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REDUCTION RATIO: _11_
Sol Tax, Coordinator

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE FOX PROJECT
1948-1959

Edited by:
Fred Gearing
Robert McC. Netting
Lisa Peattie

MICROFILM COLLECTION
of
MANUSCRIPTS
on
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

No. 394
Series LXXVI

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Note: Apologies are clearly needed for issuing a publication with as many errors as this. The proof-reading was contracted and paid for; it just didn’t get done! Most of the items in the long list below are small and obvious errors, and you may not wish to bother with them. An asterisk * indicates an error that may confuse the meaning; you may wish to go through the book and mark these.

P. i, 1.21: for the editing read and editing  
P. ii, 1.7: for Province read Province  
P. ii, 1. 6: for Province read Province  
P. ii, 1.32: for Sox read Sol  
P. ii, 1.33: for Sox read Sol  
P. ii, 1.42: for Sox read Sol  
P. i1, 1.43: for of read on  
P. iii, 1.3: for Sox read Sol  
P. iii, 1.31: for 240 read 242  
P. iv, 1.26: for Schwartzhaus read Schwartzhaupt  
P. iv, 1.35: for Womans read Womans  
P. v, 1.17: read Action Anthropology  
(Extracts)—Sol Tax...388  
P. v, 1.19: read Letter (extracts)...from Steve Polgar to Sol Tax...398  
P. 1, 1. 5: insert " after project  
P. 3, 1.22: for families read family  
P. 3, 1.26: insert " after summer house  
P. 4, 1. 4: for aerea read acres  
P. 6, 1.23: insert a after many  
P. 6, 1.31: for occupied read occupied  
P. 7, 1. 4: for beg read big  
P. 7, 1.18: insert New York after 326,  
P. 7, 1.27: insert " before They  
P. 7, 1.35: add " after (p.120).  
P. 9, 1.12: for Pemoussa read Pemoussa’s  
P. 9, 1.15: for numerous read numerose  
P. 9, 1.32: for custom read costume  
*P. 9, 1.41: for feats read feast  
P. 9, 1.45: for prephrac read reproach  
P. 10, 1. 2: for barette read barrette  
P. 11, 1.10: for syllabery read syllabery  
P. 11, 1.41: for catamential read cata-  

menial  
P. 12, 1.28: for Oklahom read Oklahoma  
P. 13, 1.31: for appelation read appel- 

ation  
P. 13, 1.33: for epidemic read epidemics  
P. 14, 1. 5: for afield read afield  
P. 15, 1.11: for ast read at  
P. 18, 1.19: for specimens read specimens  
P. 21, 1.51: delete an before anthro- 
pology  
P. 22, 1.15: for the read that  
P. 23, 1.9: for misconcevied read misconelved  
P. 30, 1.5: for tisue read fissure  
P. 32, 1.21: for washboards read wash-boards  
P. 32, 1.32: for occurred read occurred  
P. 32, 1.47: for lisa read Lisa  
P. 32, 1.52: for with read without  
P. 33, 1.50: delete in the way that we  
take illinois archeology  
P. 34, 1.3: for potawatomi read Potaw- 
tomi  
P. 34, 1.41: for possible read possible  
P. 34, 1.5: for sucy read such  
P. 34, 1.9: for situations read situation  
P. 36, 1.8: for philosopher read philo- 
osopher  
P. 38, 1.17: for forming read farming  
P. 39, 1.3: for conclusive read conducive  
P. 40, 1.47: for idiosyncratic read  
idiosyncratic  
P. 41, 1.33: for trees read trees  
P. 45, 1.35: for reciprocals read recipro- 
cal  
P. 47, 1.3: for Nasquakie read Nesquakie  
P. 47, 1.33: for track read tracks  
P. 48, 1.12: for even read every  
P. 48, 1.40: for onto read into  
P. 49, 1.41: for varieties read varieties  
P. 53, 1.14: for outsides read outsiders  
P. 54, 1.49: for souvenirs read souvenir  
P. 53, 1.50: for bear read hear  
P. 69, 1.22: for brethren read brethren  
P. 76, 1.25: for relief read relief  
P. 76, 1.25: for relief read relief
P.76, 1.43: for ad read had
P.85, 1.25: for copied read copies
P.80, 1.45: insert in after is
P.90, 1.25: for sofa read sofa
P.90, 1.31: for It's read its
P.91, 1.15: for lonely read lonely
P.92, 1.42: delete Probably the most important is the economic situation of the community
P.94, 1.43: for white read whites
P.96, 1.26: for carry-out read carrying out
P.96, 1.23: for adjustments read adjustments
P.105, 1.27: for afr read far
P.105, 1.50: for available read available
P.105, 1.38: for coes read codes
P.105, 1.42: for frequency read frequency
P.111, 1.3: for feats read feasts
P.111, 1.37: for blamed read blamed
P.113, 1.11: for skills read skills
P.123, 1.33: for the read these
P.124, 1.58: for arguing read arguing
P.126, 1.28: for lowest read lowest
P.130, 1.47: for fluctuating read fluctuating
P.136, 1.24: for available read available
P.136, 1.34: for i read in
P.139, 1.32: for they read the
P.139, 1.39: for devises read devices
P.139, 1.40: for sic read six
P.141, 1.4: for exclusive read exclusive
P.141, 1.17: for matters read matters
P.141, 1.45: for satisfaction read suspicion
P.141, 1.51: for assemblyman read assemblyman
P.142, 1.30: for offides read offices
P.142, 1.41: for brance read branch
P.142, 1.42: for vegetable read vegetable
P.143, 1.46: for clannheadman read clanheadman
P.145, 1.4: for invi.. read invited
P.145, 1.38: for virually read virtually
P.147, 1.5: for independent read independent
P.147, 1.13: for model read model
P.147, 1.48: for ancestors read ancestors
P.147, 1.54: for the read the
P.148, 1.4: for unsuitable read unsuitable
P.148, 1.35: for decision read decision
P.148, 1.52: for series read series
P.149, 1.13: insert a before renegade
P.149, 1.25: for series read series
P.149, 1.35: for United read United
P.149, 1.36: for ox read Fox
P.151, 1.3: for limited read limited
P.151, 1.10: for currency read currency
P.151, 1.47: for Peach read Peace
P.151, 1.52: for put read put
P.152, 1.12: for plants read plans
P.155, 1.18: for clearly read clearly
P.156, 1.5: for prevails read prevails
P.156, 1.53: for understanig read understanding
P.159, 1.9: for split read split
P.170, 1.24: for coming read coming
P.171, 1.28: for preduicing read pre-judging
P.173, 1.42: for come read came
P.173, 1.49: for Iroquoi read Iroquois
P.174, 1.37: for occurring read occurring
P.176, 1.10: for grant read great
P.175, 1.55: for America read American
P.184, 1.9: for findings read finding
P.185, 1.53: for ignore read ignore
P.185, 1.53: for soman read woman
P.193, 1.42: for Introducer read introducer
P.200, 1.42: for tobe read to be
P.188, 1.53: for person read personality
P.201, 1.30: for as read has
*P.202, 1.15: for Keshana read Keahna
P.202, 1.32: for straight forward read straightforward
P.204, 1.51: insert : after job
P.210, 1.45: for like read liked
P.212, 1.1: for (talk to) read take
P.213, 1.33: for Marshal town read Marshall town
P.214, 1.35: insert - after (c)
P.222, 1.42: for clusterings read clusterings
P.224, 1.2: for frist read first
P.228, 1.32: for Kluckhorn read Kluckhohn
P.229, 1.35: for William read Edward R.
P.232, 1.47: for inceaseed read increased
P.236, 1.26: for attempting read attempting
P.237, 1.5: for Stolpe read Stolpe
P.238, 1.18: for well-meased read well-meant
P.239, 1.36: for Stolpe's read Stolpe's
P.243, 1.34: for Old Bear's read Old Bears'
P.243, 1.42: for legitimation read
P.252, 1.44: for dependent read independent
P.254, 1.15: for Schwartzhaupt read Schwartzhaupt
P.256, 1.28: for Schwartzhaupt read Schwartzhaupt
P.261, 1.13: for Anademan read Andaman
P.261, 1.43: for focus read focus
P.263, 1.12: for they read the
P.263, 1.37: insert , after government
P.264,1.20: for the read then n
P.266,1.33: for problem read problem
P.266,1.35: for administration read administration
P.268,1.5: for quickly read quickly
P.268,1.15: for exploiting read exploit-
ing
P.268,1.31: for existence read existence
P.269,1.25: for lean read loan
P.270,1.25: for regulation read regula-
tions
P.271,1.2: for matter read matter
P.271,1.24: for driven read driven
P.273,1.17: for Blud read Blue
P.276,1.38: for obligation read obligation
P.277,1.36: for patience read patience
P.278,1.33: for pronunciation read pro-
unciation
P.279,1.38: for wherever read whenever
P.279,1.44: delete their own
P.280,1.54: for save read say
P.281,1.17: for over read ever
P.282,1.1: for Fitzgerald read Fitz-
Gerald
P.283,1.38: for reserarch read research
P.283,1.42: for uninteraration read inter-
relation
P.283,1.42: for thr read the
P.285,1.17: delete than what it was
P.286,1.13: for women read woman
P.287,1.18: for our read far
P.287,1.34: for bogeymen read bogeymen
P.287,1.34: for seeing read seeing
P.288,1.1: for likes read lies
P.289,1.39: for century read centur-y
P.290,1.10: for Got read God
P.290,1.13: for Indians read Indians
P.290,1.47: for First read first
P.291,1.10: for forgotten read forgotten
P.291,1.23: for somethings read some things
P.292,1.13: for Governments read Govern-
ments
P.292,1.36: for balance read balanced
P.292,1.43: for Fox read For
P.294,1.12: for factual read factual
P.296,1.28: for E age read engage
P.296,1.50: for so read as
P.297,1.41: for Whitemen read White men
P.299,1.48: Insert with after services
P.299,1.55: for moder read more
P.302,1.27: Insert ; after upon
P.305,1.3: for microscope read micro-
scope
P.306,1.19: for suphoria read euphoria
P.306,1.21: for greatful read grateful
P.306,1.32: for innumerable read innumerable

P.307,1.1: Insert , after action
P.307,1.15: for be read by
P.307,1.29: for study read steady
P.308,1.4: for souther read southern
P.308,1.17: for Some read Sometimes
P.308,1.33: for Son't read Don't
P.308,1.48: for instances read instance
P.309,1.23: for service read Service
P.309,1.36: for to read do
P.310,1.25: for conflicted read conflicted
P.310,1.53: delete and another is not to apply
P.312,1.19: for Gc read He
P.312,1.39: for thesummer read the summer
P.312,1.48: for concern read concern
P.313,1.10: insert administration after Collier
P.315,1.33: delete in ways that the Indians to behave
P.317,1.21: for Todat read Today
P.317,1.21: for rialising read raising
P.317,1.51: add , after Fox
P.318,1.14: for students read student
P.318,1.39: for dispertion read dispersion
P.325,1.3: add This after necessary.
P.326,1.6: insert ( before it
P.326,1.7: insert ) after matter
P.328,1.0: for this read that
P.328,1.46: insert a after of
P.330,1.29: for IExhibit read (Exhibit
P.334,1.12: for Indian's read Indian
P.334,1.30: for group read groups
P.335,1.17: for conditions read conditions
P.335,1.23: for Gox read Fox
P.336,1.15: for blossomes read blossoms
P.336,1.32: for , read ;
P.339,1.14: for crafts read drafts
P.339,1.23: for crdit read credit
P.340,1.28: for date read data
P.341,1.2: for digestable read digestible
P.345,1.5: for courses read sources
P.346,1.2: for Grinnel read Grinnell
P.346,1.7: for Grinnel read Grinnell
P.346,1.30: for Affairs read Affairs
P.346,1.30: for specical read special
P.346,1.38: for contributed read con-
tributed
P.346,1.46: for them read their
P.347,1.15: for Exhibition read Exhibit
P.349,1.12: for college read college
P.349,1.16: for ifts read gifts
P.349,1.26: for our read our
P.352,1.30: for thier read their
P.352,1.33: for determing read deter-
determing
P.353,1.27: for Indians read Indian
P.355,1.18: for available read available
P.355,1.27: for available read available
P.356,1.6: for occurring read occurring
P.358,1.33: for man read man
P.358,1.25: for minneapolis read Minneapolis
P.363,1.47: for meeting read meeting
P.546,1.15: for grievous read grievous
*P.366,1.47: for appraise read appraise
P.368,1.32: for interests read interests
*P.368,1.42: for contract read contact
P.370,1.49: for council read council
P.373,1.31: for over came read overcome
P.374,1.41: for meeting read meeting
*P.382,1.51: for things read things
P.384,1.31: for case read cases
P.387,1.21: for mechanics read mechanics
P.387,1.26: for recognize read recognize
P.387,1.47: for introduced read introduced
P.387,1.47: for there read their
P.389,1.3: for face read fact
P.389,1.33: for aggressively read aggressively
*P.391,1.20: for identity read identity
P.391,1.31: for tain read taint
P.391,1.39: for Dr. read Mrs.
P.392,1.6: for felt read felt
P.392,1.13: for else read else
P.392,1.24: for over the read over the
P.393,1.12: for applied read applied
P.393,1.43: for applied read applied
P.393,1.51: for examples read examples
P.394,1.15: for ultimately read ultimately
P.394,1.42: for instance read instances
P.395,1.55: for anthropologist read anthropologist
P.397,1.20: for equilibrium read equilibrium
P.402,1.1: for anthropologist read anthropologists
P.402,1.3: for anthropologists read anthropologist
P.402,1.42: for raised read raised
P.404,1.50: for individual read individual
P.405,1.4: for inner read inner
P.405,1.22: for Chippew read Chippewa
P.405,1.44: for geometric read geometric
P.405,1.44: for farmers read farms
P.406,1.20: for aggressive read aggressive
P.406,1.22: for connotes read connotes
P.407,1.2: for supported read supported
*P.407,1.40: for rubrics read rubrics
P.408,1.30: for evoking read evoking
P.408,1.30: for that read what
P.408,1.48: for stem read stem
P.410,1.11: for raised read raised
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GIFT of Sol Tax
DOCUMENTARY HISTORY
OF THE
FOX PROJECT
1948-1959

A Program In Action Anthropology

Directed by SOL TAX

Edited By
FRED GEARING
ROBERT McC. NETTING
AND
LISA R. PEATTIE

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The Documentary History of the Fox Project chronicles the development of Action Anthropology as it has been worked out and thought out with respect to a living community, the Fox Indians near Tama, Iowa from the summer of 1948 through 1959. The first attempt to assemble material relating to the Fox Project resulted in a bulky, informally reproduced volume, *A Documentary History of the Fox Project*, edited by Fred Cering, Lisa R. Peattie, and others in 1955. This has been used by courses in Action Anthropology at the University of Chicago and has had a limited distribution among interested scholars. The need to supplement this work with recent documents on the continuing project plus the demand from many parts of the world for more complete information on the premises and methods of Action Anthropology have encouraged us to publish an expanded edition in more permanent form.

Section I includes the original 1955 volume in its entirety. We have purposely avoided any revision since both the documents themselves and the accompanying commentary reflect accurately an historical point in the succession of ideas and activities of the Project. In 1959, Robert Netting, with the help of Robert Rietz and Albert Wahrhaftig, brought the Documentary History up to date by reviewing the editing materials which had accumulated in the period since 1955. The original editors along with most of the project members are now widely dispersed, and they were not consulted in compiling Section II from filed documents and a variety of published sources. These recently assembled materials are grouped under headings emphasizing their interrelations rather than following an exact chronological order. The Fox Project has been generously supported since 1955 by a grant from the Schwarzhaupt Foundation. The Fox Indian Professional Education Program has been assisted by many individuals and groups in Iowa and especially by the Gardner Cowles Foundation.

Robert McC. Netting
CONTENTS

SECTION I -- 1948-1955

PART I: BENCHMARKS .................................................. 3
Exhibit
1. The Social Organization of the Fox Indians—Sol Tax .................. 3
2. The Fox of Iowa—Natalie Frankel Joffe .............................. 7
3. Anthropology and Administration—Sol Tax ............................. 15

PART II: SHOULD WE INTERFERE? .................................... 25
Exhibit
4. Letter—Sol Tax to John Province ..................................... 27
5. Letter—Lisa Peattie to John Province ................................ 28
6. Journal Entry—Lisa Peattie ........................................... 29
Commentary—First impulses to interfere ............................... 30
7. Journal Entry—Davida Wolffson ....................................... 30
8. Letter—Sol Tax to Lisa Peattie ....................................... 32
9. Letter—Lisa Peattie to Sol Tax ....................................... 35
10. The Problem of Value-Judgments—Lloyd Fallers .................... 36
11. Problems of the Fox—Davida Wolffson ............................... 38
12. Preliminary Ideas on Fox Problem—Walter Miller .................... 38
Commentary: Early theoretical effects ................................ 39
14. The Role of Factionalism in Fox Acculturation—Lloyd Fallers ....... 62
Commentary: 1949 plans for a program of interference ................. 84
15. Fox Impressions—Charles Leslie ..................................... 87
16. Request for Support of the "Fox Project"—Sol Tax .................. 92
17. A Discussion of Contemporary Fox Social Organization, Together with a Proposal for a Combined Program of Social Engineering and Social Science Research—Robert Rietz .... 97

PART III: SECOND THOUGHTS ON "HOW?" ............................ 120
Commentary: Involvements in a new situation ......................... 121
Exhibit
18. Letter—Sol Tax to Bob Merrill ...................................... 122
19. Letter—Bob Merrill to Sol Tax ...................................... 122
20. Letter—Sol Tax to Bob Merrill ...................................... 125
Commentary: More Fox theory ........................................... 126
21. Authority and Collective Action in Fox Society—Walter Miller .... 126
Commentary: "Action Anthropology" and acculturation theory .......... 166
22. Action Anthropology—Sol Tax ....................................... 167
23. Acculturation—Sol Tax ............................................... 171
Commentary: More involvements ......................................... 176
24. Letter—Roland Elliott and Alexandra Tolstoy to the Kalmucks .... 177
25. Letter—Len Borman to Sol Tax ...................................... 180
Commentary: Reflection of the means-ends model ..................... 182
Commentary: Changing relations with the Indian Service 197
27. Letter—Sol Tax to George Willoughby 198
28. Letter—Edward Davenport and Fred Gearing to Sol Tax 201
29. Letter—Fred Gearing to Sol Tax 203
30. Letter—Fred Gearing to Russel Kelley 204
Commentary: First educational actions 205
31. We Are the Mesquakie Nation 206
Commentary: Means-ends, empirically 209
32. Letter—Fred Gearing to Bert Stolpe 210
33. Co-op Farming, A General Summary—Fred Gearing 213
Commentary: The current formulation of the Fox Project 215
34. Program on Behalf of the Mesquakies and Nearby Whites of Iowa 217

PART IV: DIFFICULTIES AND POTENTIALS 228
Commentary: More education 228
Exhibit
35. Letter—Sol Tax to Bert Stolpe 229
36. Memorandum—UC-SUI field part to "TV group" 229
Commentary: New difficulties 230
37. Letter—Fred Gearing to Sol Tax 230
38. Progress Report—Ariane Brunel 232
39. Discussion of the Action Anthropology Project, Summer 1953—Cindy Sangre 236
Commentary: Important relations with the larger society 237
40. Hope for the Mesquakies—Des Moines Sunday Register 237
41. Letter—Sol Tax to Glenn Emmons 238
Commentary: Education, pro and con 240
42. The "Rich" Mesquakie Community 240
43. Summary of Relations between Project and Tribal Council—Fred Gearing and Steve Polgar 240
Commentary: More theory 244
44. The Freedom to Make Mistakes—Sol Tax 245
Commentary: "Freedom," empirically 250
45. Conference of the Native American Church, Tama, Iowa, July 22-25—Otis Imboden 251
Commentary: Today 252
46. Memorandum on the Cooperative Arrangement for Research at Tama Indian Community 253
47. Proposal to Develop Professional Education among Indians by Means of a Ten-year Scholarship Program for the Mesquakie Indians of Iowa—Sol Tax 254
48. Memorandum—Lisa Peattie 260

SECTION II — 1955 -1960

PART V: "ACTION" AND GOVERNMENT 264
Exhibit
49. Letter—Robert Rietz to Ralph Shane 264
50. Letter—Robert Rietz to Tribal Business Council, Ft. Berthold Reservation 272
51. Termination Versus the Needs of a Positive Policy for American Indians—Sol Tax

PART VI: THE ONGOING EVALUATION

Exhibit

53. Symposium: The Fox Indian Project, A Program of Action
   Anthropology
   Introduction—Sol Tax
   Studies of Fox Genealogies—Charles Callender
   The Relevance of History to an Action Project—Joseph Marlin
   The Problem of Factionalism in Relation to an Action Program—Marie Pfeffer
   The Strategy of the Fox Project—Fred Gearing
   The Failure of the Means-Ends Scheme in Action Anthropology—Lisa Peattie
   Learning Through Action—Sol Tax

54. "First They Listen" (Extracts)—Fred Gearing

PART VII: THE CHANGING PROGRAM

Exhibit

55. Symposium: The Fox Project
   Diagnosis for Action—Sol Tax
   Two Activities—Fred Gearing
   The Refined Diagnosis—Robert Rietz

56. The Field Program (extract)—Fred Gearing

Commentary: Tamaoraft and professional education

57. Schwartzhaupt Foundation Report on the Fox Project, 1957

58. Tama Indian Crafts (extracts)—Robert Rietz

59. Letters on the ad hoc planning of the craft project—Robert Rietz and Fred Gearing

60. Gardner Cowles Foundation Progress Report: Fox Indian Professional Education Program, 1957

61. Sample Application Blank for scholarship assistance

62. Letter showing DAR interest in scholarship program

63. Letter—Chairman of Indian Affairs Committee, Iowa Federated Women's Clubs to Robert Rietz

Commentary: The development of an issue

64. The Indian Question—editorial from the Toledo Chronicle

65. Letter describing school situation—Robert Rietz to Sol Tax and Fred Gearing

66. Letter—Tribal Chairman to Area Director

67. Letter—Tribal Chairman to Area Director

68. Letter—Area Director to Tribal Chairman

69. Letter—Congressman to Tribal Chairman

70. Letter—Minister to Robert Rietz

71. Letter—Area Director to Minister

72. Letter—Minister to Robert Rietz

73. Letter—Minister to Robert Rietz

74. Letter—Rietz to Area Director

75. Letter—Members of Indian Women's Circle to Rietz

76. Letter—Area Director to Tribal Chairman

77. Letter—Robert Rietz to Fred Gearing
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78.</td>
<td>Letter—Robert Rietz to Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79.</td>
<td>Letters—exchange between Senator and Commissioner of Indian Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.</td>
<td>Remarks—representative of American Friends Service Committee to Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81.</td>
<td>Letter—Robert Rietz to representative of AFSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82.</td>
<td>Letter—Tribal Council to Senator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.</td>
<td>Letter—Assistant Commissioner to Senator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.</td>
<td>Letter and portion of report—Minister to Robert Rietz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85.</td>
<td>Letter—Tribal Council to Senator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.</td>
<td>Letter—Assistant Commissioner to Senator</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PART VIII: THE PLACE OF "ACTION" IN THE FIELD OF ANTHROPOLOGY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exhibit</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>87.</td>
<td>Introduction to a Reader in Action Anthropology (extracts)—Sol Tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88.</td>
<td>Action Anthropology as Method (extracts)—Fred Gearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89.</td>
<td>Letter (extracts)—Steve Polgar to Sol Tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90.</td>
<td>Interventionism and Applied Science—Lisa Peattie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91.</td>
<td>Action Anthropology (extracts)—Sol Tax</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**PART IX: ACTION ANTHROPOLOGY AS THEORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exhibit</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>92.</td>
<td>Action Anthropology as Theory (extracts)—Fred Gearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93.</td>
<td>Culture Contact, Free Choice, and Progress—Fred Gearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94.</td>
<td>The Fox Project (extract)—Sol Tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95.</td>
<td>Comments on the Symposium Values in Action—Robert Redfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96.</td>
<td>Memo: Comments at the Close of the Tama Field Work—Robert Rietz to Sol Tax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION I — 1948-1955
Edited by FRED GEARING and LISA PEATTIE

This is a documentary history of ideas. It is an account of an exploration. In the summer of 1948 students of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago entered the Fox Indian community near Tama, Iowa. From then till now there has been a Fox Project. That project has been a very loose aggregate of persons, self-selected and under the non-directive direction of Dr. Sol Tax. The aggregate has shared an interest in "doing" and an equally basic interest in learning general things about human societies. Of all the persons who have become involved, only Dr. Tax has been involved throughout the seven years uninterrupted. But there is continuity and the changes, which have been great, have had a direction. Today the project has a considerable degree of structure. The history asks how we got where we are.

