that this was not so. Sixty-seven percent of our interviewees had lived at only one address since their arrival with the record being one family who had lived in the same place for 25 years. There were a few families which moved rather often: one moved 4 times in 2 years, and 3 families had moved 3 times in 2 years, but in general the Milwaukee Indian is a sedentary phenomenon.

Housing Mobility

In the two target categories it is to be noted that the most permanent group, the Oneidas, are almost entirely absent from the furnished rooms, but make up nearly all of the unfurnished flat category.

29%	Furnished rooms
29%	Unfurnished flat
10%	Unf. Apr. House
9%	Unf. Bungalow
7%	Furn. Bungalow
5%	Furn. Flat
4%	Unf. Rooming House
3%	Furn. Apt.
3%	Trailer

The breakdown on type of dwelling was as follows:

Type of Dwelling

Contact with Reservation

The question "How often do you go back to the Reservation for a visit" was asked to determine how much actual contact with the Reservation community was maintained. Thirty percent stated that they never visit the Reservation. Of the 70% who have not severed relations with the Reservation, the modal visit is once a year, with the next highest being once a month.

Indian-White Relationships

Most of the people stated that their friends consisted of both Indians and whites. In a few cases they said they had no white friends, and in a few cases (mostly among mixed marriages) it was stated that they had only white friends. There was some tendency to select Indian friends from among their own tribe.

Tavern Visiting

On the question as to frequency of visits to taverns, 34% stated that they did not visit taverns at all, 20% said they visited them occasionally, 37% stated that they visited a tavern at least once a week. The mode was once a week.

The most common reason given for visiting taverns was to meet their friends. This was the response given to nearly all the interviewees. Other responses were as follows: to drink and dance, cash pay checks, to shoot pool.

Most stated that they did not visit any special tavern, or if they did it was one in the neighborhood. However, there are six taverns in Milwaukee that are recognized as Indian hangouts. One is owned and operated by an Indian, the others by whites. All but one are located on the lower east side of town.

The chief social function of the tavern seems to be that of the old English coffee house. The Indians go to visit their friends, meet new people, exchange news of their friends and relatives back on the Reservation. In the process they sometimes get drunk. One of the hangouts has dancing on weekends. While we never attended one of these, we heard various reports to the effect that these were fairly raucous affairs with considerable drinking, and lights not uncommon.

Movies

The mode for movie going among the Milwaukee Indians is once a week. The types of movies attended in order of preference are:

1. Western
2. About Indians
3. Detective
4. Love
5. Comedy

Of those selecting "Love" as their favored type of movie, all were women but one.

Discrimination

The attempt to arrive at the amount of discrimination encountered by Indians in Milwaukee was handled in the questionnaire by the direct question method. It was asked as follows: "Because you are an Indian have you ever had any trouble in Milwaukee in

- A. Getting a job
- B. Finding a place to live
- C. In public places such as hotels and restaurants
- D. In joining an organization
- E. With a policeman

A simple yes or no answer was expected for each part of the question, but if a yes answer was forthcoming, we asked for the details of the instances or instances. Ninety percent of the interviewees answered no to all five questions. Of the eight persons who said they had encountered discrimination three had experienced it in connection with getting a job, one in both job and in finding a place to live, and in joining an organization, and in a public place (hotel); and one who stated that the owner of a house refused to sell it to him because he was an Indian. It is of course, often difficult to determine whether or not a person has actually been discriminated against, or if other factors were in force. Our findings are thus not to be regarded as completely accurate, but we feel that the general picture is revealed. That discrimination is so rare as to be an unimportant problem to the Indians of Milwaukee is apparent not only from the questionnaire, but from the fact that none of the Indians consulted regarded it as a problem in their adjustment to Milwaukee life. A common response was that while many companies in their reservation communities refuse to hire Indians, they had encountered none of that in Milwaukee. What seems most significant is that the Indians themselves do not regard discrimination as a problem.

