

circumstance of reservations. Some of this knowledge was derived from the work of private organizations interested in the plight of reservation Indians. The major advance in public and official knowledge—of the sort essential for formulation of enlightened policy—was the publication of the so-called Meriam Report of 1928.

In 1926 Secretary of Interior Hubert Wouk commissioned the Brookings Institution to investigate American Indian conditions. Lewis Meriam directed the efforts of an interdisciplinary group of scholars, including Indians. The product of that study was published in 1928 as *The Problem of Indian Administration*, and is variously referred to as the "Meriam" or "Brookings" Report. The Report showed both a detailed knowledge of actual conditions on reservations—which were far worse than had been popularly supposed—and a rather high degree of sophistication about social systems and social change. It was clearly stated, for example, that the multiple correlates of poverty—ill health, poor housing, inadequate real or cash income, etc.—were all interrelated, so that "causes cannot be differentiated from effects." Three major contributing causes of Indian poverty were listed as: (1) the destruction of the economic basis of "primitive Indian culture," (2) the irrelevance to modern economic conditions of the social systems remaining from the past, and (3) past Government policies.

Significant outcomes of putting Indian reservation poverty in this framework were: (1) establishment of Government policy primarily designed to alter Indian reservation social systems, (2) removal of laws restricting certain (e.g., religious) Indian practices, and (3) the attempt to provide an economic basis for modern Indian reservations. Along with increasing knowledge about American Indian reservations, a factor in the development of this policy was the onset of the Depression. Hagan (1961:153) points out that the Depression destroyed a lot of myths about the virtues of a "free, competitive society"—the ideal society toward which the Indians were being pushed. Without sufficient employment for American farmers and laborers, there seemed to be little point in encouraging Indians toward these ways of life.

The new legislative policy toward the Indian was enacted in 1936 as the Indian Reorganization Act. This was to be the "New Deal for American Indians." In brief, this Act:

1. Prohibited future allotment of tribal lands, permitting tribes to assign use rights.
2. Returned to the Indians land not preempted by homesteaders.
3. Permitted tribes to adopt written constitutions and charters of incorporation.
4. Provided funds for establishing revolving credit unions, for aiding the tribes in forming internal organizations, for educational assistance, and for the purchase of land.
5. Permitted the various tribes to choose by referendum whether they wished to have the Act apply to them.

Most reservations today operate under constitutions this Act entitled. The confidence of the Government in the Indians which the Act signified, plus support from the BIA, helped shore up Indian societies in many ways in many places, but lack of income in cash or kind, plus certain recent problems, have left the Indian still desperately poor.

## 2. Indian Reservations Since World War II

World War II budget pressures brought talk in Congress of terminating the BIA, and/or the Wheeler-Howard (Indian Reorganization) Act, and of assigning responsibility for Indian reservations to the states. During the same period many Indians worked in industrial centers employed in defense industries or were in the Armed Forces. The image implicit in the Indian Reorganization Act of the reservation as a socially and economically viable unit was being directly threatened by Congress and indirectly challenged by the appeal of urban wage work at salaries unobtainable on or in the vicinity of the reservation. Further, the high hopes for the reservation on the part of those who supported the Indian Reorganization Act were being frustrated by the fact that despite expenditure of millions of dollars in the course of several years, Indian poverty remains widespread. Still another threat to the possibility of building viable reservations came from the Hoover Commission Report of 1949 on reorganization of the Federal Government, which urged that responsibilities for the welfare of the reservation Indians be transferred to state governments and recommended that policies be formulated to assist Indians to leave the reservation.

At the end of World War II migration of Indians to cities reversed as wartime industries closed or cut down labor forces. At the same time, a rising birth