Such a history may serve four ends. First, this history might contribute to the realization of the wide variety of activities which can, in 1955, proceed under the rubric "science." Perhaps there are disciplines in the social sciences in which this activity could not have occurred. Anthropology has a tradition of exploration in literally unknown geographical areas. There is today some carry-over into the parallel matter of unknown ideas. Perhaps the carry-over is, most importantly, a high tolerance for vagueness—which cuts two ways. In another respect, this reported activity could occur in any social science discipline more easily today than yesterday. The general climate of opinion, in the several social science disciplines, about "doing" as opposed to "pure science" seems to be undergoing a change, not for the first, nor perhaps the last, time.

Second, this history might provide new insights into the complex interrelations between the observer's concepts and values, the observed phenomena, and the field activities. There is no attempt here to characterize all the ways which values, for instance, affect inquiries. Rather we here recount how values did in fact enter, in this instance, and, similarly, concepts and phenomena and activities. But since these complex interrelations are so largely unknown, there is no doubt that interpretations other than the one suggested in the running commentary here, are equally possible. For this reason the history is a documentary history, permitting other interpretations; however, the necessity of selection of the documents unfortunately but unavoidably limits those possibilities.

Third, this history suggests that the strength of such explanatory activities lies in the new and unpredictable ideas and combinations of ideas which emerge. That strength is only as great as the new ideas are fruitful. That judgment is left to the reader and history.

Fourth, such a history also reveals the weaknesses of exploratory activities. Ideas turn up, get lost, and if we are fortunate, re-emerge. Ideas remain vague and there is the great possibility of patent error.

The attention here focuses on the contrasts which develop through time within the program. Almost all the persons involved in this project came from within the discipline of anthropology. They brought "anthropology" into the field and came out with something partially new. So the end-product here—the current conception of the project—contrasts with other activities in anthropology. But all anthropological thinking centers, with various modifications, in the concept of culture. The Fox problem could have been conceived quite differently. A sociologist might talk about it in terms of social disorganizations like delinquency, divorce, and the like. Those terms have appeared but have been peripheral to the main discussions of the Fox project. Or the problems of the Fox might have been
conceived in terms of economic or technical planning. Those also have, over the long stretch, been peripheral in the Fox project. The problem might have been conceived in terms of the idea of inequality, which seems to be the central idea in most Indian Service policy. All of these ways of conceiving the Fox problem are certainly true in some respects. There are certain breakdowns in Fox social sanctions. It is true that the Fox want more material goods offered by the white world and that the Fox are affected by inequality and discrimination. In such a complex situation, it is irrelevant to ask what ways of conceptualizing are most true. We fall back upon a pragmatic test of truth. Success measures the truth of the concept. But success is in turn measured by the concept itself, but it is a circularity which we cannot well avoid, and fortunately, if we are really acting, we are likely enough to stub our toes upon facts and do that often enough to keep from getting too far from the complex reality we are trying to understand.

The history follows in four parts. Part One involves studies of the Fox by Sol Tax and Natalie Joffe prior to the inception of the Fox project proper in 1948. Part Two covers the years 1948 and 1949, in which years the central concern was the difficult values question: What right have we to enter upon a program of conscious interference in this community? Part Three covers the years 1950 through 1953, and in those years the present conception of the Fox project emerged. Part Four deals with the difficulties and the promises encountered so far in the current activity.

Forty-eight documents are arranged in approximate chronological order. There is a running commentary by the editors, marked by a ruled line on the outer margin of the page. This commentary provides a skeletal framework of historical fact and traces the changing ideas through time and suggests why the new ideas and new combination of ideas arose.
PART I: BENCHMARKS

Three documents follow which give a measure of perspective to developments in the Fox project after its inception in 1948.

Tax's 1935 report, Exhibit 1, and Joffe's 1940 report, Exhibit 2, reveal concepts of culture in contrast to each other and both in partial contrast to conceptions which emerged after 1948. Both reports are sanguine about the social well-being of the Fox community, in strong contrast to early reactions of project field parties, but in lesser contrast to the ideas in later phases of the project.

Tax's 1945 article argues against merging analysis and "doing," in polar contrast with early and basic decisions which were made in 1948 and maintained.

Exhibit 1

TAX: THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE FOX INDIANS


APPENDIX III

Present Conditions among the Fox

The reservation is located about two miles west of Tama, in central Iowa, and five or six miles east of Montour. The boundaries of the territory, which is now inhabited by some four hundred Fox and a few Winnebago, are quite irregular, the whole stretch being about five miles at its greatest length and three miles in width. The missionary's home, the church, the government farmer's home and barn, and the little school and the teacher's home are all located close to the highway and the railroads. Then there is a parting of the ways and on all sides are scattered the dwellings of the Indians.

The grounds of each household are shut off from the road by a barbed-wire gate which serves to keep the horses at home. The house, a small frame building of one or two rooms and generally in great need of paint, stands a few yards back from the gate. Somewhere near, there will likely be a wicki-up, a round house with a frame of poles and a covering of mats, and very often there will be near the house proper, a square or rectangular construction consisting of a sort of raised platform, a roof of twigs and branches supported by four poles, and having open sides. In the summer the families eat here, all sitting on the platform, while the food is brought from the open fire nearby. Frequently, members of the family sleep on the platform, too. This part of the living quarters is mentioned nowhere in Fox literature; it is probably a substitute for the old "summer house which, with perhaps one or two exceptions, has disappeared from the settlement. There may also be a barn, and, of course, a pump, and almost every place will have some fields of corn, fruit trees, and a little vegetable garden planted for the most part with various kinds of beans, pumpkins, and squashes. In all, there are some seventy such "camps," and in each one lives a family, consisting of parents and children, sometimes an aged grandparent, and often the young family of one of the children.
There are three cemeteries scattered over the reservation, at the
summits of hills; the burials are along family lines, for a man will usually
be buried where his father lies. The cemetery on the hill in back of the
government farmer's is fenced off with a "no trespass" sign to keep out curi-
ous visitors; the other two are unmarked, and, for that matter, uneven and
unkempt.

On a hill, which is said to be the highest spot on the reservation,
there is a small clearing, neatly fenced around with a bench running around
inside, and forming a circular dance place where the Drum Society (as it is
usually called) holds its ceremonies. In winter, of course, the society
must meet in a house. This is the only obvious evidence of the rich cere-
monial life in the camps; the important gens festivals are held in barn-like
houses near the homes of the respective clan leaders. In the lower country,
near the highway, are the Pow-Wow grounds, a large cleared space with a
ticket-seller's booth, and bleachers for spectators, where the annual Pow-
Wow is held for the benefit of white visitors and the Indian pooketbook.

The land of the Fox Indians is not allotted in the sense that Indian
lands elsewhere are; it all belongs to the entire tribe, and the whole com-
munity pays the taxes to the State of Iowa. Of course, no land can be sold
by an individual; yet certain Indians have definite rights to the farm land
that they and their familise have been working. As an old Indian tells about
it:

When they [the Indian forefathers] were still buying land, many acres
accumulated. The chief and council decided to portion out the land to
those who wanted to farm it. Some conservatives advised against this
white-man's business; and we therefore could take as much as we could
handle. I took about twenty-five acres and others took the same. Later,
people in general realized that farming was profitable, and others got in
gradually. The council allotted the different fields. Since then these
fields have been inherited.

(It may be mentioned in passing, that many of the Indians now favor
a realloptment of the land—opposed, needless to say, by those who have much.)
Money and real estate are inherited according to state laws, and in these
days even wills are made. Personal property, viz., tools, clothing, horses,
dogs, and other chattels are not inherited but are divided among the funeral
attendants who wash and bury the body; horses are kept by the family, and
dogs belonging to the deceased are taken over by his ceremonially-adopted
substitute. If a man dies of communicable disease, his things are burned.
Women own their own property and money, and their husbands have absolutely
no voice in the management of it. As one old woman pith: it:

A wife [in the old days] owned her cooking utensils; she had no other
property. With the many of other women she made the wickiup; if she
wanted a divorce, she would put her husband's property outside and tell
him to go. Any money the wife has is hers; she doesn't have to give
her husband anything.

As regards law and punishment, the old chiefs are gone, and with
them the ancient tribal council with its ceremonial functions. The court
of law have jurisdicin in cases of murder, rape, and other major crimes,
but for small offenses the only deterrent is public opinion besides, of
course, the displeasure of the Great Spirit, and it is difficult to ascer-
tain just what part the latter plays. The best idea of what the Indians
think about offenses of various natures may be illustrated by a quotation from one of them:

If a man is known to have taken something, the owner could go to him and demand or take the stolen goods. If a man steals, they say, "Maybe he needs it." They always know what kind of a man he is. Children are reasoned with and taught, when they steal; the fasting is to make them better.

Lying is not punished, but is followed by loss of luck and reputation.

Personal broils are entirely private, individual affairs. A person might hit a man going after his wife, but not for something like stealing. Fighters should be ashamed; only dogs fight. It is best to keep the peace and do nothing.

The activities and interests of the Fox today are many and varied, and there is something to do and to look forward to every day. They walk or drive to Tama, there to shop or to gossip with their white friends. On Wednesday night there is the Tama band concert, and bargain night at the movies, and on Saturday the Indians join the throng of townspeople on the street.

At home there is usually work to do in the fields or in the garden. There are chickens to feed, and usually a car to be repaired. One often sees the women sitting in the sun with their bead work, while their husbands sit near them on the grass fashioning bracelets of silver or bows and arrows for souvenir sale. When the work is done there is always many friend or relative to visit, and, of course, there may be a ceremony of some kind, with sacred singing and dancing and eating, and the Indian, if he happens to be one of the hosts this time, may be preparing the food or delivering the invitations, or dressing himself in his finery for the party.

In the winter, when snow binds them to their reservation, and work in the fields is over, there are more ceremonies and feasts to take up the time. Some of the youths are off at school, or if they are in the local schools, their evenings are occupied with their studies. Meanwhile there is band practice for those young men who compose the Indian band, and there are clubs which claim as members a number of the younger men and women of the tribe. In the summer there is baseball and other sports, as well as social activity in the evening at the Pow-Wow grounds. Also there is the mission church with its various activities, or, for those less pious, a Sunday afternoon rodeo, started by a young man who had been out West, and who can lasso and ride a bucking horse.

The Fox Indians are proud of their group. Their position is unique, not like other Indians', for theirs really is not a reservation. They and their fathers bought the land, and even now they pay taxes; yet they are not under the jurisdiction of the state, as are their white neighbors, and only Congress itself enacts the laws which govern them. The neighboring whites are proud of "their" Indians, too. The only Indians in Iowa, the chambers of commerce advertise their presence widely, and await the Pow-Wow, which in normal times at least attracted about seven thousand people. The merchants know them all, and welcome them, speak a few words of Fox, and think that they understand them (admitting at the same time that there is more to them than appears on the surface).

The old Indian pattern of perfectly inclusive hospitality still prevails. If one goes through the camps to see how the Indians live, he is more than welcome, and if he wishes to take photographs, there is no demand
dances and his songs; he has his work and his play. In addition, there are many new activities as, for example, movies, radio, and the white man's newspapers and magazines, music, and competitive sports within the tribe as well as with outsiders; there are movies and help to lay cities, also political life and interests (extending even to national elections). The annual Pow-Wow which takes much effort both from the business and program point of view is conducted entirely by the tribe. There are new holidays in addition to their own ceremonial days: Wednesday and Saturday nights, Sundays, Christmas, Fourth of July, and the other national holidays. There is much to look forward to in the Fox life of today, and no summer has one occasion gone by and been forgotten than another looks ahead. On the total of social institutions keeps the individuals living and society in motion. The Fox today are definitely a going concern.

Exhibit 2

THE FOX OF IOWA

Natalie Frankel Joffe

From: Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes. Edited by Ralph Linton, pp. 259-262, 291-300, 325-326, 1940.

When the problem of the acculturation of the Fox tribe with the White man is viewed over a long time span, one dominant leitmotiv, namely that of vigorous and planned counter-opposition to pressure, is apparent. At no time in their early history were the Fox eager to embrace White culture in order obviously superior White technology was soon adopted, but beyond this the ways of the White man made no permanent inroads. This attitude of continuous animosity has been aptly phrased by Louise Phelps Kellogg in her book entitled The French Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest.

They (the Fox) were as we shall see, the Wisconsin tribe which longest maintained its primitive independence, and was the last to succumb to French influence and to yield submission to white man. Their courage was greater than that of the other surrounding tribes, as well as their determination to live as their forefathers did, uncontaminated by white contact. To this end they not only fought the French for two generations, but they reared as many children as possible, and trained them for the same fierce resistance to civilization. By far the most fierce, the Outagami (Fox) were certainly the most interesting of the Wisconsin aborigines (p. 128).

Coupled with much hostility was considerable political skill and foresight, which enabled them through military and peaceful means to withstand the impact of White culture that came to them through the channels of exploiting colonial governments and the general westward migration of the last century. Their intense dislike for the French made them amenable to Britain's suggestion that they block the trade routes that lay to the south and west of Wisconsin, and resulted in their becoming a target for extermination at the hands of the former power.

The long period of unsetlement and hostility to Whites from the earliest date of contact, including removal into Kansas territory, culminated in the purchase of land by the Fox by the United States, in 1854. Acquisition of land by such means is unparalleled in the history of the American Indian. This act is indicative of their resoluteness, and suggests why in the face of ex-
for payment, and few refuse to pose. If a young Indian is engaged as a
guide, or if queries are put to one of the older Indians, no bargaining is
necessary beforehand, and a gift of any nature apparently satisfied the
recipient. There is constant gift-giving, and generosity in this small com-
munity whose good will every person needs, is a prime virtue.

There are among the people certain modes of behavior between rela-
tives, and toward strangers, and the culture is live enough to enforce them.
Even political enmities and rivalries seldom interfere with normal social
intercourse, and rarely does bitterness and personal feeling rise between
members of opposite factions. As for economic rivalry, there is little
opportunity. The land is not allotted, so there is no ownership as such,
no fortunes, little difference in economic status. When one finds a family
living in a wickiup only, it is due not so much to poverty as to a natural
feeling of conservatism, and the conservative old man or woman who prefers
the old to the new is naturally not envious of those who live differently.

There are those in the younger generation, who are anxious to move
forward according to white standards: to improve their homes, till more
soil, to acquire more chickens and even some cattle, to own better automo-
biles. Likewise, there seems to be a growing tendency towards the acquisi-
tion of individual possessions. With the passing of the years this new tend-
ency may do much to break down the attitudes formulated by the old culture.
It is evident in the recent feeling against the extended visits of Indians
from other reservations. These others, it is said, are less industrious
and leave their own work to come and "sponge" on their more worthy brothers.
This is not entirely due, however, to a breakdown of easy hospitality; there
is in it a sense of outraged justice—for if some of their own people should
be shiftless, and live off the bounty of their friends, social pressure
could be brought to bear, while nothing can be done about these strangers who
seem to have no feelings of proper morality themselves, who descend upon Fox
families for half a year or more, and give nothing in return. This attitude
of the Fox is further accentuated by the behavior of the visitors toward
girls of the tribe.

The Maskwakies are comparatively clean in their habits; their homes
are as clean as the average and are airy, although the furniture is sparse,
and usually not of the best. The Indian washes himself frequently and his
clothes, even if patched, are clean. Drunkenness is the exception and not
the rule. Although from a missionary's point of view sexual behavior is at
low ebb—for marriages, especially after "divorce," are not always by bene-
fit of clergy—actually there is little wantonness; chastity and faithfulness
are virtues to be learned by the young, and the morals of the Indian youth
are virtues to be learned by the young in any Iowa town.

All this seems to indicate that the culture is not broken, and that
its social integration is reflected in the psychological stability of the
individual. The natives are happy because their conflicts are not extra-
ordinary, and because their lives are filled with varied interests. Actu-
ally, the native culture has become adjusted to the relatively slight en-
croachment of white civilization. If the medicine society is gone, there re-
amain many ceremonies (and at least two new ones—the Drum Society and the
Peyote Cult—have arisen); if the occupation of the men—hunting—is gone,
farming has taken its place, and the Fox has no aversion to work; if war is
gone, there is a rich outside life to relieve the ennui. So the Indian still
has his social life intact; he still has his stories and his ceremonies, his
dancee and his songs; he has his work and his play. In addition, there are many new activities as, for example, schools, and the white man's newspapers and magazines, music, and competitive sports within the tribe as well as with outsiders; there are movies and trips to big cities, also political life and interests (extending even to national elections). The annual Pow-Wow which takes much effort both from the business and program point of view is conducted entirely by the tribe. There are new holidays in addition to their own ceremonial days: Wednesday and Saturday nights, Sundays, Christmas, Fourth of July, and the other national holidays. There is much to look forward to in the Fox life of today, and no sooner has one occasion gone by and been forgotten than another looms ahead. So the total of social institutions keeps the individuals living and society in motion. The Fox today are definitely a going concern.

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Coupled with such hostility was considerable political skill and foresight, which enabled them through military and pacific means to withstand the impact of White culture that came to them through the channel of exploiting colonial governments and the general westward migration of the last century. Their intense dislike for the French made them amenable to Britain's suggestion that they block the trade routes that lay to the south and west of Wisconsin, and resulted in their becoming a target for extermination at the hands of the former power.

The long period of unrest and hostility to Whites from the earliest date of contact, including removal into Kansa territory, culminated in the purchase of land by the Fox in Tama, Iowa, in 1854. Acquisition of land by such means is unparalleled in the history of the American Indian. This act is indicative of their resourcefulness, and suggests why in the face of ex-
posure to White contact of the most oppressive nature for over 250 years, Fox culture has remained essentially Indian.

The history of the Fox people is then not only one of determined resistance to persecution, maintained by isolating themselves and thus avoiding certain inevitable conflicts, but also one of realistic adjustment. Since it was not feasible to achieve the desired sanctuary, as was done by many tribes of the North American Southwest, by virtue of geographical position, the next best method was to meet the situation on the terms of the White man. This they accomplished by legal purchase of a tract of land, which gave them status as tax-paying residents of the state of Iowa.