Mixed Marriages

Of the 75 households investigated sixteen were found to consist of mixed marriages. Eleven of these were marriages of Indian women to white men, and five were Indian men married to white women. Eight of the first group were women of the Oneida tribe, one was Potawatomi, and one was Chippewa. All non-Indian spouses were of European derivation (i.e., Caucasian) except in the case of one woman who was married to a Mexican. In the case of Indian women married to white men the identification and interaction is with the whites, although in three of the thirteen cases there was also some interaction with the Indian community. Four of the five cases in which Indian men had married white women also identified themselves with the whites. There is no significant economic differences between the families of mixed marriage and those in which both spouses are Indian. Both are in the lower income brackets and live in the same type of below average neighborhood.

An interesting generalization that can be derived from this study is that an urban area offers a greater intergenerational potential to the Indian. Twenty-two percent of the marriages investigated turned out to be mixed marriages. This is in extreme contrast to the reservation communities where it is doubtful that more than one percent of mixed marriages can be found. Thirteen of the sixteen Indians met their white mate in Milwaukee. In intertribal marriages many of the members of different tribes met at Indian schools.

Religion

We were interested in learning if the Indian changed his religion upon becoming an urbanite. As far as the traditional Indian religions are concerned there are no rites or meetings held in the city. If the person is a peyote or Mow-wiwin member he will return to the reservational community to participate in the ceremony. However, the number of these seems small. The Christians tend to carry on in the faith they had followed before coming to the city. The best control group are the Oneidas who are nearly 100% Episcopalian in their home community and were of that faith before coming to Wisconsin in 1822. Our figures show that the Oneidas carried on their religious beliefs in Milwaukee with 89% of those investigated being members of an Episcopalian church in the city.

MISCELLANEOUS

Educational Background

The background of the Milwaukee Indian adults is low. The amount of formal education seems to be somewhat greater for the Milwaukee Indians than for the rural, but somewhat less than for the general Milwaukee population. It is readily apparent that the women have had more schooling than the men. Of our interviewees, 11 did not finish grade school, 19 finished grade school but did not go to high school, 38 went to high school, but only 13 finished, and only one person went to college.

Communication

Of 55 households answering to the question as to their ownership of television sets, radios, and telephones it was found that 16 had television sets, 52 radios, and 28 telephones. Nine of the 16 television sets were in the homes of mixed marriages. It is interesting to note that only 3 families did not have a radio.

Reading Habits

Nearly everyone reads at least one newspaper. A small number read two or more newspapers.

While most of the Indians read the newspaper, few read books. The survey showed that 75% of those asked had not read a book during the last three months.

Voting

Nearly 50% of the Indians have never voted in Milwaukee. Of these a few have voted in their reservational communities. Of the people who do vote in Milwaukee, one-third did not vote in the last election, but have voted within the last two years.

Dancing

Greatest preference is for modern (ballroom) dancing, with square dancing as second preference.

Music Preference

Greatest for popular music, with others in order of preference as follows: square dance, western, classical, and semi-classical.

Conclusions

The shift from reservation life to Milwaukee life involved some important sociological changes for the people concerned. It was a step from a classless into a class society. It was a change from a situation in which a person knew and was usually related to every other person in the community to a situation in which few of his neighbors were kith and fewer kin. It was the change from the slow tempo of the rural life to the accelerated pace of urban life. It was the change from a situation offering limited choice to one offering considerable choice in terms of types of entertainment, employment, acquaintances, mates and housing. It was the change from a homogeneous to heterogeneous society. Some have made the change relatively easily, some reluctantly (there are those who state they would return to the reservation community tomorrow if a living could be made there), and some give up the attempt and return home. That urban life has caused changes in the individual is recognized by the urban dwellers themselves, who think of the newcomers as country cousins and claim to be able to distinguish them by their clothing and actions.

While changes in habits, manner of living, and values have taken place, it is not to be thought that the Indian is a radically different person as a result of his life in the city. The accommodations of the Indian to urban life has, perhaps, resulted in some modifications, but the basic personality pattern of the Indian seems to have survived in the urban environment.

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