Perhaps the fact that they have successfully fought for the preservation of tribal integrity accounts for their individual and cultural stability. Whenever they received large sums of money (from the sale of lands in Indian Territory, or from the restoration of annuities owing them), these were invested in more tribal land, for Iowa soil was precious to the Fox after experience in Kansas. Unlike the Omaha and Osage, the Fox did not dissipate these cash windfalls. Even the advent of the horses did not prove to be disruptive to Fox life as it was to their neighbors on the south and west. Whether it was because the Fox never had a surplus of horses, or even enough of them to supply each person with one, or that the Fox did not choose to move into the Plains, they never relied on the buffalo for their existence. Among other tribes, namely the southern Siouian peoples, the effects of the horses were cataclysmic. This fact is specially noteworthy in view of the fact that the Fox and the southern Sioux both started from the same aboriginal base. In pre-horse days both groups subsisted upon hunting and some agriculture, maintained permanent villages where they raised their crops, and went on nomadic hunts, therefrom. Possession of the horse made it possible for Woodlands tribes to move into the Plains and to follow the buffalo, and this nomadic mode of life consequently grew at the expense of the sedentary phase, which became minimized or was altogether abandoned. Elaboration of this migratory pattern was contingent upon one ecological factor—the presence of vast herds of bison in the Plains. Food, shelter and clothing were provided by the buffalo, and in order to exploit this resource successfully, conflicts arose with other tribes who were also competing for the animals. These wars gave impetus to military aspects that were already present in the culture, and led to the growth of the elaborate system of war honors, making the horse indispensable in social and legal arrangements, for possession of this animal made for wealth and prestige. The Fox had only dim reflections of this picture, and therefore when the buffalo were exterminated, they suffered less.

Thus developments among the Fox were not built up on the buffalo as a foundation; rather they grew in a direction that enabled them to survive. Religious ideology was based upon various agricultural and first fruits patterns, and the latter idea was even used to embrace certain aspects of hunting. Whether by accident or perspicacity the Fox arrived at the method which permitted them to continue their old culture after the arrival of the Whites. Attachment to land was something which the White man not only understood, but

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1The other Central Algonkian tribes (Sauk and Kickapoo) had substantially the same course of development as did the Fox until removal in the nineteenth century.
was valued by him. The Fox hit at the crux of the situation when they acquired land through a channel acceptable to the Whites (by purchase).

The Central Algonkian were notoriously conservative, waging a constant battle against the encroachment of White mores. When the Sauk, Fox and Kickapoo were removed to Kansas, two of them reacted typically. The Sauk, who had never been so strongly hostile to Whites as the Fox, gave in to the press of circumstances and followed the course of development paralleling that of other tribes in Indian Territory, succumbing rapidly to acculturation. The band of Kickapoo, who were unwilling to meet the change, fled to Mexico. On the other hand the Fox chose to purchase land as a way out of their difficulties.

The Fox had become inured to hardships during the many years of conflict, Chief Pemoussa's challenge, boasting of the immortality of his tribe, proved prophetic in the light of subsequent developments. The Fox were cut to pieces not once but many times, yet nevertheless they as an independent nation have outlasted upon this continent their numberous and implacable enemy, the French. Their numbers were at a low point at the time of the return trek from Kansas in the 1850's. The wretched band of 250 who struggled back were less than a tenth of the number ascribed to the Fox by the earliest French chronicles. That these few became the nucleus which set the tribe back on its feet and preserved the traditions of the old culture is to be marveled at, in view of the difficulties they encountered in the first years back "home."

**The Acculturation Process**

The acceptance of new cultural elements has proceeded along the lines of gradual substitution of new traits rather than sudden and complete elimination of old ones. The first wholesale replacement antedate even direct White contact, for when the French first encountered the Fox, metal tools had already supplanted those made of stone. Although the Fox were relatively unclothed when the French came upon them, they rapidly adopted cloth garments. Yet even today moccasins of deerskin, or of commercially tanned leather combined with canvas are frequently worn. In the last century leggins were worn by both sexes. The custom of women consisted of a frilled skirt and yoked blouse made of cotton print or silk with a wrap around skirt of black broadcloth and a corresponding top piece worn for best. The men were garbed in breech clouts and blankets. Now both sexes wear the clothes of the White men, but women continue to wear shawls and to cut many of their garments on the old two-piece pattern. Clothing of Indian design is worn at festivals and at Pow-Wow. The Fox first began to wear undergarments when the children were made to don them at the boarding-schools.

Face painting has vanished, except for some few artistic souls who paint at Pow-Wow, and for the adoptee of an adoption feats. Men do not reach their heads anymore but wear their hair cropped in White fashion. The

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1In 1712, during the siege of Detroit, Pemoussa taunted the French with the following words: "But I know that the Renard (Fox) is immortal, and that if in defending myself I spill blood, my father cannot reprove me." Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The Fox Indians During the French Regime," Proceedings of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin, 1907, p. 161.
women may wear theirs bobbed, even having permanent waves. Those with long hair plait it, let it hang down the back caught with a barrette or comb, or put it up in a chignon or coronet. Some women use rouge, powder and lipstick, and it is these cosmetics that serve as face paint when the occasion demands it. The men (when necessary) shave with razors and no longer perform facial epilation with tweezers or with a twist of wire.

Both the horse, which was in use by the middle of the eighteenth century, and the canoe and flat-boat, which were adopted by 1730, extended the Fox range considerably and permitted cultural elaboration. Horses were obtained from tribes west of the Mississippi, who in turn had obtained them from Santa Fe. There is also evidence that the Sauk went directly to that source for their animals.

Pottery was manufactured as late as 1820 and sherds have been found in the Rock Island sites, but even traditional knowledge of the craft has perished. The brass kettles which was brought in by the early traders quickly found favor and is in wide use today. Durability was undoubtedly a factor in the rapid adoption of metal utensils, since they are eminently more suited to transportation than are clay vessels.

Wheat flour and meat are purchased from the stores in town. The former is often made into fried bread, which is cooked in a skillet on the embers, or into biscuits. The use of white flour was already common by the latter half of the nineteenth century. Much of the diet still consists of products raised or gathered at home, and of small game that is trapped. Canning as a technique of food preservation is not much more than ten years old. In addition to this new method, the old techniques of food storage are still used. Corn is shelled and dried, or made into hominy. Beans are also dried, and the squash and pumpkin grown are cut into strips, braided and dried for storage. Cucumbers are eaten raw or made into pickles. Among the other new crops raised are oats, alfalfa, potatoes, beets, onions, tomatoes, and cabbage. Fish is caught in a chicken-wire weir that closely approximates the aboriginal pattern. Corn is no longer pounded in the wooden mortar; instead it is ground in the feed-mill in Tama.

It is in the field of law and politics that the major social changes have occurred. With the signing of the treaty of 1804, the Fox began to abandon the native scheme of internal control and became subject to the jurisdiction of White courts-of-law. The disappearance of wars weakened the power of the chief, whose principal function had been of an inter-tribal nature. The calumet was apparently superseded by wampum by about 1820, for Foreyth and Marston mention it only in passing, and then as an accessory to wampum which had taken on the same functions. Control by the ceremonial runners lapsed soon after arrival in Tama. With the restriction in range due to land purchase and the disappearance of game from the region, the long, seasonal hunt was abandoned as a group function. As police service rendered by the braves was no longer needed, and there was no field open in which to gain war honors, this group no longer had any raison d'être, and as there was no way of augmenting the group (i.e., no war in which to gain prestige), it soon died out. The council is now an elective body and exerts what little international control it can. Few major crimes are committed, most of these few being either theft, which is infrequently prosecuted, or liquor offensiveness.

The Fox as a tribe have never embraced Christianity. The small success enjoyed by French Jesuits in converting some of them to catholicism was
over by the end of the Fox wars. In the 1870's the United Presbyterian Church set up a mission on the threshold of the Fox land, but it has gained hardly more than a foothold since that time. At the turn of the century one young woman who was regarded as a good friend by the Indians brought many into the church, but membership dwindled after she was removed. Some of the young people profess Christianity, but they usually slough it off later in life, or participate in the native ceremonies concurrently. It is the opportunity afforded by the Church as a place for social gathering that gives the Church what little hold it has upon the Fox.

The date when the Algonquin syllabery was introduced is problematical. It was in wide use at the end of the nineteenth century. Many persons who are unable to write in English handle it with utmost ease. It came apparently to the Central Algonkian from some of the more easterly tribes. English is not spoken by more than one-third of the people, but there is no one who does not speak Fox. It is used in the home at all times, and often women who have married into the tribe are forced to learn Fox in self-defense.

It is not difficult to see that the idea of surnames should come easily to a society organized into gentes. American names, with several conspicuous exceptions, have only been in common use for the last forty or fifty years. Two families bear the surnames of White traders or agents who had Indian wives. Several of the names of obvious White origin come from inter-marriages with Potawotami, Sauk and Winnebago. A large group of names are direct translations of gens names, the children taking as surname the name of the father. A third group of names consists of Fox names that have been reduced to English characters for ease of transcription. The name is not precisely fixed for there have been name changes during the lifetime of the individual. Nicknames are popular, which represents an aboriginal practice translated into English usage.

Since the dispersion of the village in 1902, the frame house has been widely used, but the bark or mat-covered wickiup is still common and especially popular for summer use. Many men still use the brush-covered arbor, with the plank platform, for sleeping in hot weather. The long summer house is no longer covered with bark but is made of boards. Seven of these structures survive and are used solely for ceremonial purposes, although they were formerly lived in as well. Peyote meetings are held in a canvas tipi, which is set up in the yard of one of the members. The Drum Society meets in an open enclosure on one of the hilltops. The menstrual hut stands at the side or back of the house. It is a small dome-shaped structure covered with bark or tarpaulin, and while women no longer sleep there, they do all their cooking on a separate fire during their catamential periods.

The riding horse has been supplanted by draught animals and by automobiles. Now there is some tendency to replace the former by tractors and other motor-driven farm machinery.

In the acceptance of White culture there have been sexual, lineal, and factional differences. For women to adapt themselves to new ways, a less drastic re-adjustment was involved than for men. The role of women remained essentially unimpaired with the coming of the Whites, although their tasks were materially lightened. Less time had to be spent in the preparation of food, for they no longer had to pound corn meal, and an iron-bladed hatchet was superior to a stone tool for cutting tough bark. It was infi-
nitely more difficult for the men to adapt themselves to a new technology. Traditionally they regarded farming as women's work, and the men consistently opposed adopting this form of occupation. No appreciable group evinced any interest in agriculture until the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Schism into progressive and conservative factions began with the first White contact. Mention constantly recurs of pro- and anti-White groups. The last chief to be recognized by the government was of the progressive faction and he was among the first to send his children to school. There is a tendency on the part of the descendant of one of the White traders to dissociate themselves from participation in native ceremonies. They are active, however, in the political and economic affairs of the tribe.

On the whole, Fox history has been one of organized opposition to White culture. Ty-ee-ma, one of the Fox chiefs, summed up the attitude of his people to Marston (p. 155): he believed that the Great Spirit put the Indians on earth to hunt and to gain a living from nature; he said that when any of his people departed from the ways of their ancestors by attempting to learn to read and write and to live by the ways of the White man, the displeasure of the Great Spirit was incurred and the offender soon died.

The general refusal to accept schooling, conversion, enrollment by name in the annuity list even at the price of forfeiting their funds, show the strong determination to preserve and defend their own way of life since the land purchase. The schism into factions brought about a bitter feud, reaching such a climax that the duly elected member who was a leader of the conservative faction refused to sit on the council.

Peyote and the Drum Society are two religious cults that have been imported from other Indian groups. The first incorporates many elements of Christian doctrine and worship. The main source of the mescal button used in peyote worship is from the Sauk in Oklahoma, but one of the participants also raises the plant in boxes in his home. The leaders of both factions oppose these innovations, yet membership closely follows factional lines. The bulk of the peyote members are drawn from the conservative group, while those who belong to the Drum Society side largely with the progressives.

Aboriginal culture is valued, but the Fox are not blind to certain obvious benefits to be found in White ways. The superior technological knowledge and skill of the White was rapidly acknowledged. The Fox do not expect a small child to be interested in the things adults do. Children have to be dragged to ceremonies, and when they attend them, pay little attention. But this is to be expected, for they are only children and no more is demanded of them. White education is appreciated in that it equips the Indian to cope with the White man and the problem that he poses. At first it was the boys who attended school for a longer period than did girls, but at present the obverse is the case. Fewer girls play truant too. Girls are eager to learn domestic science and dress-making, since such skills enable them to become better housewives.

The skill of White physicians is recognized for what are considered White diseases (e.g., smallpox, venereal diseases, spotted fever, diphtheria, measles, etc.). An outbreak of Rocky Mountain spotted fever occurred in 1937, and more than half of the people submitted to blood tests. When there was a field nurse for this tribe, her clinic for the treatment of venereal disease was well attended. The obvious benefits achieved through hospital delivery are realized. It is easier for the government to bear the burden of contami-
nation from parturient and post-parturient women, than it is for a family (and less expensive too).

For the old culture it is impossible to judge the system of economic valuation. Today money is well understood and appreciated. Personal evaluation has not changed. The man who is sober, industrious, faithful and not a gossip, is the one respected. He should not lie, nor fawn on the Whites. The girl who is modest, neat and a good worker, is the one who will be a good wife. Although ideally, she should be chaste, the standard is more honored in the breach than in observance, but she must not be talked about or bear illegitimate children. One hundred years ago there was much prenuptial sexual activity on the part of girls and that is the case today. Yet when such a girl married, she was expected to be faithful to her husband, and generally lived up to this expectation (Forsyth, p. 215).

The Fox, unlike many other Indian tribes, are not "historically minded." They have short memories and even their stories do not include archeaic cultural traits. Instead, their mental activities have been utilized for reaching a working adjustment to each new situation, and not preserving the outward formal shell of life when the inner meaning had gone. As each element of their culture lost its use, it was rapidly discarded and not retained for its doubtful antique value. Even the method of butchering bear and buffalo was not remembered in 1910, a scant sixty years since they had actually used these animals.

Non-Cultural Results of Contact

One of the earliest changes to come about was the change in tribal name. The Fox called themselves Meskwawki, which means literally Red-Earth people. Their neighbors called them Outagami, the translation of which is "People from the Other side." When the French first met a band of Fox they asked them their name, wishing to ascertain the tribal affiliation. The Indians misunderstood and thought they were seeking gentile affiliations. As the persons the French encountered belonged to the Fox (War Chiefs) gens, they gave this association as the answer. The appellation of Fox has persisted as the tribal name.

None of the earliest accounts gives the Fox more than 3,000 persons as a maximum number. Although it is unlikely that not one of the French chroniclers saw the entire tribe together, it is improbable that the top estimate was ever exceeded or even reached. The tribe dwindled in size until the middle of the last century owing to the ravages of decimating wars, epidemic, and liquor. After that time the population increased slowly, owing to better living conditions and through the Sauk, Potawotami and Winnebago who came to live with the Fox. A severe outbreak of smallpox occurred in 1902 which killed off forty-two individuals. Since this epidemic the numbers have been on the increase, so that the Fox now number over 450, representing a net gain of something over 25 per cent in the last thirty years. The birth-rate is very high, and the death-rate relatively low.

The Fox are a healthy people and amazingly free from tuberculosis. Venereal diseases have not yet made great inroads. Trachoma is the most common affliction but wide incidence of the disease seems to be at least 110 years old.¹

¹Forsyth, p. 218. Mention is made of the wide prevalence of "sore eyes" (1827), which the author ascribes to the great amount of irritating smoke present in the lodges of the Sauk and Fox.
The change from a semi-nomadic to a completely sedentary economy has meant a curtailment in range for most of the people. Although in 1880 about half of the people dispersed to hunt in the winter, now there are no longer any village hunts. Since the abandonment of boarding schools, fewer persons manage to travel very far afield. Some of the men who attended Carlisle have been as far east as New York, and visits to relatives and friends in Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and Wisconsin are frequent. Many Fox have traveled with rodeos and circuses. Within the confines of the State of Iowa, jaunts are common. The Indians are much in demand at county fairs, demonstrations of the American Legion and similar affairs. The baseball teams and the brass band play away from home several times during the year. Two men got to France as soldiers in the World War, and one of them to a training camp in Texas. There is little desire to settle away from Tama. All but one of the men who have held jobs in cities have returned and settled with their families. The sole exception is the man who is employed by the State Historical Society in Des Moines, but he visits his relatives often. Several women and one man have married out of the tribe and taken up residence elsewhere. One man is enlisted in the Navy.

The rich lead mines and abundant fur supplies once available to the Fox are of course gone. Although some trapping of small animals is still practiced, the large game animals once so important in their economy have long since vanished. The amount of land available to support each individual has been drastically curtailed, but with the change in economy less acreage is needed. Many more manufactured articles are now in use by the Fox, and these have become more plentiful with the passage of time.

The Present Community

There are two crucial incidents that serve to demarcate changes in the mode of Fox life. The first one is of course the purchase of land in 1854. It is the position as tax-paying residents of the State of Iowa that has buttressed the pride of the Fox, and contributed to their great sense of security, which is reflected in their cultural stability. The acquisition of land through acceptable legal channels has fixed their status as tax-paying residents and prevented them from being regarded as interlopers by the Whites. They lived in a village until 1902, when the second critical incident took place. This was a severe epidemic of smallpox, which resulted in the burning of their village at the order of White authorities. As a result of this destruction by the local health officers, they dispersed and took up residence in various parts of the tribally owned land.

Some 450 Fox now live on 2,800 acres of land in Central Iowa (Figures are as of 1937). Farming is the economic basis of their lives. All the women cultivate gardens as was done long ago, but it is the men who raise oats, hay, corn, and alfalfa, thus preserving the ancient division of labor, which held the man responsible for securing the White man's goods for his family. Houses are still also conceptually female property, although they are often owned and willed by men. House and garden sites are available to all persons enrolled, but not everyone possesses fields on which to raise cash crops, for certain historical reasons that will be discussed later. Men do the rough work, such as plowing and clearing the gardens, and suffer no loss of caste by performing these and other garden tasks. One of the best gardens is kept by a bachelor who devotes much time and care to his vegetables. Men take the same pride in having good gardens that women do. This fact is all the more striking in view of the unwillingness of Fox men, over a long period of time, to perform what was always regarded as "women's work."
The survival of the Fox can be attributed to four major factors, all of which may be understood in terms of a strong in-group feeling and tribal solidarity. First, with great skill the warlike Fox repelled physical domination by the White man. Second, with equal stubbornness they resisted unwanted cultural influences from the same source. Third, such cultural traits of the Whites as seemed valuable to them they took; and these they incorporated expertly into their own traditional, cultural framework. Fourth, unlike most other Indians whose decline correlates with the gradual loss of lands to White encroachers, the Fox, before it was too late, began collectively to purchase land from individual White owners. The last factor may be regarded as crucial, for it enabled the Fox to go on in their own way, yet on terms completely comprehensible to the White man. Those groups of American Indians who have managed to continue their own lives under changed conditions, for example the pueblo and nomadic people of the Southwest, share with the Fox one important factor; they have been able to settle on a mode of livelihood that has not altered under changing conditions. Even such tribes as the Ojibwa and Iroquois are a good deal more like their ancestors than are the Omaha and Osage. The Minnesota Ojibwa hunt, make maple sugar and gather wild rice, much as they did two hundred years ago; the Iroquois still are agriculturalists who hold their green corn and false face ceremonies.

When they first began to buy land, the Fox thought they were securing a haven of refuge where life would go on as in the old days. Within forty years, however, despite their old aversion to farming, the men of the tribe had begun to lay out fields. Some did so later and more reluctantly than others, to be sure, yet the whole process demonstrates a recognition that they had to farm or die. Where outside compulsion had failed to make agriculturalists of them, their own voluntary adoption of farming succeeded. At present the Fox are attempting to augment their landholdings and will in all likelihood continue to flourish and increase as they have for the last thirty-five years.

Exhibit 3

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ADMINISTRATION

SOL TAX

From: America Indigene, Volume V, Number 1, January 1945, pp. 21-33.

In the course of ten years' social anthropological research for the Carnegie Institution of Washington, I have learned many things about the highland region of Chiapas and Guatemala and have a mass of data covering pretty thoroughly many aspects of life in several of its Indian communities. Although nobody has ever asked my technical assistance in solving the social problems of the region, I frequently speculate as to the potential usefulness of my knowledge to administrators, social reformers, or anybody else. I also wonder what might be my obligations, in this respect, as an anthropologist and as a citizen. A few years ago several students accompanied me to an Indian town (in Chiapas) for training. The Indians appeared to them poor, diseased, and exploited, and the emotions of these youthful anthropologists were aroused. How, they wanted to know, could I see what they were seeing and not do anything about it? I replied, as I thought fit, that nobody would be able to "do anything about it" unless it were very clear what "it" really is; that it was our business as scientists to determine objectively and unemotionally what the facts of the matter were; and that the information could be used, then, for scientific generalizations and also, by
whomever should wish, as a basis for action. I pointed out further that "it" would never be thoroughly known until it could be put into the broad- est possible scientific context—that the data we gathered on these Indians, if treated scientifically, would contribute to scientific generalizations and thus indirectly to a solution of the social problems of the community we were studying. The reply hardly satisfied, and doubtless my attitude was attributed to heartlessness, perhaps a reactionary political bias, and a lack of social consciousness.

Yet, what does a contrary view involve? It takes for granted that even imperfect knowledge is suitable for a program of action. Obviously, there is some point at which ignorance is so great that a program of action based upon it is as likely to do harm as good, and some other point where the information is sufficient to permit a recommendation for action that will have a reasonably high probability for success. Somebody must decide when information is sufficient for use. Who is it that must make that necessary practical judgment?

An even greater difficulty lies in the assumption that there is a generally agreed-upon end, or a generally agreed-upon choice of conflicting ends and values. One cannot say what is "wrong" unless he can also say what is "right." It is impossible to recommend a program of action unless one is clear about what is to be achieved. But is it the anthropologist who sets goals? or is he expected to interpret them? Is there not a problem as to whether the anthropologist has a right to intrude his preferences upon his data in order to recommend a course of action?

The answers to such questions have been given before. Since they concern the relations between science (knowledge) and politics (the art of achieving given ends), they are at least as old as Greek philosophy. Nor is the general point of view that I shall take new; it can be stated in the words of John Stuart Mill:

...Though the reasonings which connect the end or purpose of every art with its means belong to the domain of Science, the definition of the end itself belong exclusively to Art, and forms its peculiar province. Every art has one first principle, or general major premise, not borrowed from science; that which enunciates the object aimed at, and affirms it to be a desirable object. The Builder's art assumed that it is desirable to have buildings; architecture (as one of the fine arts) that it is desirable to have them beautiful or imposing. The hygienic and medical arts assume, the one that the preservation of health, the other that the cure of disease, are fitting and desirable ends. These are not propositions of science. Propositions of science assert a matter of fact: an existence, a co-existence, a succession, or a resemblance. The propositions now spoken of do not assert that anything is, but enjoin or recommend that something should be. They are a class by themselves. A proposition of which the predicate is expressed by the words ought or should be, is generically different from one which is expressed by is or will be. ...

A scientific observer or reasoner, merely as such, is not an advisor for practice. His part is only to show that certain consequences follow from certain causes, and that to obtain certain ends, certain means are the most effectual. Whether the ends themselves are such as ought to be pursued, and if so, in what cases and to how great length, it is no part of his business as a cultivator of science to decide, and science alone will never qualify him for the decision.

In purely physical science there is not much temptation to assume
this ulterior office; but those who treat of human nature and society invariably claim it; they always undertake to say, not merely what is, but what ought to be. To entitle them to do this, a complete doctrine of Teleology is indispensable. A scientific theory, however perfect, of the subject matter, considered merely as part of the order of nature, can in no degree serve as a substitute (A System of Logic, Book VI, Chapter XII, 8th ed.).

The point that science does not set ends, that the results of scientific investigation can only be "used," and can be used only by policy makers, in terms of goals and values that are set outside of science, is clear in the nature of the case. That is the meaning of the oft-heard phrase that "Science is instrumental." Science judges the usefulness of its propositions and data in terms of their usefulness to the solution of scientific problems and not social problems. Science as such can have no concern with the good or the bad—indeed, such terms have no meaning in science; except as meaning "leading to understanding" or the contrary, as in the phrase "a good method of research." It cannot matter to the scientist, whether his discovery leads to the "improvement" of the lot of mankind or to man's total destruction. Science as such as amoral.

The reader will note the qualifications of these statements in terms of "science as such" and "the scientist qua scientist." The fact is, of course, that "science as such" and certainly the "scientist as such" are ideals or mental constructs that do not exist in reality. Science as part of the value system of our society arises from it and contributes to it. It is not the scientist, but the public that in the end decides that scientific research is valuable, and the scientist is supported by society in the expectation that his work is for the social good. The measure of its value being, thus, its utility, science never is and never can be "pure." But even beyond that, the man who does science is not only a scientist, but also a feeling human being and a citizen. If it can be said that the lot of mankind is no concern of the scientist qua scientist, the same certainly cannot be said of the scientist qua citizen. As I write this, I am of course writing not alone as a scientist but as a member of society.

Nevertheless, it remains true that science cannot be done except by scientists, and to the degree that the "scientist" acts in his role not of scientist but of citizen, he is not doing science. It is therefore clear that if society values scientific research, any demand that scientists act as citizens rather than as scientists militates against society's own self-defined interest.

But in society there are a great number of contradictory ends and conflicting interests. Thus, for example, in our society "Liberty" is valued, but so is "Order." So it is that pure science—the search for knowledge in its own terms and for its own sake—is valued, but pursuit of the common good is also valued. In practice, therefore, society demands welfare. It is true that there is a widespread belief that the Truth (discovered by science) will redound eventually to material welfare. But in a world plagued with disease and poverty and war there is an understandable impatience with the logical corollary of this belief: that society will be best served if science is permitted its freedom. The ivory-tower scientist searching everlastingly for Truth on the theory that eventually it will conquer is accused, at the very least, of smugness. Strong indeed is the scientist who can continue his work unfettered by the ephemeral demands about him and shrug off criticism as "the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy take."

Such pressure has been, until recently, little felt by the anthro-
pologist. Working for the most part with bones and ancient civilizations, and the exotic customs of far-off peoples, he has fanned idle curiosity and thus allayed impatience. His problems were not the problems of the world; as an historian, he answered irrelevant questions and performed a function in society something between that of an Einstein, dealing with the mysterious, and an entertainer. Society easily permitted him the purity of his science because it was content with the accidental by-products of his labors. This happy situation could continue only as long as anthropologists were primarily concerned with the old and the distant; so when, the "far-off" peoples became a problem of the world in which we live, they found themselves able no longer to escape with equanimity the fate of other social scientists.

Whether or not because of the pressure, anthropologists began to study our own society. Our own institutions, our own class structure, our immigrant backgrounds, the inter-relations of our ethnic communities and classes became meat for "anthropological" methods. The predictable effects were soon apparent: if anthropologists were to deal with social problems, they must (like sociologists more traditionally) deal with solutions as well. Meanwhile, peoples in odd corners of the world, who had been interesting specimens for anthropology, became themselves a social problem. The anthropologist, who knew something about native peoples—or who by use of "anthropological" methods could most competently find out about them—discovered that he was engaged in something current, and was in turn discovered to be a useful person. Again, the same effect was not long in appearing: he could not deal with things of this world without dealing with them in a worldly manner.

It is a fact significant for this interpretation that among anthropologists only the archaeologists and those ethnologists still concerned with ancient history continue, almost exclusively, freely, and with popular support, to build magnificent edifices of theory. Physical anthropologists, from necessity or preference, spend energy erecting growth curves of children in their relation to education; to measurements of women for the rationalization of the dressmaking trade; and to disproving racist doctrines. Linguists find themselves learning and teaching languages, and writing unwritten languages to help combat native illiteracy. The so-called cultural or social anthropologists (the writer among them) give time to studies of food habits to see how resources can be conserved and health improved, or of the growing-up process in primitive societies to suggest solutions to our problems of education; to writing pamphlets on the basic culture of different peoples for the benefit of statesmen and soldiers who must deal with them; or to studying industrial relations and their effects on morale and production.

I am not saying that many anthropologists spend most of their energies on such enterprises; but a growing number devote ever more time to them. Nor am I saying that they "should" or "should not" do so. The point is simply that the old problem of the relations of science and its application, of science and public policy, has been ever more rapidly catching up with anthropologists. It needs specific clarification.

In most general terms, the end of the citizenry in a democratic society is to eliminate the discrepancy between what is and what it believes should be. Among measures it takes to achieve this end, it appoints administrators. The goal of administration, therefore, may be said to be to implement ends that are furnished it by the citizenry. This holds true, in
general, whether one thinks of the administration of a business corporation, a school, or the body politic. In many cases, however, the "given ends" are not always clear-cut, and they must be interpreted by the administration; so administration becomes always in some degree policy-making as well as policy-implementing. This is especially true of the administration of the body politic of a free society, which must steer a course between conflicting near-ends, values, preferences, and interests. Every administrator requires knowledge in order to implement his policies, and it may be taken for granted that the government administrator needs a great deal of special knowledge to overcome the special difficulties of his complex task. It is the function of science to obtain knowledge, and the public supports science (even as the stockholders of a business corporation support research) in the expectation that administration will use that knowledge.

Both administration and science recognize that the more knowledge there is available for use, the better can be its application. It is a rare administrator, however, who treats that proposition as other than highly theoretical; while on the other hand it lies at the basis of scientific thinking and method. Science consists of a graded series of abstractions from the more particular to the more general; it attempts to become more and more general, supposing that the more general a proposition is, the more it takes into account all phenomena, the more valid it is. The reality of this point of view can hardly be overemphasized; science conceives its propositions to be more valid as they are more general, not only theoretically, but as applied to a particular situation. And conversely, it conceives that the lower the level of abstraction, the less applicable it is to a concretes situation. For example, if one wishes to apply anthropological knowledge to a given Indian tribe, science would hold that knowledge about that tribe is less important than knowledge about all Indians, or generalizations about human nature and society. To the administrator, this may seem to be a reversal of common sense; but it should be apparent that just as a sheep-breeder applies to his sheep knowledge of sheep-genetics rather than knowledge of his sheep, so the administrator applies to the Indian tribe knowledge not about the tribe, but knowledge about some aspects of human nature. True, the administrator must know the condition of the tribes, just as the sheep-breeder knows
what kind of sheep he has; but the knowledge to be applied to interpreting
and changing that condition is general knowledge, and the point of view of
science is that the more general, the more valid. When I replied to my stu-
dents that we would have to know what "it" was before "doing something about
it," I was thinking not only of the conditions of those Indians, but even
more so of knowledge of the nature of society and culture that would permit
understanding of those Indians and their difficulties.

Perhaps the relations between science and administration in this
respect can be summed up in the accompanying diagram. Scientific theory
gives rise to scientific problems, in the light of which the social facts
of a particular situation are interpreted and make possible a broadening of
scientific theory. Social problems, meanwhile, are recognized in terms of
values and interests, and the facts of a particular social situation, as
interpreted in the light of social values, are used by the administrator in
the solution of social problems. But the conclusions of science are used
by the administrator in conjunction with his interpretation of social facts,
and the broader the scientific theory, the more useful it is in application.
Science is continually growing; at any point of its development, its results
can be used by practical men, but the farther it is developed the better it
can be used.

It is a misapprehension that administrators frequently have that the
anthropologist is primarily concerned with the community he is studying.
Typically, and ideally, he is not. He studies that community to gain under-
standing of all communities, and of culture and society in general.*

To put it extremely, the community he studies is to the anthropol-
gist what a bottleful of fruitflies is to a geneticist who does not ex-
pect to project his findings back upon fruitflies at all. That the anthro-
pologist's information about his specimen is frequently useful to somebody
interested in that specimen (the community he has studied) is accidental
and incidental; his scientific research is not oriented toward that end.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the administrator is frequent-
ly disappointed that the anthropologist has not extracted all of the kinds
of data that would be useful to him. His disappointment shows either that
he does not understand the ways of science and the expectation of scientiste

*Prof. Robert Redfield, who kindly read this essay before publica-
tion, write me that "A reader might get the impression that the achieved
generalizations (of social science) are grander and more precise than they
are, or perhaps are ever to be. My own view is that the generalizations
constitute a sort of ideal limit of the game played. Guided by generali-
izations which in many cases prove illusory, we gain a knowledge of par-
ticular cases through this more or less unrealistic structure of generali-
zations. The point, for your subject, is that the essential contribution
of the scientist to the understanding of the particular case is made if he
be allowed to do his work in terms of general conception moulded by their
inner necessity, by the scientist's theoretical imagination as guided by
his observations, not by concern for practical solutions. But I think much
of the value of social science lies in the understanding—understanding so
gained—it gives to particular cases."
that their findings will be more useful eventually if their work is "pure science," or that he refuses to be reconciled to such a position. But if he demands that anthropologists compromise their science, he should know that he imperils the goose that lays his golden eggs.

I have said that administration is in some degree policy-making as well as policy-implementing. This is so in practice, but strictly speaking, the administrator insofar as he interprets the ends and interests of his employer is more than an administrator. In the realm of public administration, he is also what might be called a social philosopher. It is well to keep these two roles, policy-implementing and policy-making, separate, for the scientist has a somewhat different relationship to the administrator in the two cases.

I shall treat first of the relations of pure administration to social science, anthropology in particular.

The successful administrator, like the successful physician, is one whose judgment in applying general knowledge to a particular instance is good. In enterprises to which anthropological knowledge is relevant, it is the anthropologist, even though passively and incidentally, who furnishes the knowledge that the administrator applies. Of course, after some training, the administrator may himself be able to obtain relevant anthropological knowledge, or with some training an anthropologist may similarly turn administrator. This is simply to say that one individual may be capable of acting in two different roles. That does not mean that he need be confused about what he is doing at any time, for the criteria are simple; if the so-called anthropologist or the so-called administrator pursues researches in terms of scientific problems, he is doing anthropology; if he pursues them in terms of social or practical problems, he is doing anthropology. The collector of data of the kind used by anthropologists is not by that token an anthropologist. If anthropology is a science only one pursuing a scientific goal is acting as an anthropologist. Similarly, a person who is applying anthropological knowledge, in the implementation of public policy, is an administrator.

What, then, of the collection of information, of the kind that anthropologists collect, in terms not of scientific problems but directly for the use of administration? If it is not anthropology, and it certainly isn't administration, what is it? Perhaps this is the field that has recently been labelled "applied anthropology." If so, that is certainly a misnomer, since it is not anthropology and since the knowledge it uncovers, like other information, is applied by administration. Even if such data are collected by use of techniques developed by anthropology; even, indeed, if the collector is a titled anthropologist, the project is not one of anthropology unless it is undertaken with a scientific purpose in terms of anthropological theory. The collection, digestion, and analysis of information is necessary to administration, and it rightly calls upon anthropologically trained personnel for technical assistance. There is no intent in what I am writing to discourage the occupation of such personnel in this enterprise. But surely the anthropologist and the administrator will both be disappointed if they enter into such a relationship in the illusion that what is expected is scientific research.

There seem to be three general ways in which the findings of an anthropology are or can be made available to administrators. First, the administrator may cull the anthropological literature concerning the people
he is called upon to govern. This method, even when the administrator has been reasonably conscientious in the matter, has been unsatisfactory for three reasons:

1. The literature in question is usually deficient in the kinds of data most useful to administrators. As has been pointed out, this is necessarily so, since anthropologists do not select their data from the administrator's point of view.

2. The administrator, untrained in anthropological theory, fails to take advantage of what there is in the literature. He may learn "facts" about the people, but he does not get the understanding that a trained scientist gets. The anthropologist brings to his work a certain understanding of human culture and society, so takes from it an understanding of a particular people. The administrator finds them an isolated phenomenon, and cannot properly interpret in terms the he needs the findings of the anthropologist.

3. At best, by this method, the administrator applies to his work data about the culture with which he deals. He cannot apply what would be more useful to him—anthropological generalizations of a higher order.

Second, the administrator may hire a trained anthropologist either as consultant or to make special studies from his point of view or both. In recent years, and especially during the war, this has become fashionable. None of the difficulties of the first method are now necessary, and the use of anthropologists as consultants has proved useful in many cases. In cases where anthropologists (i.e., men trained as scientists) have themselves become administrators, the results are essentially the same. In either case, as I have suggested, the anthropologist must abandon, more or less, and at least for a time, his anthropology, to subject his talents to the solution of social problems rather than scientific problems. Any research he does will fall correspondingly short of being scientific (however "good") in the sense of contributing to the development of scientific theory.

In some cases the anthropologist takes a research assignment from an administrator with the understanding that his interest will be primarily in a scientific problem, and he phrases his problem in such terms. To the degree that he succeeds in his resolve, he of course disappoints his employer; for if he succeeds, he will discover relatively much that is relevant to scientific theory, relatively little that is directly applicable to the concrete situation. If anthropologists and administrators both understood this at the beginning, it would save disappointment and grief at the end, if indeed the administrator is far-sighted enough to support a research out of which he would get few short-run or immediate returns.

Third, the administrator may be given more or less training in anthropology. If he takes complete professional training, he is presumably an anthropologist, and the case is the same as that of an anthropologist--turned administrator. On the other hand, one who plans to enter administration might "take some anthropology" as part of his training; or one already in administration might return to an institution of learning to "get some anthropological training." Nobody can doubt that in general the more one knows, the better; "some anthropology" is doubtless a valuable component of any liberal education. The question, however, is how much and what kind of anthropology should be taught one who wants a year or two of it as equipment for a position in administration. My own answer is that he
must get at least enough anthropology-as-a-discipline to know what its major method and theory is and to learn how much he will not have learned, to appreciate that he is not becoming "an anthropologist"; the introductory courses in all fields of anthropology, in most universities, would serve this purpose. What additional training he gets would depend upon the kind of administrative position he has or is interested in having.

From the point of view of a school or department of anthropology, it seems clear to me that a special course of study like "Anthropology for Administrators" is on two counts misconceived. First, anthropologists can teach only anthropology, and they cannot as anthropologists teach anything else, whether to dentists, shop-girls, or administrators. Second, if anthropology has proved useful to administrators, it is because it is a rounded scientific discipline, and the teaching of any narrow selection of anthropological fact or theory would defeat its own purpose.

I turn, finally, to the other aspect of the general problem: the relation of social science (and anthropology) to policy-making. I have argued that science as such cannot treat practical problems because as science it has no practical ends or preferences, and to the degree to which its purity is permitted to suffer, society is deprived of whatever science can provide it. But there is more to be said. Because the subject matter with which they deal is human society, social scientists are in a better position than other citizens to formulate policy in terms of given ends or the reconciliation of conflicting ends, and to influence the public in its choices.

Every citizen of a democratic society, including the scientist and the administrator, has the right—if not the duty—to formulate a philosophy that takes into account what he conceive to be the goal of that society. We come, then, to the field of "social philosophy" that may now be distinguished from and related to both social science and administration. Science studies the values and ends of a society, but itself, ideally has no preference. Administration applies science in the light of what it conceives to be the ends of the public that supports it. And now social philosophy may be said to have as its realm the analysis and revision of social ends in the light of scientific knowledge.

I do not propose here to discuss the controversial question of the relations of science and philosophy beyond making two points. First, it seems clear that the methods of science are not sufficient to make a philosopher. Since science is not evaluating, the philosopher must obtain the values underlying his social philosophy from some other source. He must admit to his purview not only knowledge but an ethical system and the wisdom out of which it has grown. Second, I am convinced that a social philosophy is the more valid not only the more it takes into account the understanding of society obtained by social science, but also the more it is based upon the scientific manner of thought. The ability properly to manipulate ideas about society depends both upon logical faculties as they are disciplined and sharpened by use in the method of science, and knowledge of the phenomena of the social world themselves. For this reason I believe that the influential social philosopher is the one familiar with the most advanced social science of his day—e.g., Aristotle—and therefore that social scientists have a peculiar opportunity to develop influential social philosophies.

It follows also, of course, that the broader one's knowledge of society is, the more broadly based will be one's social philosophy. The
anthropologist's experience in this respect is fortunate, especially since in recent years European and other civilizations have come into his compass. The more the anthropologist can absorb of the knowledge acquired by the other disciplines of social science, however, the better opportunity he will have to develop a comprehensive, valid, and influential philosophy of the ends of his society.

When it is not merely academic, the purpose of social philosophy is to influence the values and goals of the public and, hence, the policy that administration implements. It is at this high level that social scientists in a democratic society find their greatest usefulness: in applying, as social philosophers, the findings of their science to the formulation of policy, to the planning of a better social order, and to the influencing of public sentiment in the direction of its formulation so that administrators can implement policies most in keeping with the ultimate social good as it is conceived by the wisest of the men of good-will in the body politic.

The social philosopher depends in largest part upon the development of science for the validity of his conclusions: but unlike the scientist as such, he makes practical decisions. He reaches a point where he thinks he knows what ought to be, and he brings to bear his knowledge of science upon the problem of changing what he knows is to what he thinks ought to be, to plan both how to bring the public's values to conform to his considered own and how, then, they can be implemented. Here is the place, therefore, where science becomes part of the social process and fulfills the trust that gives it rise. But it is applied not by the scientist, nor by the administrator, but by the planner who has taken from science its most general knowledge and wedded it in his wisdom to a standard of morality consonant with the needs of the society of which he is a part. He need not wait the millenium when science knows all; as a social philosopher he is the one to judge when science and he know enough to make something better of something worse, and the wisdom of his judgment will be known to those of his kind who follow him in the never-ending endeavor to make a better world.
The interpretation of this first phase of the history of the Fox program here suggested is: (1) Two factors, of the nature of accidents, predisposed the first field parties to look for "problems." (2) Because they looked for, and therefore found, problems, the impulse was to do something about it. The values questions involved in making the decision to do something is the central focus of this phase of the Fox program. (3) Having tentatively decided that something should be done, the first field parties further focused their attention—and therefore their theoretical interests—on the problems.

The end result of this phase is exemplified in papers by Lisa Peattie, Lloyd Fallers, and, in respect to plans about what should be done, a paper by Robert Rietz.

A program emerged which, oversimplifying considerably, would attempt to change certain Fox patterns of interpersonal behavior (considered means) in order that the Fox might achieve certain white-derived material wants (considered ends). In those terms, one values question, whether or not the Fox should assimilate, became irrelevant, but the long-term expectation of the members of the field parties, with one possible exception, seemed to be that they would in fact eventually assimilate. That expectation fits, and probably derives from, a functionalist concept of culture, unstated, which sees the fit between "parts" of a culture as very tight, in which changes in one part inevitably pull along the other parts in the same direction. However, the theoretical interests of the first field parties were much more people-oriented than the interests generally found in analyses of traits or culture parts, and this brings into their thinking ideas of individual psychology such as "adjustment" and "ambivalence." Those interests seem to imply a much looser concept of culture.

The values question which absorbed a good proportion of the intellectual energy of this first phase was: Who decides the Fox future, we or they? This first phase of the project ends, so far as the written record is concerned, with a hodgepodge of inconsistency and, in the 1949 formulation, asserts the problem to be logically insoluble. But it is reasonably inferable from that record that the matter was unsolved because the party refused to answer that they would decide and could not find a logical rationale for a program which would let the Fox decide. One imagines that, in their behavior in the field, they acted as if that latter logic had been reached. The members of the field party tended to be permissive in their persons, and they carried with them anthropologists' penchant for cultural relativism.

Perhaps the major fact which emerges from this phase is the effects of that "made" value judgment on the conscious attempts to make it logical, and the limits of the effects of that unordered judgment on the program plans which emerged. And perhaps the most exciting, but unanswerable, question which emerges is the contrast between those stated plans and the actions which would actually have occurred, had the plans materialized.

The early focus on "problems"

During the winter of 1947-48, the faculty of the University of Chicago Department of Anthropology decided to make it easier for students of the department to get field experience. Sol Tax was asked to look into the possibilities of the Fox community. In December, Tax broached
the subject to John Provinse, then assistant commissioner of Indian af-
airs, through correspondence. Provinse was encouraging and helpful. In
May, 1948, Tax visited the Fox settlement and on his return wrote the
letter to Provinse which appears as Exhibit 4.

The paragraph on changes in the Fox community is interesting in
that it is a second indication of Tax's tendency to see continuity, and
weigh it heavily, in viewing phenomena which exhibit both persistence
and change. The quid pro quo arrangement with the Indian Service to
provide them with useful data was the forerunner of later developments—
the whole idea of engaging in a program of conscious interference—which
emerged as a central idea in the middle of the first summer in the Fox
community.

The first field party, consisting of Robert Rietz, Lisa Peattie,
Walter Miller, Lloyd Fallera, and Davida Wolffson, all from the Depart-
ment of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, arrived in the Fox
community in late June and early July of 1948. They took up residence
in the government-run day school. The party intended to do ordinary re-
searches in social anthropology. They came into the field without spe-
cific commitments as to the nature of those researches, though the broad
understanding was that they would be studying the acculturation of an
Indian community.

Very early during the first summer, the several inquiries of the
members of the field party took a "problem" orientation. The general im-
pression of the Fox community which they reported was in strong contrast
with the impressions of Tax, who had been in the community in 1932 and
1934, and of Joffe, who was there in 1937. Earlier, the community had
seemed to be in a state of well-being; now, the community was seen as
people with problems.

The first suspicion, of course, is that interest in problems
arose because the Fox community had changed. The degree to which this
had actually happened is difficult to discern. We do know that in the
early spring of 1948 there had been strong political upheavals in the
Fox community, brought on by actions of the federal government to trans-
fer its jurisdiction over law enforcement in the Fox community to the
State of Iowa. The resulting political disruption was strong enough to
cause the people to recall the chairman of the tribal council and elect
in his place a man from the opposite political faction. The bill author-
izing the transfer of that jurisdiction passed just as the first field
party entered the Fox community early in July. Certainly the observed
phenomena were somewhat different. But to what degree were those differ-
ences accidental—caused by particular historical events temporarily
affecting the same structures and processes at work during Tax's and
Joffe's studies?

But two other factors were less ambiguous. First, it is very
possible that Tax's commitment to Provinse to supply him with useful in-
formation biased the field party's perception of the Fox. The letter
from Peattie to Provinse, Exhibit 5, reveals that possibility.

Second, the expectations of the academic community to which the
field party would return entered in such a way as to permit the focus on
problems. The field party came into the field without specific commit-
ments as to the areas of their research. That relative absence of struc-
ture permitted the field party to focus their interests wherever they
wanted but, at least as importantly, it created a greater freedom for the
Fox, in conversations with the field party, to guide the subject matter
as they would. Perhaps the Fox felt that the really important things to
discuss were the problems. But to the degree that interests seemed to be settling on problems, the field party felt uneasy. They had come to do science. A visit by Redfield in July made it possible for the field party to interpret their interests as scientifically proper. He suggested that they ask themselves the general question: Is this a culture? and if so, how characterize it? Since all the community's problems seemed to have reference to their position vis-a-vis the white society, understanding the Fox's feelings about the problems would be an important part of the answer to the question Redfield raised.

By the end of July the field party's theoretical focus had narrowed further, because of time limitations, to an aspect of Redfield's suggestion, the question: What do these people want? and how do they go about getting it? The entry in Peattie's journal, Exhibit 6, reports that decision.

Exhibit 4

Dr. John H. Provinse, Assistant Commissioner, Office of Indian Affairs, U. S. Dept. of the Interior, Washington 25, D. C.

May 11, 1948

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter of May 3rd.

I have just come back from a weekend on the Sao and Fox Reservation, visiting my Indian friends and spending a couple of hours with Mr. Mays, the Principal of the school, and his wife.

I find the Reservation remarkably little changed, at least superficially. The Indians seem to be in the same places, living in about the same houses, which don't even look any older. Considering that in the 15 years that have elapsed there was the revolution in the Indian Service, a depression and WPA, and a war, I think this rather surprising. Since I was there, several of the Indians have gone out "into the world" and several have remained in service or plan to go back into the army. The ex-servicemen have formed an American Legion post on the Reservation. But the weekend I was there, there was both a peyote ceremony and a Bear Clan festival and there appear to be hardly any more "Christians" than there were before. Mr. Mays told me there is a considerable problem of what you might call juvenile delinquency, I take it teen-agers, but I strongly suspect that this is neither new nor a sign of disorganization. Needless to say, however, I don't "know" anything from a two-day visit. The one thing that has very substantially changed is the education of Indian children. Since I was there, a new and, I judge, very excellent school has been in operation with a bus service for the children and with luncheon served to them. Almost all children go to school regularly. This was not the case 15 years ago. One might, therefore, infer that the attitude toward school has changed, and perhaps it has, but I think it not unlikely that the change in facilities is the critical thing and that there is not necessarily any fundamental change in attitude. Children didn't go to school in 1932 because there wasn't much to go to locally and it must have been quite a nuisance to go to the schools in nearby towns.

I certainly saw no signs of any "breakdown" in law and order, which doesn't mean much, of course, since my visit was short.

I plan to send some students, as many as half a dozen, to the
Reservation this summer. Mr. Mays said we were welcome to use the school building, which, of course, will make things relatively easy. All we have to bring would be beds because there are kitchen supplies. Among the major problems that the students will get at will, of course, be just those which are of interest to you in establishing policy for the Reservation. The general problems of relations to neighboring whites, of acculturation, of the present mechanisms of social control and their effectiveness, and the factions on the Reservation need to be particularly studied. Incidentally, the faction business occupied a lot of my attention 15 years ago. I suspect that the political alignment goes back as long as 100 years and I would have predicted that you would have difficulty in organizing the community. I would guess that the only way to do anything there easily would be to get into positions of greatest influence and power those individuals (the majority, incidentally) who are not committed strongly to either one or the other faction.

The students will probably go to the Reservation at the end of June. Please let me know how closely you would like to be kept informed; that is, are you interested and curious enough to want detailed information, or would you just as soon I would send you an occasional summary report? Also, if there are any particular suggestions or problems that you would like to offer our students, I would be glad to receive them.

With best regards,
Sincerely yours,
ST:BS
Sol Tax

Exhibit 5
University of Chicago Field Party
Sao and Fox Day School
Tama, Iowa
July 11, 1948

Mr. John Province, Assistant Commissioner
United States Indian Service
Department of the Interior
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Province:

We understand from Sol Tax that you might be interested in our impressions of the situation in the Fox community with reference to the law and order issue. Of course, since the bill has been passed, the matter is water over the dam so far as action on the bill is concerned, but it still might be of interest to see how people line up on the issue.

We have only been out here since June 24, so our ideas on the matter are still quite tentative. However, both from talking to Mr. Mays, the Indian Service representatives and school superintendent, and from talking with Indians, we can see that the issue is one of considerable importance, both in Sao and Fox circles and in surrounding white community. We have talked to a number of persons who are at least mildly in favor of the measure and to others who are quite violently against it. Mr. Mays seems to feel that the issue creates the most important factional division in the Fox community. There is reason to believe that it has taken shape along the lines of an old factional tribal dispute.

We understand that an attempt was made by your Law and Order Department to introduce a modified local self-government program. Had more
time been taken to prepare the people by talking to leaders individually, agreement on such a plan might have been possible.

The most important irritant in the matter of law enforcement here seems to be the old law forbidding the sale of liquor to Indians. Resentment against this seems particularly acute among veterans who were able to buy beer, at least, when in the service. Whether or not there is a direct connection between the old liquor law and the recent Law and Order measure, the latter seems to have revived resentment against the former as a symbol of Indian inequality.

Many of the Indians recognize a real problem in law enforcement here due to the lack of any clear jurisdiction recently. The difficulty with the recent legislation, however, is that local law enforcement officers probably cannot be trusted to behave in an intelligent and understanding manner. In the matter of marriage alone, great havoc could be created in the community were the sheriff to try to enforce the latter of Iowa law. Where anti-Indian feeling is high, laws can be differentially enforced with respect to Indians and whites. We have been attempting to extend our research to the surrounding white community with this problem in mind. We are attempting to discover just who was interested in pressuring the new legislation (other than the local DAR and the county attorney) and the motives involved. It seems to us at this point that the ideal situation would involve an Indian deputy enforcing Iowa law.

We are somewhat foggy about the legal aspects of the situation here. We would very much appreciate it if your legal department could provide us with an analysis of the situation under the new law, particularly with regard to the division of responsibility between the state and federal governments.

Our work here is being made very much more pleasant and profitable by the opportunity of working with Mr. Mays. Besides being an ideal informant, he is a rare combination of idealist and administrator in a sometimes difficult situation. We cannot express too deeply our appreciation for this association.

Sincerely
Lisa Peattie

Exhibit 6

[LISA PEATTIE] July 31, [1948]

In the morning, at last came off the long-awaited organizational meeting, after we had managed to get free of our usual crop of visitors.

In this session, we started off by discussing the two documents produced by Gredys and by Peattie and Miller respectively, and based on Redfield's idea of "community behavior." Rietz then proposed a more limited topic, the study of local politics. This seemed to strike a chord in others; broadening it out, we finally seemed to be coming to a Malinowski-like study of politics-and-everything-connected-with-ease.

I think this may work out rather well, when we can carve out some more time to work it out more fully. The problem of politics here is a) the problem of seeing to what extent this is one community, and to what extent a fragmented group, or seen another way, b) the problem of the various goals and life-ideals expressed by different kinds of individuals in a community undergoing acculturation. Our problem seems to describe who wants to accomplish what (what are the goals of different types of
individuals in the group? How do they try to accomplish these goals? How and why do some things get done, and why do other things not get done? What are the issues on which this community unites as a community? This is again a way of getting at the things which the Mesquakie share which makes them a community. What are the issues on which they decide? And this will be a way of getting at the lines of fissue in the society.

First impulses to interfere

Having looked for and found problems, the impulse of the field party was to do something about it. No doubt their individual emotional involvements in the community—their friendships with individual Fox and their impressions of Fox activities—account in part for that impulse. The first on-the-record, considered suggestion that a program of conscious interference should be developed was voiced by Wolffson in her journal entry of August 2nd, Exhibit 7. It does not seem accidental that Wolffson's chain of thought should occur as she reported attending a Fox ceremonial and her warm reaction to that experience. Earlier, the members of the field party had, each of them, similar experiences and they had reacted in similar ways. By July 28th the field party had, for instance, given a party for the community and that experience was sufficiently encouraging to cause Peattie to suggest, only half seriously, in a letter to Tax, that organizing such parties might be an action through which they could contribute to the welfare of the Fox community. Such parties were considered constructive because of their gemeinschaft-building effects.

Possibly, also, the general climate of opinion in the social sciences had become such that the impulse to do something was not too shocking. For instance, Tax, in a letter to Dollard in 1949, suggested that "... the next generation of social scientists will refuse such easy escapes from a real problem as our formulae involving the scientist qua scientist versus qua citizen or qua human being." Nevertheless, the field party had seen that such proposed activities were clearly out of line with their model of "pure" scientific research, and had asked Tax, by correspondence, whether it would be better to yield to their impulses or to resist them, in terms of the scientific ends of their being in the Fox community. Tax, in the letter of August 4th, Exhibit 8, encouraged the field party to follow their impulses and to think about them. The hope was that out of this would emerge a new kind of research activity. Tax granted the humane reasons for engaging in such activity, but in the letter his attention seemed drawn to the possible scientific reasons why the activity should be attempted.

But it was the values aspect of this decision which was to cause the greatest amount of concern. Basically, the question was: Are we to determine what the Fox community is to become? or do the Fox decide? Note, in the fourth quoted paragraph of Tax's letter, how the question was straddled.

Exhibit 7

WOLFFSON JOURNAL

August 2, 1948

Late this afternoon we went over to Jim Bear's for the harvest ceremony of the Drum Society. It has been very cool in the evenings lately, and today was almost like an early autumn day; gray, and with a slight chilly breeze. When we arrived, the ceremony had almost begun; a fire was burning at the far end of the summerhouse, and from time to time a whiff of woodsmoke would come our way—the perfect finishing back-
ground touch. ___uttered what appeared to be the opening prayers, after which we ate. There was a sort of effortless hush throughout even the meal, a hush that corresponded with the solemnity of the prayers and the intentness of the drummer-singers. I could see only patches of green through the open windows, and it seemed as though we were set off from the rest of the world, bound together by mutual appreciation and attentiveness to the words and music. It was really an enchanting time for me. I understood, finally, why the hard wooden shelves seem not to bother the Indians; even my comfort-loving soul detached itself from restless thoughts of hard wood.

This was the first time—with the exception of a few moments during the Wolf clan dance—that I really appreciated the emotional pull of native religions. . . .

As I can see clearly now, when I first came out here, I was unconsciously biased in favor of having the Indians become just like white rural Americans. ____'s powerful appeal, and ____'s undemonstrative progressiveness (toward white ways of living) exerted a strong influence on me. Now for the first time I am becoming aware of the validity of the non-whites ways of living, of the meaningful quality of something "pagan" like the Drum dance. I am beginning to see why there is a value in preventing the total assimilation of the Fox—not so much because Indians' ways are any better (in an absolute sense) but simply because they are the chosen and accepted, and therefore the "natural" ways for a good many people here.

The Fox, along with practically all American Indians, have been doubly subjected to white encroachment: first, the initial dispossession, which was the result of an initially pre-industrial "imperialism" (except for the Far West), and second, the present economic exploitation, which of course has affected many non-Indians as well. The long battle with the 18th and 19th century settlers drained off a good deal of valuable intellectual energy in addition to all the other unfortunate results; the present social condition (which might be summed up as "poor living standards and prejudice") is undoubtedly repressing a good deal of potential value. Even those who earn "good money" have to face the problem of justifying whichever ways they choose to the other side; even a ____ so absorbed in the one side, has to take into account, in some way or other, the impact of white culture—and the process to taking this into account is a thoroughly disorganizing one.

Of course, we can't entirely undo the errors of the past, nor wipe out strongly-enforced attitudes at a sweep, but the obvious thing to do is somehow to make it possible for these people to carry on as they wish without suffering a) economic depressions, or b) social subordination. At present, the chief method of avoiding either of these things is to leave the settlement, secure a decent vocational training, and go to work and live in some city—living as a white man entirely. Not very many people make this choice; there are many half-measures such as working in Waterloo and coming home weekends; there are also people who simply don't want to make the choice at all, who prefer (though they may not think of it this way at all) enduring both a) and b). Of course there are some older people who, because of life circumstances, couldn't have gone out at all; they also endure a) and b), in varying degrees, but not especially by choice. The sad thing is that to make the above choice means depriving the community here of one more constructive participant; for those that go away are obviously lost to the community as far as effective participation is concerned.
Therefore, the ideal setup would be some project which would a)
make the community self-sufficient at least to the point of raising the
standard of living for everyone, b) attract the energies of people with
real interest in such things as mechanics, business administration, car-
pentry or construction work, farming, office work, etc., and c) earn the
respect of the surrounding community in the only terms that that commu-
nity knows—"Yankee" business spirit. The crucial question would be
then, "Can the Fox do this and keep their culture?" (What shall it
profit a man...?)

There are several things that might be said in answer, though
none of them constitutes a satisfactory answer at all. First of all,
would they keep their culture under present conditions? It is dangerous
to predict, but I would agree with those who have said no. Second: we
are not in a position to estimate the effects of such a project on total
way of life, but from such examples as , one could say that at
least there is a fair chance of preserving the desired elements of the
culture—that is, any elements which the individuals themselves might de-
sire. Third: one fairly certain result would be simply that the choice
would no longer be forced: i.e., a man wouldn't have to leave in order
to make a good living, and those who wanted to keep up the old ways would
not have to resign themselves to flatirons and washboards and generally a
low standard of living. Also, with a reinforced feeling of self-respect,
the Fox would not have to present constant defenses against the white
world. Perhaps the old culture might become even more viable. At least,
for those who would be really indifferent to the old ways, there would be
the opportunity to leave the community more as any person leaves his home
town. And finally, for those who are not interested in keeping up the
culture but who are attached to the community for other reasons, there
would be the opportunity for a fuller life than there is now.

Our job, though, is still to point out the alternatives, not to
initiate projects. (Though we might suggest—but even there, as a matter
of fact, most of the ideas that have occurred to us have also occurred to
some of our informants.) Considering the present structure of the commu-
nity, it would be vastly difficult to dump some project on it, apart from
the consideration that up-from-the-bottom planning is theoretically more
successful than down-from-the-top.

Exhibit 8

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

August 4, 1948

Mrs. Lisa Peattie,
Sao and Fox Day School,
Tama, Iowa

Dear Lisa: and all, of course—

I have been thinking considerably along the lines of the direc-
tion that the research enterprise that you people have begun might take
in the future. As you (Lisa, at least) know, my ideas about the rela-
tions of research and social action have been a little bit up in the air
in the last couple of years, but have been coming down to earth gradual-
ly, and whether they're right or wrong, at least I now have some convic-
tions. Among these convictions is that one cannot study a social situ-
tion with explicit recognition and utilization of a set of values. I
don't believe that you can do "pure research" among the Fox except if you also do what has sometimes been called "action research." What I say applies not to all problems—I think you could do a study of the kinship system in the usual manner—but it certainly applies to problems of the kind you are interested in. Looked at another way, I think that the "participant observer" method might very well be taken to mean "interferer observer" method because in any situation comparable to the one you are in, at least, you are bound to be interfering with what you are observing. Instead of considering this an unfortunate situation, I would now say, let's think of it as fortunate and take the fullest advantage of it. Let us simply recognize that we want to do something about our society and get ourselves into positions of relative power, on a smaller or larger scale, depending upon whom we are and wheres we are, and start doing it, observing what happens as we do it, and thus learning about the society in a way that is comparable to a controlled experiment.

I notice in Lisa's diary a little paragraph that reads: "We have come to the conclusion that what this community needs is a group of anthropologists staying here all the time, organizing group activities and building Gemeinschaft." In a way that is what I am trying to say, but I am not sure that the most important thing is their Gemeinschaft and I know, of course, that we can't just have a group of anthropologists staying there all the time. (Betty says, "How about when the novelty of the anthropologists wears off?") I have in mind the possibility of doing something even more and I am wondering in the long run what this might become.

I would say that in the long run, left to themselves, the Fox would be apt to become assimilated and be a group of Iowa farmers with perhaps a sort of color line distinguishing them from their neighbors. The question is, do we like this prospect? and in order to answer that question, you'd have to answer another, I suppose: Do the Fox like this prospect? Well, that's one of the questions you've been trying to answer there and I suppose the answer is that some might and some might not, but a further answer is that I'm sure that none of the Fox really understand what that probably involves. They can't imagine a situation wherein they would be a rural, ethnic minority indistinguishable by culture but probably prejudiced against one way or another. So they are incapable of making a choice. As a matter of fact, none of you, nor I, know exactly what their choice is so we too are incapable of helping them make a choice.

We, however, are the social scientists, and it's up to us to try to figure out what are the possibilities and what are the probabilities if a) nothing is done, or b) if x, y or z is done. Then it's up to us to educate the Fox to the possibilities, to determine with them what would be the best end product and then to figure out ways and means and work with them for getting it. Now in all this process, we are definitely participating, as well as interfering, in Fox society. We might get into trouble and we might get kicked out of the place, but that's the chance we have to take. I would like to see the University of Chicago, through the years, taking these Indians as a responsibility, in the way that we take Illinois archaeology as a responsibility, in the way that we take Illinois archaeology as a responsibility (but naturally with an interest additional to the "scientific").

I can think, for example, of some related researches in the years to come. I understand from George Quimby that there are a number of Potawatomi Indians scattered around an area of Southern Michigan.
He hasn't been there in the last ten years but the last time he was there he stayed with a group of the Huron band of the Potawatomi, who are distinguished from the other Potawatomi because they are Protestant and the others Catholic in the neighborhood. At that time, ten years ago, only the older people still spoke any Indian and of course such things as the native kinship terms were rapidly going out of use. At that time, also, most of them were working on the WPA. I have no information at all as to what's happened to them now and what their fate is; but I think of one or two of our students going out there, looking at the situations, and looking at it as an end product of acculturation or a further stage of acculturation than the Fox, as something of interest in itself, but doing something else with it. Assuming that it seems like a suitable exercise after the initial visit, I would suggest taking a group of Fox to visit the group of Potawatomi, and to say, "This is what you'll probably be like twenty years from now. Is this what you would like or isn't it?" and try to convince them one way or another according to our own preference.

By so doing this sort of thing, in the long run I think we are apt to learn more about the social structure of the Fox, because we will be running into it all the time, and, trying to do something with the Fox, and learn more about their culture and personality and almost everything else that we're interested in knowing than any other way that I can think of. In other words, we are not, in fact, sacrificing our ends as "scientists" by performing these operations, provided always that we remember that we are scientists.

When you come back here, during the next year we will be interested in getting your impressions of what (if anything) we should do in subsequent years about giving students training in connection with the Fox; and in thinking of a Fox research program, I suggest that we consider the possibility of expanding the vistas of what we normally think of as a research program to include the types of conscious and calculated, and of course well-meaning, interference that I have suggested.

I hope things continue to go well.

With best regards,

Sol Tax

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Troubles with values

An integral part of the question, "Should we interfere?" is the question, "How?" Peattie, in the letter to Tax, Exhibit 9, reports a series of conversations between members of the field party and individual Fox about possible activities by the field party in the future. But those discussions tended only to bring into still sharper focus the basic values question, whether to interfere at all. Fallers, in the summary report, Exhibit 10, argues the question in terms of Weber's "ethic responsibility" as opposed to an ethic of absolutism—what is possible and within that area, what choices are there? Wolffson, in her summary, Exhibit 11, resolves the question by pushing aside any question of the end product and suggesting areas of possible activity irrespective of those remote possibilities. Miller, in his summary report, Exhibit 12, points up the basic question, "Whose choice?" and makes no attempt to resolve it.
Dear Sal [Tax]

. . . However, thinking about the conference with _____ it seemed to me that there was a fundamental difficulty in our own thinking which made it hard for us to do what we should be doing. I've talked about this to most of the others, and I think that—theoretically at least—they agree with me. But the difficulty is still there, and it is not our difficulty alone, but that of a large number of the people I know around the university.

It works this way. We are trained to use our reason as our primary tool of mastery over our world. It works in most situations. But there is one situation in which it does not work, and this is the field of ethics. No one has ever been able to devise a good rational basis for value judgments.

Because this is uncomfortable, a situation which we cannot solve with the tool of our common use, and because of the general positivist infusion in our thought, we are inclined to steer away from examining value judgments at all. Many of us think in this way: Science (or rationality) can tell us what is; it can help us to get things done. But value judgments are erratic, idiosyncratic, not liable to rational examination. We make value judgments because we can't help it. But we have no right to make them for others; everyman's value judgment is as good as every other's, because none of them "make sense" rationally.

In a situation like ours, this results in the following kind of reaction. Some members of the party react instantly to the suggestion that we should become systematic interferers with the feeling that we have no right to "tell people what to do"; this would mean solving the insoluble problem of the end of man, and a rational basis for ethics. On the other hand, we do not of course wish to do nothing; at home, we ring doorbells for political parties, and here we try with ______ to organize a farm co-op. We retreat into the particular activity, but do not examine the ends for which the activity takes place.

The result would be here that we would tend to become technicians for which we are by no means suited, and fail to do the job for which our training should fit us—if any training can fit one to do it.

This job I see as that of examining alternative values which the Mesquakie might choose; of trying to see what kinds of life this community might present, and what each of these would imply. And after that, doing the job of figuring out how to attain the one chosen.

Besides this, it seems to me that ideally what we should do is a job of education in which we would run a sort of seminar (informal, individual bull-session type) with members of the Mesquakie community, in which we would try to do the above process together. (This may sound too formal; I mean really the sort of thing which happens when Walt and ______, or ______ and I sit around talking about the community and what might become of it.)

It seems to me that if the democratic process is to mean anything really, this is what it must mean. It cannot be—what Americans usually think of as the democratic process—a simple polling of individual "opinions," taken as given. It must mean developing in the individual citi-
zens real autonomy and intelligent freedom of choice.

The nearest attempt to this that I can think of is the TVA. But it covers too much area, and tries to get too many miscellaneous jobs done, to really do it. If we could do it here at all, I think it would be something which has never really been tried or done before in this way.

I would be interested in discussing this with Baker Brownell, the Northwestern University philosopher, who has been spending his time for the last twenty years in trying to revive small community life in this country. Chief operations have been in Montana.

Personally, what I would like to see this community become is a small, agricultural community, better-organized and more closely knit than the average because of sharing a common and distinctive culture, and because of having intelligently taken hold of the problem of keeping itself together. Perhaps like some of the German communities around here in some regards. This would seem to involve 1) the provision of group economic activities, perhaps a forming co-op and a canning factory which would enable those young people who wish to remain to stay in the community, and 2) providing common cultural activities. I do not see trying to "preserve the old culture." I don't think it could be done, and I don't see why it should be done. But I do think it is important to try to slow up the rate of change, to prevent the old and the young from working at cross-purposes, and to prevent individuals from straddling a gulf between two antithetical ways of life.

Lisa [Peattie]

Exhibit 10

THE PROBLEM OF VALUE-JUDGMENTS

Lloyd Fallers

Since we have decided to orient our study of the Mesquakie community around the possibility of interfering in the situation, we have come up against the problem of making certain value judgments upon which to base our action. It has been held by Miller that in order to make such a judgment we have to discover the nature of human happiness and that even if this were discoverable we would be faced with the possibility of an infinite number of possible positions regarding it. For example, according to this view we could, in value terms, decide in favor of a "Folk Society" without reference to the difficulty of the task. I should like to present a view of the relation of fact and value judgments (based essentially on Weber) which I think clears away a few of the difficulties.

The ethical problem is limited, for action purposes, by the cultural context in which the Mesquakie find themselves. It is, of course, possible to make a value judgment in favor of any future state of the Mesquakie. However, if, as social scientists, we decide, as I think we must, that the given situation of being in Iowa, America and the world community imposes certain limits on the possible, then we must take account of the given situation in forming value judgments. Only in this way can our ethics be socially relevant.

This is the problem discussed by Weber (POLITICS AS A VOCATION). The "ethics of absolutism"—the sermon on the Mount—is an individual soul-saving ethic. An "ethic of responsibility," on the other hand, takes account of the socio-cultural reality situation and makes judgments
within its limits, thus becoming of some relevance for social problem-solving in the real world. The ethics of responsibility is based on the premise that value phenomena are of this world and social. The ethics of absolutism treats of individual consciences in relation to the transcendental. One can, without rejecting categorically the relevance of absolute ethics in some situations, state with some assurance that an individual transcendental approach is irrelevant to a social situation in which a value judgment must be made by a half-dozen social scientists.

Assuming, then, that the value judgments we must make here are of the ethics of responsibility sort, and that the reality situation must be taken into account in their formation, we must then proceed to determine insofar as possible the social structural conditions in which we are to operate. Following the above line of reasoning, the structural picture will divide itself into the following three areas:

1. The internal structure of the Mesquakie community.
2. The structure of the greater community of which it is a part.
3. The delineation of the areas of contact between the two and the structure of their interaction.

Now, seen in these terms, the ethical problem becomes somewhat less difficult. The area for discussion of values is limited by the press of subsistence requirements in terms of an increasing degree of involvement in national institutions. The Mesquakie simply cannot realistically hope to return to an economy based upon hunting and primitive agriculture and the social structures based upon these activities become increasingly irrelevant. At the same time new values and techniques and structures for attaining these are being developed. We cannot but assume that this process will continue.

The area for socially relevant value-judgments must therefore assume an increasing penetration of Mesquakie life by the institutions and values of the wider society. The question becomes, not folk society or immediate assimilation, but rather the rapidity and mode of assimilation. It is in this area that there is room for discussion. A possible position would take the interest of the larger society as the only relevant one and would push assimilation of all able-bodied Mesquakie into the economic life of the United States as rapidly as possible, neglecting the results of this policy in terms of the discomfort of the persons assimilated and that of the aged Indians whose life would become meaningless. This, I gather, was at various times the policy of the Soviet Union in central Asia (Murra) and of the various imperialisms of recent centuries. It seems fairly certain that this view does not prevail in our group.

The other possible position would favor the attempt to use the available social action structures to create an economically stable community in which acculturation might occur less catastrophically. This position is consonant with the democratic preference for respect of the individual which is present (however imperfectly) in the larger American society. In such a situation old people will, to be sure, mourn the loss of the old, but the change will be gradual enough to allow a measure of adjustment and poverty need not add to the burden. The young people will have the possibility of a more rational choice between local and other modes of life without the continued goad of economic want forcing them to a decision. In addition, such a community would provide an increasing degree of contact with white skills and values in a situation considerably more comfortable than that of the present Mesquakie emigrant and thus smooth the way for entrance into white society if the individual desires.
This formulation certainly does not answer the question of what is possible, that will presumably be the object of our analysis. I believe, however, that it does provide a framework in which analysis may proceed and eliminates from consideration here questions of value which are irrelevant or unrealistic in a study of an ethnic minority in the midst of a larger society.

Exhibit 11

PROBLEMS OF THE POX

Davida Wolffson

... Putting aside the question of all-out assimilation vs. all-out conscious encouragement of the old ways, I believe that the best thing to do would be to help create a situation wherein the Indians' own choice would no longer be forced. In other words, help put them on a better economic footing, do away with the paternalistic attitude implied in the liquor law and the government-run school (surely there is potential teaching ability among the younger people—why not make training easier to get and more appealing?). More important, some attempt should be made (see below) to resolve the political conflict—to reunite the group. If these things could be achieved to some degree, I am sure that a great deal of indifference would disappear, and whatever remained would merely reflect a more or less normal differentiation of interests within any society. At any rate there would not be the defensiveness and the inferiority feeling which few of the Pox at present can wholly avoid. . .

Exhibit 12

PRELIMINARY IDEAS ON FOX PROBLEM

Walter Miller

... Our next question would be: If we do want to change this group, what specific changes do we want to make? What over-all changes? In what direction should we expend our efforts? There are two areas from which we can try to draw answers to this question. The first is the feelings of the people themselves as to the changes that should be made, and the direction of the over-all effort. We have already gotten a good many ideas from this source. But certain difficulties prevent this area from being the primary determinant of our course of action. One reason is that it is hard to find out just what it is that the people want. This is because different people want different things, and changes suggested by one individual would be violently opposed by another. Many are vague and inarticulate as to what they want, and it would be difficult for us to get any positive ideas from them. Many have ideas as to what they want that seem to us to be impossible to attain, or impractical to work for. Others have goals—both for themselves and the community, which seem to us to be mutually contradictory, or inconsistent with one another.

The other area is our own feelings as to the changes that would be most beneficial to the society, and the general direction of such change. These feelings are, of course, considerably affected by our ideas of what the Fox want, but they are in large part affected by our basic attitude towards ends. The question might be put in this way: Within the limits of our present national and world social, economic
and political situation, what is the best way to attain a healthy society? Or, put in another and more controversial form, What social conditions are most conclusive to the attainment of personal well-being and harmonious inter-personal relations by the people in the society?

Early theoretical effects

The increasing concern through the middle of the summer with the values question and the increasing likelihood of a program of interference served to focus the party's theoretical interests further. On August 3rd the problem for collective inquiry was slightly re-defined as "a study of community action." The action of the total Fox group and sub-groups were to be recorded and the attempt was to be made to understand "how [actions are] undertaken and carried on, who leads and who participates, and the goals and values in terms of which it takes place." The subject was subdivided into considerations of formal action structures, informal action groupings, the goals and values in terms of which action takes place, and Fox leadership patterns. The field party then drew up a set of ten questions which they proposed to ask about thirty members of the Fox community, chosen because of their apparent diversity:

1. What do you think will happen to this community?
2. What do you think should happen to this community?
3. Do you think you have a fair chance to do what you want?
4. Do you think the young people are sticking to the old ways?
5. What would you personally do if you had a chance?
6. What would you like most for your children to do?
7. Do you think the people here can get together enough to get anything done?
8. Who would you ask for advice if you needed it?
9. Who are the most important people in this community?
10. Would you move away from here if you had a chance?

Out of that final decision came the studies by Peattie, Exhibit 13, and Fallers, Exhibit 14, and later, others.

Exhibit 13

BEING A MESQUAKIE INDIAN
Lisa Peattie

Introduction: The Mesquakie Tell a "True Story"

"Once there was an Indian who became a Christian. He became a very good Christian; he went to church, and he didn't smoke or drink, and he was good to everyone. He was a very good man. Then he died. First he went to the Indian hereafter, but they wouldn't take him because he was a Christian. Then he went to Heaven, but they wouldn't let him in because he was an Indian. Then he went to Hell, but they wouldn't admit him there either, because he was so good. So he came alive again, and he went to the Buffalo Dance and the other dances and taught his children to do the same thing."

I like this myth. In this one-edged story are the situations of many Indians—the Christian in a segregated mission church, the girl with secretarial training who works in a packing plant, the young man with a trade job and the house and dress of a middle-class white man who finds
his place as a leader in the Indian community. This story says in one short paragraph what I am trying to say at length in the pages follow-
ings: that being an Indian is a problem situation, one calling for choice of role and definition of the self, and second, that these choices always take place with reference to the attitudes of the whites.

The time is long past when a child of the Mesquakie could grow up to take a place naturally made for him in a clearly defined social world. A child of the Mesquakie must now come to terms with the Indian community and culture, and with the white community and culture, but the way in which this is to be done is by no means obvious. It is a matter of individual choice and definition. In a sense, the problem can never be solved; it is only for each individual to learn to live with it in his own way. Men choose to live with it very differently. There are those who, drawing their income from the white community by various unskilled labor jobs, still feel themselves Indians, naturally, unquestioningly. There are those who see it their mission to follow white cultural values and to bring this "progress" to the Indian community, rejecting thus the Indian culture but not Fox society. There are the self-conscious primitivists, missionaries for a return to the "Indian Way." There are the young men with high school education, baffled by wanting to make their way among whites to the values held out as goals by whites, and their inability to do so. There are those who have left the Indian community, married whites, and moved into another world.

I suppose that this last group is one of the most interesting and important to study if we want to know something about the situation of the Mesquakie, and the future which they might have. It is very un-
fortunate, therefore, that we know almost nothing about them. The fol-
lowing material certainly suffers from this lack. One of the next jobs to be done in any long-term project with the Fox is an investigation of the Mesquakie who have completely severed connections with the Indian community, especially those who have married whites. It would be par-
ticularly interesting to study social class mobility in this group. In the meantime, the following comments on the possible meanings of being a Mesquakie Indian are bound to be not only deficient, in falling to in-
clude one end of the range, but probably biased as well.

The probable situation of the Mesquakie is to make their way in a world dominated by whites. The way in which individuals see that sit-
uation is part of the way in which they deal with it, and in this is included, of course, the way in which individuals see themselves. In this paper I am talking about 450 individuals who might say, "I am a Mesquakie Indian," and trying to show what sorts of meanings this state-
ment may have.

One way to do this would be to give a series of character sketches of representing the range of ways of "being a Mesquakie Indian." I did not do it this way for several reasons. First, the tremendous amount of idiosyncratic variation would make it difficult to represent the whole group with a relatively small number of sketches. Second, it seemed to me that a series of character profiles taken at one time, as static entities, would be relatively unenlightening. I would still like to see someone do a series of good life histories designed to show not only what it may mean to be a Fox Indian, but how these meanings are ar-
rived at. In the meantime, these are some preliminary musings on the kinds of meanings, the streams of thought, which seem to be prevalent within the Fox community.
BEING A MESQUAKIE

The physical community.—To be one of the Mesquakie means, first of all, to belong to a community which exists physically, localized in space; a place which is home, and which the tribe itself owns. The tribe has owned this land, of course, only since 1854, when the first 80-acre purchase was made by a group of Fox who had returned from the treeless plains of Kansas where the white soldiers had pushed them. Before that time, the Mesquakie had wandered over much of the Midwest. But to the tribe now, the time before settlement in Tama County is a vague, mythic realm; to them, their history really begins with the settlement in Iowa. Furthermore, they have lived in their present settlement long enough so that all the tribe now living can call it home.

The unity of the Mesquakie as a people is expressed by, and in large part created by, the physical unity of the settlement. There are less than 500 Fox altogether, and the land upon which their houses are scattered is essentially in one piece. The chief geographic division is between the highlands north of Highway 30 and the lower, flatter land south of it; it is a little difficult for a busy housewife to the south to walk up to a "doing" at the other side of the settlement; but the settlement lands are in one contiguous piece, and no part is beyond walking distance of any other. Two railroads slice the settlement also but they do not seriously divide it. The members of the conservative political faction seem to be expressing a general feeling of tribal exclusiveness rather than irritation at practical disadvantages when they complain that the railroads were granted permission to cross during a period of dominance by the opposition faction and of undue catering to the whites.

This land which is home for the Fox expresses visually the invisible barriers between Fox society and the white society in which it is enslaved. Partly this is because of a natural difference in terrain; much of the settlement is on rough, hilly land, unsuitable for crops, which contrasts with the open, rolling country surrounding. But in large part the settlement stands out because of the way in which human culture has marked the land. When the visitor turns off of Highway 30 to the settlement, he turns on to dirt roads, dusty in dry weather, and impassable slippery clay in wet; these are the roads of the Indian Service, not of the State of Iowa. There are fields of corn and soybeans—the geometric plantings of the Midwest farmer. Indian-owned tractors work in some. But a large proportion of the land is either wooded or in small gardens. "We like our trees," say the Fox. The woods are no longer a source of deer and other game; meat is bought at the grocery in Tama. But the trees still stand, and the land would seem bare without them. One scrawny cow may be seen looking for grass at the edge of a patch of woods, and there are a few pigs in make-shift sties. But even those of the Mesquakie who have gone in for white-style farming in a big way have never taken over much of an interest in livestock. "That's for the whites."

The small, usually unpainted frame houses in which the Fox live are mostly some distance from the road, scattered among the trees. There is nothing of ancient Indian culture in the construction of these houses, yet in the relative poverty which they express they, too, help to differentiate the Fox community from the prosperous Bohemian and other white farmers of the area. Social class as well as ethnicity is involved in the definition of the Mesquakie community by its neighbors. And although within the past fifty years white-style houses have become universal in the settlement, many a family has built beside the frame house a dome-
shaped wickiup of elm-bark slabs on a bent pole frame, to use as summer kitchen and sleeping quarters. The rectangular summer-house of the traditional pattern, a door at each end, lift-up flaps instead of windows, are still built, although now of sawed boards. Open-air sleeping platforms are common. Indeed, when summer comes it can be seen that the house still fits the Mesquakie more loosely than it does his neighbors; while the Bohemian farmer's wife shells her peas in the kitchen or on the front porch, the Fox housewife will be seen at her work outside the house, stirring a kettle at an open fire, or sewing, sitting flat with legs straight forward in the manner of one at ease on the ground.

To belong to a community like this has a special dimension because it is different from other communities in the area. The Fox who leaves his home is making a break which is qualitatively different from that made by the Tama boy who goes somewhere else to live. But it should not be forgotten that it is also in some ways the same. One meaning of belonging to the Mesquakie community is simply that of home, the known and familiar. Children grow up here, and this is the place which they know. They know the roads and the short-out paths; they know the bridge where couples meet at night, the quiet places where young men can drink without being seen, the spots in the river which are good for fishing, the government school, the cemetery, the little store-and-pool-hall, the pow-wow grounds. In this sense of familiarity, identification is no different from identification with any other small rural community.

Yet in other ways it is quite different. The lands on which the Mesquakie live are owned by them, and owned communally. Around this fact cluster strong feelings of group identification, wish for security, and pride. On Highway 30 near the pow-wow grounds stands a government-erected sign marking the Fox Indian Reservation; no one, apparently, has ever thought of taking it down, but it is not a popular sign, since the Mesquakie are very proud of the fact that the lands on which they live are theirs alone, and that it is not a true reservation. This land, they feel, is truly theirs, not to be taken away like the lands on which they roamed in the past, or the lands of other Indians. When the newspapers ran a picture of a Mandan signing away tribal lands to make way for a dam, a number of Mesquakie dipped out the picture, and there is strong feeling in their voices as they show it to a visitor. One woman said, "I got to thinking about it. They'd try to make us sell our land, but they couldn't make us sell it if it's our own. We'd refuse to sell it." When money comes to the tribe, as, for instance, from the sale of timber, there is argument over whether it should be added to the tribal funds, or should be divided among the members of the group. But the Mesquakie do not argue whether or not the land should be divided into individual ownership. One young man explains: "You know, this place is different from other places. Other Indian tribes have allotted land. That way a man can sell his land, or dispose of it in any way he wants. Now out here the tribe owns all the land, and it's only assigned to people. They can't sell it because they don't own it. If they allotted it, why someone might need money and sell his land, and pretty soon we'd have a white farmer right in the middle of the settlement here. Then we'd have more of them. A man would sell his land, and then use up all the money, and then he wouldn't have anything. This way he always has his land."

This feeling for "the land" is very different from that in an agricultural community of long standing, say a French village. The Fox were never wholly agricultural people, and used to live in settled villages only during the summer, dispersing to hunt during the winter months.
During the historical period, we know that under white pressure they moved about over a wide territory. Even today, only a few Fox families are supported primarily by agriculture, and much of the tribal land stands idle. Why, then, the feeling for the land? The land, to the Fox, is the symbol, not of life and livelihood as to the peasant, but of refuge from oppression. It is a place of safety. Loss of land has become the symbol of the whole plight of the American Indian, driven from place to place by the whites, finally crowded onto the least desirable lands, dependent on the uncertain bounty of the whites. All the lands of North America were once the Indian's; now he owns not even that on which he is permitted to live. For the federal government which owns the reservation is not his government; it is the government of whites. Only the Fox own their own land. This is the feeling of the Mesquakie. A conservative older man states: "Now our ancestors came here so that their children would have a place of their own to live, a place to practice their own religion without interference from the outside." The same conception of a place of safety shows when a young, change-oriented man speaks of the tribal land ownership: "When you have a home that is yours, you have some place to go, some place to come back to. If I go away from the community on a job, I can always come back. I have my interest in the tribal lands." The security which the land provides is not an economic security; even if it were efficiently farmed, which it is not, it could not support everyone in the tribe. It is a symbolic security, referring to past and present deprivation and danger.

The community of souls and roles.—The community of the Mesquakie is not merely, or even most importantly, a tract of land and a group of buildings; it is also a group of people, known to each other as individuals, feeling themselves to share a common history and position, and related to each other in certain consistent and formalized ways. This is "The Mesquakie" as set against "other tribes"; it is "us" Fox against "you" whites. It is a small society.

Unlike many societies, this one is small enough so that each member can know every other member personally. Thus on a first every-day level, this human community exists in the fact of familiarity; these are the home-folks. For a community to exist on this level, does not imply that the sentiments called into play between these known individuals are all positive. Anyone who has ever been present at a family reunion cannot doubt that hostility and competition may relate people to each other as well as love and cooperation. Whether hostile or friendly, relations within the Mesquakie society are all personalized.

On the other hand, in some sense this group of people exists as a society to the extent to which relations between the members are more than personal and idiosyncratic; to the extent to which they are ordered and formalized. It is this fact which makes it possible to speak of a society with a structure, rather than of a group of individuals merely. This is a community of souls—of individuals known to each other—but it is also one of the roles which tend to persist over time more or less independently of the individuals who fill and interpret them at any given time.

This structure exists, of course, in the sentiments and expectations which living individuals have toward each other. The complaint might be made, therefore, that it is myth-making, false reification to speak of a "structure" "shaping" the feelings of individuals towards each other and towards "the community as a whole." Yet like any good myth, this one serves a good descriptive purpose, and I propose in the
following to separate out "the structure" and the feelings which the Mesquakie have towards it. I would like to describe first the social structure as a "thing," a kind of scaffolding on which people stand and move, and secondly the kinds of movings and feelings which take place "on" or "in" it.

The structure of this society is not a very easy one to describe. Neither in modes of speech, nor in ritual activity, nor in social organization are the Mesquakie a "formal" people, and a diagram of Fox social organization would show a series of overlapping groups, often of loosely-defined membership, rather than the neatly centralized religious-political structure characteristic of some African tribes. This society has no king or priest to whom all owe allegiance; even the tribal council, which theoretically represents the entire tribe, actually represents at any given time one political faction or the other, and is correspondingly regarded with distrust by the factor out of power. Yet since any adult member of the tribe belongs to many groups for various purposes, and since these groups overlap with each other, it is not possible for any one group of people to feel themselves totally set apart from the others. Political enemies meet and cooperate at clan ceremonies, and persons of different religious faith may work together for secular ends.

This is not to say that some individuals and some small groups of people do not have a general sense of exclusiveness; one Christian "progressive" says, for example, that he feels "a stranger among my own people." Moreover, there is a general sort of congruence between political, religious, and kinship groupings; the members of the Drum society belong to the "progressive" political faction, and the peyote group are predominantly "conservative" politically; each extended family group tends to be of a given political and religious complexion. However, these congruences are nowhere complete; even within families political and religious differences are found, and alliances for particular ends between people otherwise differing in belief are common. Thus during the depression a Women's Club which was formed under the leadership of the white school principal included women of other political factions who shared a common interest in white-oriented "cultural" activities. Political enemies have banded together to buy a tractor for their common use. The American Legion Post in the settlement brought together veterans whose common status overrode the varying political alignment of their families, and membership in various religious groups. This is a society subdivided according to almost every possible criterion—kinship, religion, political and personal goals—which nevertheless manages to hang together in a loose sort of way. None of the divisions cut so deeply as to sever the group into irreconcilably opposed segments.

The first of the kinds of division which slice this small society is that into family groups. Now this type of division is one with which we are quite familiar in the larger American society, and indeed, the roughly bilateral Mesquakie family is not very different in structure from the farm families which surround it. Surely in the larger American society the presence of family groupings does not appear as a divisive feature. That it does so appear among the Mesquakie seems to be due to two factors: the probably greater importance of kinship ties among the Fox, and—more importantly—the relative size of family and society. There are many small families among the Fox, consisting of a man and wife and children (sometimes with one parent or other member added) and these do not figure as structuring major conflicts within the society. But there are also a number of large, bilaterally extended family groups, and these do. In a society of less than 500 people, the presence of a family
group of, say, 20 persons, operating as a general economic and political unit, is an important political force. Where a small society includes several such large bilateral families, and where kinship ties are important calls to loyalty, conflicts between individuals or small groups of individuals tend to become polarized in terms of the family groupings and thus take on a force and continuity which they would not otherwise have. Smaller families may then align themselves with one or the other of the large families, the full-blown "factions" come into existence. Thus each of the political "factions" of the Fox has as its core one of these large, bilaterally extended family groups. The struggle for power between these factions—in part, a struggle for power between ideals—is also a struggle for power between these families. It is also noteworthy, in support of this analysis, that several other family groups which tend to be active in the political struggles within the community occasionally achieve recognition as separate "factions" by some Mesquakie.

However, since the bilateral family group is an exogamous unit, the kinship system which produces these lines of cleavage in the society, by its own nature also cross-cuts these lines of cleavage with new bonds. There is no discernible tendency for people to marry within a given political faction. I have not checked to see whether people tend to marry within their own religious group, but I suspect that they do not. As far as the political factions are concerned, intermarriage does not result, as with the Martins and the Coys of legend, in a general burying of the hatchet. If the marriage persists, one member, usually the woman, generally adopts the affiliation of the spouse, and the battle goes on. However, intermarriage means that none of the bilateral family groups can ever be completely "out loose" from the rest.

Another bond between family groups exists in the form of a kind of artificial kinship, the custom of ceremonially adopting someone to take the place of a family member deceased. Naturally, in this there is a strong tendency to adopt someone from a family already closely bound to the adopting one by sentimental or other ties. However, since there is some idea that adoption should be reciprocal, if several deaths occur in the two families, and reciprocal adoptions are practiced, this bond may achieve some strength.

The bilateral family groups are also cross-cut by the "olans," which are roughly patrilineal named groupings with ritual functions. Each olan is supposed every year to hold its ceremonial feast in honor of its sacred bundle, with members of the other olans as guests. In practice, there are a few olans with so few surviving members that they hold no feast. However, the feasts of the principal olans are still held, apparently as regularly as ever, and are well attended. Moreover, the olan has its ceremony at the death of any member, and Christians and Drum Society members alike attend it; only members of the peyote cult have their own ceremony separate from the olan one.

In the last, it can be seen that in a discussion of olans, the object of kinship merges with that of religion. The olan is both. In old Mesquakie society, religion was thus kinship-organized. However, there are among the Fox now three more recently introduced kinds of religion which are only informally incorporated into the kinship structure.

Redfield's material on Chan Kom (A Village that Chose Progress, Chicago, 1950) shows within a very different culture a startlingly similar factional structure arising out of similar bilateral-family organization.
These are Christianity—which includes two sub-groups, those in the flock of the Presbyterian mission, and that greater number which attend services at the Open Bible Mission—the peyote cult, introduced from Oklahoma, and the Drum Society, a pan Indian religion brought in some forty years ago from the Potawatomi of Wisconsin. Members of a given family tend to be of the same religious faith.

This conflict of faiths is not properly a battle between gods, since the peyote church services refer to Christ and the Christian God, and both clan leaders and the Drum Society members tend to identify their Great Spirit with the Christian God. It is, therefore, possible for persons to belong to more than one of these faiths with a clear conscience. Thus, although one or another person may cease to attend clan ceremonies or peyote meetings upon becoming a Christian, regarding himself rather naturally as purer in spirit than those who still straddle faiths, others see no conflict. The only two of these religious groups which are mutually exclusive for every member are the peyote cult and the Drum Society.

To many of the Mesquakie, especially those for whom religion is important, the important distinction is not between one faith and another, but between a concern with the things of the spirit and a generally secular attitude towards life. For such individuals, the devout Christian and the devout member of the Drums are alike seekers after God, and share in a kinship from which the worldly-minded are excluded. They recognize a truth which the outsider also sees; that with most of the Mesquakie, it is not a case of becoming Christianized so much as it is of becoming secularized.

Religious differences, therefore, slice the Mesquakie six ways—two groups of Christians, peyote, the Drums, the clan groups, and the secular. Yet there is a hard-and-fast distinction between only two of these groups; the Drums and the peyote cult. Between all others, the boundaries are blurred. Thus religion, like kinship, makes both cleavages and connections between people.

Occasionally there have been among the Fox special-interest groups of various kinds, like the Women's Club mentioned previously. The most recent and important example is the local post of the American Legion, formed out of Mesquakie veterans of the Second World War after the Tama post—under Federal law—stopped serving its Mesquakie members liquor with the other veterans. Even at its height the Fox legion post never included all Mesquakie veterans, and recently it has begun to disintegrate. But for a time, this organized group of young men, unaligned with any political faction, and carrying the prestige of having fought alongside white Americans, was a powerful one in the community, and one which cross-cut other cleavages.

A hundred years ago, Fox society was not split by religion as it is now, but it must have had much the same sort of loose structure as it does today. There seems to have been a minimum of centralized leadership and control. In time of war, or when returning from the winter hunt, a War Chief took over, for a limited time only, special police and directive powers, but these seem to have been confined to these particular problem areas. The rest of the time a hereditary chief and informal council had some executive and judicial functions, but these appear to have been limited by the lack of any elaborate system of controls over the community members. Nor did the Fox, apparently, ever develop any system of traditional obligations to the community, analogous to the communal labor obligations (fagina) of Yucatan. In the absence of a high degree of consensus as to what should be done, it must have been diffi-
cult or impossible to mobilize the community toward a given goal. * Probably this was rarely felt as a need as it is by the Fox today.

In 1937, the traditional governmental system of the Mesquakie was supplanted under the Indian Reorganization Act by an elected council. The new constitution was drawn up by a group of young progressives who tended to look to the white leaders of the Indian Service for approval and direction. They did not carry the whole tribe with them. One explained: "After we set up the new order . . . we had quite a fight over it. When we first adopted that new setup, we voted on it, and we went over the opposition so we got that setup. Next step we took was to draw up a constitution. After we drew up the constitution it has to be approved by the people and we just won by two votes."

The Council came into existence, thus, under a shadow, and it has not tended to fulfill the hopes of its foundere as time has gone on. In fact, the Council officially the governmental body of the tribe, does not govern. It does not for several reasons. In the first place, the diversity of goals within the community would make government difficult at the best of times. But it would not make it impossible; the United States is governed despite a radical diversity of goals and ideals within it. The second factor which prevents it from governing is the lack of a power structure within the tribe through which it could govern. This sort of society is one most difficult to "take hold of." The third reason is that the tribe is not really self-governing. It is probably just as well that the police functions of government are performed by the outside white community; when the Mesquakie had a tribal judge, the personal favoritism more or less inevitable in such a small community made the system a fiasco. But much of the directing and organizing functions of government have been in the past, and are to some extent in the present, performed by the Indian Service of the Federal Government, and the Mesquakie tend still to look to the Federal Government for the initiation of such action. One politically active Fox compares the council to a railroad train. "They haven't any power now. The government took it all away. . . . You're on a set of track which go in one direction. If you try to go your own way you get in trouble." When, as recently, the Indian Service has failed to initiate action, the council has tended to remain in a sort of vacuum, acting merely as a forum of discussion. It has never learned to govern.

There is another semi-governmental body among the Mesquakie which works considerably better than the council. This is the Pow-Wow Committee, also elective. It makes the preparation for the annual Pow Wow, an event of considerable financial as well as festival importance, where the Fox put on dances for a paying audience and sell souvenirs and refreshments. The Committee has to arrange for publicity, lights, bleachers, traffic direction and the like, and performs these functions fairly well. The reasons for its relative success seem to be in part the limits of its

* Another way of saying the same thing would be to say that the Fox as a people, have never tended to develop strong leaders. In thinking about the difficulties the Fox have in satisfying their presently-felt need for "doing something" as a society, I have found it easier to think about leadership as part of a whole situation involving leader and led in a system of social controls, than to treat the "leader" as a kind of independent active principle, pulling along a passive group of "people led." If one were engaged in comparing the roles of different individuals in the society at one given time, the latter way of talking about this phenomenon would probably be more useful.
functions and the fact that they have become considerably traditionalized over time, as well as the fact that the Committee has no one else—no Indian Service—who it can wait for to initiate action. Another important reason is also surely that the financial and emotional drawing power of the Pow Wow itself gives the committee a good point of control over the participants.

If one starts to talk to the Mesquakie about their society, he will not hear about religious divisions or about conflicts between families. He will hear about "factions," and he will hear about them as a serious problem. "We can't get together," say the Fox. "We can't cooperate." "You know there have been factions here for over 100 years." "Even so often people talk about [bringing the factions together] but they never do so. There are always some people who won't get together."

Probably the visitor will hear that there are two factions, the Youngbears and the Oldbears, progressive and conservative respectively. "There's two groups here. One's backward. They want to keep the old ways, old customs and religion. They want to live like Indian way back. . . . The others are what you might call liberals. They're trying to do things for the good of the tribe." Thus speaks a Youngbear affiliate. The Oldbears also claim to speak for the "good of the tribe"; it is their argument that only by restoring the hereditary chieftain—a member of the Oldbear group—can tribal unity be restored. Traditionally, the two factions have been defined in terms of their relations to the whites. The Youngbear "progressive" group has been supported by whites, and has tended to support acculturation and white leadership; the Oldbears are traditionally anti-white and culturally conservative.

However, there are a number of qualifications and complications of this simple factional picture. One may hear of three or four or even five "factions." Each of the two main "factions" has about the same proportion of culturally conservative and much acculturated people; in fact, a young leader of the Oldbear faction lives in a house which comes closest to white middle-class ideals of any in the community. Furthermore, the whole factional struggle is cross-cut by the struggle between the younger and older generation, represented by the Legion's brief try for political power. Finally, despite the fact that one may be told that "we can't agree because of the factions," on any major issue it will be found that the people align themselves not infrequently without regard for factional affiliations. Thus on the issue of getting Aid to Dependent Children for the Fox, or on the issue of state extension of law and order over the community, some Oldbears were found on the same side as some Youngbears, and in disagreement with members of their own parties.

In the absence of a clear-out view, or of clear-out alternative views, as to the proper course of action for the tribe to take, each faction confronts, in trying to maintain party discipline, much the same difficulties faced by the Council in trying to govern. The factions have no effective way of controlling their members; they have no party chest of funds, and there is no system of economic power within the community onto which they might fit themselves. They have no patronage to dispense. They must rely on kinship and personal ties, and in a community as small as this, personal rivalries, disputes over land, and similar personal issues are continually intruding into the general political struggle.

In truth, the struggle between "two factions," the "progressfuls" and the "unprogressfuls," of which the Mesquakie speak, represents many different things. It represents the splitting of a small, family-organ-
ized community along extended-family lines. It represents a struggle, now become traditional, between white culture and Mesquakie culture—a struggle which had its origin in a situation of forced acculturation, when Indian agents banned "give-away" and issued shoes to school children, and when some individuals chose collaboration with the powerful whites and others chose fighting them. Finally, the "two factions" are a kind of myth by which the Mesquakie represent their sense of problem as a community and their sense of failure in solving it as a community.

I have noted that Oldbears and Youngbears alike speak of "the good of the tribe." When the Mesquakie think of their situation, they recognize that they belong for good or ill to a community; that they are involved together. The sense of problem represented in the talk of factions is a sense of communal problem. The sense of problem is also one which refers to the white community outside. The problem is how to deal with this white world in which the Mesquakie find themselves. Finally, in the talk of "factions" the Mesquakie recognize the way in which their community, bound as it is by many sorts of interconnection, lacks the sort of power structure which would enable it to take group action. Out of the very structure which makes a Fox a Fox comes also a profound sense of powerlessness.

The community as a culture group.—Unlike the other farming communities around it, this little group of Fox is a distinct culture group. To these 450 people "belongs" a culture and a language. By this fact the Mesquakie are defined to themselves, and to the whites, and to other tribes. Part of the meaning of being a Mesquakie is to be an heir of this culture and this language.

This is not to say that the Mesquakie child born today inherits the culture which once existed. The whole complex of beliefs and activities having to do with war has practically disappeared, for example. Yet it is a subject of comment for anthropologists how much of the "old"—that is to say, of early white—contact times—culture still exists. The bundle ceremonies of the clans are still held. In the smoke-filled summer house, the singers drum and ply their rasps and raise their voices in the Indian songs; sweat rises from the bare bodies of the dancers in breechclout and feathers, many of them players on the high school basketball team; their dancing is undisturbed by the occasional roar of a train not a block away. People still josh their joking relatives. The round elm-bark wickiups are still built, tied with baling wire instead of fibre. In the summer, women cook on wood fires out of doors their soups of corn and beans and their fried bread, and families sleep on wooden sleeping platforms in the open air. "Indian" varieties of corn and squash are grown in little gardens. Some women still do ribbon applique and at least one still makes the bags of woven fibre; a few make mats for the summer wickiups, and some make the braided men's belt given away at adoption feasts. The hand game and moccasin game and the women's squaw dice are played less often than they once were, but plenty of people know how to play, and given the chance, sing and gamble, with gusto. Mesquakie is spoken everywhere except, of course, in the government school.

Yet the time is past when every member of the Fox community participated in this culture more or less in its entirety, or when participation in it could be "natural," automatic, unquestioned. For the generation over 45, the generation which speaks English lamely, as a learned language, it is so: the natural way of doing things. But between the older people and the young there is the rift typical of the immigrant and his children; here participation in Mesquakie culture is a matter of choice,
and many choose to reject it in whole or in part. One extreme "progressive" says: "Some people want to keep the old ways, be like an old Indian. I can't be that way. I've gone away to school; I've become a Christian; I can't grow long hair and wear leggings. I can't unless I become a showman ... I'm part white and I'm Christian. This sets me apart ... I used to go to clan ceremonies but I quit. I just don't believe in the old ways; the Indian has to change."

The old bemoan the passing: "I think the Indian way will die out soon. The reason is I think the people following the old way are not strong believers. They just follow the routine. I know in my day religion was strong. The old people used to talk. It should be carried to the end of the world. Now they don't follow it—just routine ... Now they are slacking off just like whites."

"The old ways are dying out. When people my age are gone, it will die out. In my day, in the old beliefs, we were careful. We didn't allow women in their periods to hang around the men or go to ceremonies. Now it's all mixed up. It is disappearing ... It's the times. We have to follow. We will finally end up in the white people's way. As long as we let things go, the Great Spirit won't see us any more."

This is, to the anthropologist, a typical acculturation situation, expressing itself within the community and with individuals as culture conflicts. But it is interesting that only some instances of acculturation are experienced by individuals as culture conflict, as calling for choice. At a clan festival, a dancer in breechclout and feathers came out from the summer house to start his old car; when it failed to start, he said: "The damn thing's got a short in the ignition," and all his bells shook in annoyance. To me, a watching anthropologist, the contrast in cultures here represented was a source of amusement, but to the Indian here was no culture conflict, only a defective car. The Indian who must choose between staying at home on the settlement with no job or an ill-paying one, and going to Waterloo to work may feel a conflict between his desire to stay where he feels at home and his desire to make money, but he does not feel a need to choose between cultures. The Mesquakie argue out the problem of change versus the "old ways" within certain rather limited areas.

It would appear that each generation of Fox has fought out the problem of acculturation along a different bastion, and that each generation's problem has tended to give way to a new one in the next. Apparently, the first area in which Mesquakie culture gave way was that of technology. The tractor, the automobile, the frame house, are now completely accepted in the settlement. No one suggests that the owner of one of these is thereby less a Fox, or is contributing to the dissolution of the Mesquakie as a people. The older generation of Fox now living participated in the battle against white-style education, when, in the second decade of the twentieth century, children were dragged to the Indian Service school by force, and the parents of the children who failed to attend had their annuities held back. This is no longer a subject of controversy. "Talk doesn't prove anything; you have to be educated to deal with officials," and even the conservative now recognise the value of white-style education, in a world run by whites. In this generation, the battle is fought over religion and the beliefs and practices, such as menstrual taboos, which are connected with religion. When the older people speak of the "Indian way" and its passing they mean Indian religion and the rules which prescribe that a menstruating woman must eat apart and must not attend ceremonies. Here is the point where
most people are sure, and where among the young there is doubt and variation. It should be noted that there is typically cultural difference between old and young on many other points—style of dress, knowledge of crafts, styles of house decoration, for example. Yet these are not felt as culture conflict in the same sense that religious differences are.

There is a part of culture which still, as yet, hardly comes into question; which does not appear as a point of culture conflict because it is not doubted. This is the use and perpetuation of the Fox language. Even the cultural "progressives" typically express strong feelings against the disappearance of the language. For example, one "progressive" woman, asked whether she would like her children to stay in the settlement, said, "It's up to them. It's a free country I tell them. . . . Of course we ought to keep our language. When other tribes come they're always surprised to hear Indian."

It is a source of pride for the Fox that they have a separate cultural tradition; they are a People. Yet the younger generation of Mesquakie are acutely aware that they live in a world which is run by whites, where the whites have power and they do not. In such a world, the superiority of Fox culture comes strongly into question. In technology, there can be no doubt, and here the Mesquakie have made the obvious choice. Education, too, has come to be recognized as part of the technology for dealing with a white world. White-style dress and such beauty aids as the permanent wave are also, clearly, part of a personal technology for getting on in white society, and have high prestige among the younger generation. When it comes to religion, there is more doubt. If the Fox had the opportunity of mingling with their white neighbours in church, the advantages of joining a Christian church would be clear. But they are invited only to join segregated missions. On the other hand, Indian religion means casting one's lot with a poor and powerless group. Here is a matter for choice.

Yet the Mesquakie are, willy-nilly, part of one society; even if they would escape it, escape is difficult. Here is where they feel that they are accepted as belonging. Even those who are most interested in "getting on" in the eyes of whites tend to feel strongly their identification with the community and wish to see it perpetuated. The extreme "progressive" who said that "the Indian has to change" wants strongly to be approved by whites. But in his wish for status and approval, he has little choice but to throw in his lot with the Mesquakie, his own "backward" people, for only in this community does he have a chance to lead. Among whites, he would be at the bottom of the status ladder. Thus even he, pushing for acculturation, must commit himself to the perpetuation of the community as a community.

For the older people, perpetuation of the religion tends to stand for perpetuation of the community, and this is part of the reason why it is important to them. Many younger people, as they have moved out from the Fox community in their education and their economic life, have let the Indian religion go in orienting themselves more and more towards approval by whites. For them, the perpetuation of the language becomes a last symbol of the perpetuation of the society. Here is the last ditch where even they would not yet give way.

The powwow.—When we anthropology students first came to spend the summer with the Fox, we were properly blase about the annual Pow Wow. After all, there was nothing of the "old culture" in this show put on for a white audience on the ground next to the baseball field; it was obviously "just a commercial affair," and as sophisticated anthropologists we could not be impressed by imitations of Indian-ness. When
the Mesquakie whom we met told us we must not miss it, we were nettled at being, as we thought, put in the same class as the naive whites who might patronise such a spectacle. However, as the weeks went past and the time for Pow Wow came closer, we began to see that we were mistaken. When Pow Wow time finally arrived, we realized that we had been completely wrong.

The Pow Wow is a commercial affair, and as a money-making enterprise, of considerable importance among a people as poor as the Fox. Every member of the tribe, from the small children to the old people, has a chance to make money as a dancer, paid a share of the proceeds according to the number of times he participates. In addition, there is a chance to sell souvenirs, pop, hot dogs, and pop corn. Someone must manage the lights; a group of men must drum and sing for dancing; others must arrange for publicity, traffic direction, and ticket selling. All these people make money.

However, the Pow Wow is not just a money-making enterprise; it is also a community festival. Like the Saint's Day of Latin-American community it is the emotional high point of the year, the point at which the community rejoices in its self-affirmation. "It's the one time during the year when we all get together and just enjoy ourselves. We all go down to the grounds and for four days we just have a good time. We wear the old Indian costumes, and dance, and live in the wickiups, and everybody gets together and we visit and have a good time. You know, we don't get a chance to be together and visit except this one time."

People do not dance just to get paid. In the warm summer evenings for weeks beforehand people gather at the Pow Wow grounds to "practice" dancing. Actually, this is no training session with leaders and instructions, but an emotional warm-up for the Pow Wow itself, like the preparations for Christmas in white society. The drummers drum and sing, and lines of women move in the circle dance, while boys try out the fancy steps of men's dancing. On the benches, women and children gather to talk and watch. As Pow Wow time grows closer, the dances become more varied, and sometimes there are special events—perhaps a box supper to raise funds. It is a happy time, friendly and relaxed.

When the time comes for the Pow Wow itself, the community draws itself together. Sons and daughters and whole families living away from the settlement come home for Pow Wow. Many families from outlying parts of the settlement pile their household goods into trucks and move down to the Pow Wow grounds, to live in canvas tipis, or mat wickiups of the "Indian Village" at one side of the Pow Wow grounds. Men and women have been fixing their dance costumes, decorated with sequins and beads and feathers. Now they appear resplendent for the dancing. All normal business of the settlement comes to a stop; who would pick cucumbers while Pow Wow was going on?

Even after Pow Wow is over, officially, and the visiting audience gone home, the dancing goes on. On the last night of the Pow Wow, after the last "show," the dancers go in a group to dance in front of each tent, each pop corn and souvenir stand in an old Indian pattern for the ends of such events. But even on the night after that, as we came by the Pow Wow grounds, we could hear the drums, and we knew the dancing was going on.

One of the strengths of the Pow Wow is the variety of roles which it offers. Anyone, even a small child, can take part in the dancing; it is a simple unspecialised art. But those who would feel embarrassed to appear as feathered Indians can find something else to do. They can sell
souvenirs or run a pop corn stand; one GI-Bill-educated veteran managed the loudspeaker system. Between dances, a group of rather acculturated young men sang popular and cowboy songs with guitar accompaniment. There are very few members of the tribe who are not drawn in in some capacity.

At this one time of the year, the Mesquakie appear most strongly as a people. Before the audience of the bleachers, they are one. The Fox are very conscious of this. At one of the final Pow Wow practices, one of the older men of the tribe even gave a speech about how at this time of the year the tribe gets all together. A measure of this unity is the fact that at this time alone of the entire summer we anthropologists felt seriously excluded and acutely uncomfortable. It was not that people were unfriendly to us; by this time, we had many friends. But here, at the Pow Wow, the lines were clearly drawn; here were the Mesquakie, and there, on the bleachers, were the outsiders—foreign Indians and whites; we could not but be across the line.

BEING AN INDIAN

The Mesquakie are a tribe, a people, with their own history and their own situation, but neither to the whites nor to themselves are they that alone. They are also Indian. Men who have worked for yeare in Tama or Waterloo, women who have come every Saturday to shop in the stores of Tama, still feel themselves in significant ways closer to Indians in Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico whom they have never seen, than they do to those whites next to whom they have grown up. The sense which they have of their own identity is one which includes elements both of their conception of their tribe, and of their conception of themselves as Indians in a white country.

This consciousness of common situation which comes to be something which may really be called pan-Indianism must be fairly recent. Where there were no whites, there could be no Indians, only different tribes. Even the Mesquakie know relatively little about the cultures of the Indian tribes of the United States. But to feel a sense of identity with these other tribes, such knowledge is not important. What is important they know, and this is that they have shared a common destiny. When the Fox saw the picture of a weeping Mandan signing away the tribal land, they did not know or care what is unique about the Mandans; they recognised at once in the picture the universal experience of the Indian—overpowered by whites, pushed from his ancestral land, losing out.

This consciousness of being Indian takes several forms, and these, in turn, are related to a number of other kinds of inter-tribal connections which are not strictly pan-Indianism at all. In the following sections, I propose, therefore, to list the various kinds of connection which the Mesquakie have with other tribes, from simple diffusion of traits to conceptions of the "Indian way."

Inter-tribal connections.—Culture elements have always diffused from tribe to tribe, with the result that over large parts of North America there was a considerable substratum of common elements. Pan-Indian religious cults which have developed under acculturation have drawn on, and been made possible by this common substratum; they have used, for example, such general "Indian" elements as the drum, rattle, and eagle feather. This diffusion process, which went on even before the coming of the whites, has probably been speeded up since by improved communications, and by the bringing together of members of different tribes in the Indian Service boarding schools.

For the Mesquakie, the chief centers of diffusion are Oklahoma and
Wisconsin. Oklahoma is the sophisticated center, a kind of Indian New York, a melting pot of different tribes and of white culture, whence come new dances like the white-style Rabbit Dance, items of dance costume, and the peyote cult with its paraphernalia and ritual. The poorer tribes to the North are chiefly a religious center; here is the source of the Drum Society, and from here a famous "Indian doctor" comes to visit the Fox. The head of the Mesquakie Drum Society is also a member of the Winnebago Medicine Society and hopes to start a Medicine Dance among the Fox.

The two religions—the Drums and peyote—which have been brought in from other tribes provide frequent reasons for getting together across tribal lines. The peyote cult, incorporated as the Native American Church, has annual conventions in Oklahoma, and these are attended by a Mesquakie delegate. In the case of the Drum Society across-tribal contacts are less formalized, but are none-the-less frequent. Visitors from the North are not uncommon, and we were present at a meeting at which a group of Kickapoo from Kansas were taught the drum ceremonial.

A number of the Fox know songs which come from the Southwest, and at the Pow Wow, many of the dances performed are "foreign" in origin. In the case of the Hopi Eagle Dance, its origin was announced, but many others which come from the Southwest are now regarded by the Mesquakie as essentially their own.

Not only are culture traits diffused from tribe to tribe but individuals from various tribes visit back and forth and often intermarry. Again, the chief connections are with Wisconsin and Oklahoma. There are many Winnebago married into the tribe, some Potawatomi, an Oklahoma Pawnee, and two Sioux girls. Although there are constant complaints about "foreigners" or "half-breeds," it is notable that it is possible for foreign Indians to make an adjustment in the tribe, while none of the white-Indian couples live in the settlement and I cannot imagine this being successful if it were attempted. The Mesquakie have a tradition of hospitality to visiting Indians; while we were in the community, a Canadian Indian (tribe uncertain) was dropped off a train in a state of acute hangover and taken in by one of the households, apparently without question.

Interest in other tribes is strong. Many people keep scrapbooks filled with pictures of other Indians and newspaper stories on Indian affairs. Since a large proportion of Mesquakie families subscribe to a newspaper, read magazines with fair frequency, they are able to keep abreast of news concerning Indians fairly well. Actually, the Fox are usually quite unclear as to the specific tribal affiliations of the people involved in their clippings; it is enough that they be Indians. The Indian Service school promotes this interest in other tribes by posting pictures and clippings about various Indian tribes and individuals on its bulletin boards.

The generalized Indian.—One sort of culture trait diffusion is directly traceable to white ideas about "the Indian" as a kind of generalized Fenimore Cooper feathered redskin. This sort of diffusion is most clearly exemplified in the "Indian souvenir." There is coming to be a body of objects which are made and sold as "Indian souvenirs" all over the United States, from the roadhouses of the Mohawk Trail in Massachusetts to the trading post" of the Southwest. This body of objects includes especially beadwork gimmicks—lapel pins, earrings, and the like—as well as toy drums with inner-tube drumheads, toy bows and arrows, and bedroom-slipper-type mocassins. The Mesquakie share in this generalized
Indian activity, and the making of beadwork souvenirs is a spare-time occupation for most women in the settlement. Many of the objects thus manufactured, like the beadwork lapel pins, have no indigenous parallel. Others, like the toy drums, are modifications of objects which were found in the old Mesquakie culture, but which are also part of the common North American substratum. The designs on these objects are likely to come from the Southwest, but where they come from is immaterial to the Fox who think of the objects much as the whites do as "Indian" souvenirs.

Similarly, the Mesquakie play up to white conceptions of "the Indian" by donning feather headdresses and standing beside canvas tipis at practically all ceremonial occasions involving a white audience. An Indian without a feather headdress would certainly be a sad disappointment to whites. All this has its effect on the Mesquakie too; they have come to feel quite at home in feather headdresses and tipis. In fact, comments by some of the younger people would indicate that the Fox are coming to feel rather as if these things were a part of their past: for example, we were told by one boy that "we Indians used to live in tipis." As the real "old culture" recedes from memory—and the Fox are very little history-minded—it seems likely that the Fox will tend to become constantly more identified with the generalized conception originated by whites.

The Indian Way.—In every society, there appear some men who dream dreams by which other men form their lives, and such a man is the head of the Drum Society among the Fox. It was from this man that I heard about the Indian Way, sitting on the thick grass by his small house, hidden behind a grove of tall walnuts. He played for us the old cedarwood flute, which only one other person in the tribe can still play, and told us about the meaning of the Drums.

This man is young for a religious leader among the Fox, and indeed, he leads a religious group unpopular among the conservative older men who regard it as a recent intrusion. The Drums were introduced to the Mesquakie about forty years ago, from Wisconsin; the present leader's grandfather had the original vision among the Fox. The Drums came to the Indian originally less than a hundred years ago, but they came from heaven, floating down through the clear blue sky, first a little speck, growing gradually bigger, and when they came, the men to whom they were sent already "just knew" the ritual for them. The present leader is a man who had dedicated his life to Indian religion; he is proud, too, that he can play the old flute songs and that he is growing his hair out long as no man of his tribe has done in many years. All this is the Indian Way.

The Drum Society is a pan-Indian religious group, shared by a number of Midwest tribes. The members of the society worship the Great Spirit, who is essentially one with the Christian God, with dancing and song and the drum beat and with offerings of tobacco, these things of Indian ritual all over North America. At the harvest dance of the drums, the chief dish was a stew of corn, beans, squash and deer suet—symbolically, the Indian foods.

The leader of the Drums thinks of a generalized "Indian Way" which is continually set against a "white way." The two should be co-existing, equal, friendly. But as the Indian is an Indian, he cannot well become white, or a Christian. "I learned about the Drums a long time ago, and when I read the Bible I found out it said the same thing..." I've studied the Bible for four years now. It's helped me a lot.
I believe in the Bible but I can't go by it, because I'm an Indian.

Each of the four big drums had its own American flag. Sitting at our long table one evening after supper, the leader of the Drums told us the meaning of the flags. "There is a story about the flag. It's like this. Here in the United States before the white man came (placing a pepper shaker in front of him on the table) there are only Indians here. And here (pointing to the salt shaker) is overseas—all different nationalities of white men. God gave the Indians the drums and the white man the Bible. Before the white men came, the Indians knew they were coming. They knew they would be friends. God told them . . . The old men knew the white men would come and bring the flag . . . they would be friends. The first white men to see the ceremony were a bunch of soldiers. The soldiers came up to where the Indians were dancing, and asked: 'What are you Indians doing, having a good time?' The Indians answered, 'No, we're talking to God.' Then the white men knew they were both talking to God. They would be friends. The head white man went over and planted the flag on the dance ground. The Indians knew then that they would be friends. The white men didn't know this then. Every drum has its own American flag . . . The old men know that as long as the Indians believe and go to ceremonies there will be no war here. There may be war overseas but not here. If the Indians don't go to ceremonies we don't know what will happen . . ."

White persons are still highly unwelcome at the clan ceremonies of Fox but they are welcome at the Drum dances. The society used to put a notice in the paper at the time of their chief summer dance; once the governor of the state came to it. There have been several white people who attended regularly; two of us anthropologists became, in this way, semi-members of the group, welcomed at the dances and at a cooperative bark-house building bee for one of the members. The whole anthropologist group, visiting at a Drum Society service, were affected at receiving gifts from the members of the society. The Indian way and the white way are not in conflict; each people, in its own way, is pursuing the same goals.

There is another pan-Indian religion in the tribe besides the Drums. This is the peyote cult, which came to the Fox from Oklahoma, about the same time as the Drum Society. It, too, is a focus for pan-Indian feelings, although to a lesser extent than the Drum Society. Here, too, there is use of "generalized Indian" ritual objects—the drum, the rattles, eagle feathers, tobacco, the tipi in which the all-night service takes place. The ritual breakfast which concludes the service is also, as our informant at the ceremony was proud to point out, of "old Indian" foods (dried corn gruel, sweetened meat, and cooked cherries). It is an "Indian" religion. Yet this religion is full of Christian elements, and worship of the Christian God is explicit. Prayers use in English such terms as "Thy Way." The part of the service up to midnight represents the Old Testament, after midnight the New, and the bringing in of water at midnight the coming of Christ. Thus, the members cannot identify purely with "the Indian" like the members of the Drums. It seems that the peyote member in explaining his church typically says, "We're incorporated . . . the peyote church is a church just like your [white] church." In contrast, the members of the Drum cult explain, "This is the Indian way to worship."

The conception of an "Indian way" to which the Indians can find their salvation by returning is expressed in more militant form in the story of the Chippewa Messiah. About eighteen years ago, the daughter of an old Chippewa couple who lived off in the woods by themselves became
57

pregnant. The mother, knowing that her daughter had had no chance to see boys, accused the father of making the girl pregnant. When the baby was born, she raised the axe to kill the (as she thought) incestuous child. At this moment the Child spoke, saying, "I was born to the whites across the sea and they killed me; are you now going to kill me too?" Raising His hands He showed her the stigmata on them. The Child spoke further to her and to several old men of the Chippewa Tribe who came to see Him, saying that His mission was to tell the Indians to go back to the Indian way, the Indian religion; until such time as He should be grown and ready to go about among the tribes on His mission, the matter should be kept secret. He has been, in all this time, kept apart in the woods, fasting and learning as an Indian, but it is almost time for Him to come to His people. He will travel about among Indians, telling them to return to the Indian way. Some say that when He does, retribution will be visited on whites for the harm which they have done the Indians.

This story has many similarities to the Wovoka story which began the Ghost Dance Movement, but is apparently independently developed. Like the Wovoka story, it emphasizes the "Indian way" as a whole, rather than the culture of any one tribe. The Messiah has come to all Indians, not to any one tribe, and calls them to a loyalty to their common past, not to that of their particular tribe. It is the "Indian way" versus the "white way." Salvation is to come not by fighting white society, or by competing with whites on their terms—here is only defeat—but by withdrawing, by being more Indian.

It happens that the members of the Drum Society are all aligned with the political "progressives" in the community. The "friendship with whites" motif in the mythology and practice of the Drums clearly fits with this, but one might suppose that the "progress" line of the political leaders of this group would come into conflict with the "Indian way." This does not seem to be so. Even the conscientiously atavistic leader of the Drums cannot think in terms of an "Indian" technology and economy. The hunting, the squaw agriculture, cannot be a basis of Fox economy any more. The Mesquakie live primarily by working for whites, and this is as true of the members of the Drum Society as it is of the rest of the community. It is only in the realm of the spirit that they can still think of being "Indian."

Being a minority.---The leader of the Drum Society has in his own mind solved the problem of life as an Indian in a world controlled by whites. So long as he can get from the white world enough income to enable him to live as an Indian he will be satisfied. Not for him to try to move up from job to job on the status ladder as the whites do; not for him to try to live as a white; friendship with whites means being accepted as an Indian. This is probably the typical adjustment made by the older Mesquakie. They do not have the pan-Indian idealism of the Drums leader, but otherwise they shape their lives in the same way. White society for them is a present source of income, a substitution for the forest from which they once drew their living; there is bitterness for past injustices and seizures of land, but they are not buffeted by any present attempt to make their way among whites. They earn their money and bring it home.

It is not so easy for the young. Among some of these is rising another type of par. Indianism, identification with "the Indians" as an ethnic group in an underprivileged position, sometimes coupled with militant social protest in a "real" rather than mythical form. A high school girl told us of a talk she gave her class during Brotherwood Week. "I told them that some day the Indians are going to get back everything the white men owe them. They'll get back all the money and everything. I
tell them how the Indians were put on the bad land in Arizona . . . I told them everyday you should be nice to all the people, not just one week. Some of them are so high-and-mighty. Because we're Indians, they think we're in a lower class. Every shade darker skin is a lower person. But the skin doesn't make any difference. It's a person's qualities that count. I told them that's why I want to get an education, to help the people. And when I do, they better watch out."

The Mesquakie are partly insulated from the penalties of lower status by their life in a separate community, but as more and more adolescents attend the Tama High School, and as the educated young people try, for the first time in Fox history, to get jobs which are more than unskilled or semi-skilled work, they are confronted painfully, even heartbreakingly, with the problems of status. "If you're around here long enough, you'll see how it is, how they are. These people here don't give the Indians much chance to do anything. . . . When a boy gets out of high school, well an Indian boy don't get no jobs here, right away. Seems like nobody cares about him getting a job. . . . Well, they don't like that naturally. Makes them mad. Get that feeling about, like having an 'inferiority complex' from that. In the High School is the worst place of all. I want to that school, and I know about that place, how it is. . . . It ain't just the football you know. When an Indian gets up and talks, then everybody—you know, there's lots of them there, and they're pretty noisy—well, when an Indian gets up and talks why all of a sudden it's quiet. They're all quiet and look at you. There was a girl there, and she was the only one in the class, only one Indian girl. Well, with them others, somebody else was talking, well, they didn't notice nothing. You know, just went on a little noisy like always. But every time she got up to talk, all of a sudden everything is quiet, all quiet. Well, that poor girl had to quit. Couldn't go on with it. That's pretty hard thing there."

At the mill, when two Indian workers were laid off: "These boys had been working there four or five years; last year they hired some white boys. But when they got ready to lay someone off, they laid off the Indians first. The white punks are still working."

The Indian missionary said: "The hardest thing for an Indian to do when he becomes a Christian is to get rid of his prejudice toward white men. This was hardest for me. You can't blame the Indians for feeling this way."

Status becomes a bitter thing, that one must defend what status one has. Thus the young Mesquakie are strongly anti-Negro. The mechanism is shown by a couple of young Fox who spent a good deal of spare time in the Army searching out Negroes who were passing as Indians and beating them up.

The veterans have a particular kind of problem. They had had, as no Fox who stays close to his home can have, the experience of being completely accepted among whites. Indian blood was, in the Army, rather a source of pride, an added glamour, than a cause for discrimination or lower status. And so, although it was lonely in the Army—one veteran says, "Sometimes I went out in the woods by myself and talked Mesquakie all alone, just talked to myself to bear it"—it was hard to come back to the old discriminations and rejections. One veteran writes: "My opinion with America, as an Indian, it gives me no freedom of human rights, and my opinion with foreign country it gives no human liberties. After the war, I returned to the Pacific, and had the privilege to serve with the occupation troops in Korea, Japan and Philippines. My life in these countries was enjoyed. I met no opposition because of my color.
Discrimination laws were unknown. In fact, my nationality as the American was respected, though our American Negroes put me in bad spot by claiming they were American Indians. I had a hard time convincing people I was an Indian."

Another veteran says it this way: "Army life reminds me of the circus. Different animals, all together. Same way in the Army—all different kinds of people, different nationalities all working together. When Barnum and Bailey comes around again, I'm going to go because it reminds me of the Army."

Particularly for the veterans, but also for the rest of the Fox, the liquor law which prohibits the serving of alcoholic beverages to Indians is a symbol of all discrimination, all problems of lower status. "You made all kinds of treaties and what happened to them? Now if I go in a bar and order a glass of beer you tell me I can't have it. You say I'm a 'minor.' We're just children in this land. . . ." They point out, "I can get liquor any time I want it; I just have to drink it in the alley. . . ."

All this the Fox know they share with the other Indians of the United States. This is a common bitterness, not one unique to them. But they cannot see any possibility of common action with other Indians to solve this problem. This problem of status must be faced by each individual; each man alone must struggle to rise from the lower class. Therefore, this kind of pan-Indianism, this identification with an underprivileged minority, is a bitter thing. The "Indian way" of the Drums calls for positive action among Indians even if only the performance of symbolic ritual; this kind of ethnicity expresses only individual struggle and common frustration.

THE MESQUAKIE IN A WHITE WORLD

The meaning of being a Fox.—The Mesquakie live right in the middle of Iowa, and they are surrounded by whites. Many of them work for whites; all buy their goods in white-operated stores. More and more young people go to the local high school in Tama. It, therefore, naturally comes about that the conception which the Mesquakie have of themselves is shaped, in varying ways, by the conceptions which whites have of them.

The only instance where I can clearly demonstrate that the Indian's picture of himself is formed by that the whites have of him is not a particularly important one, but at least suggests that the process which takes place here may take place in other areas. This is with regard to the Indian's capacity for alcohol. It is a popular myth among whites—partly, no doubt, due to the early history of the Indians demoralized by cheap liquor on the frontier, and also perhaps a handy rationalization for the Federal liquor law discriminating against Indians—that Indians physiologically cannot "hold" liquor nearly as well as whites. Many Indians also told us that this was true.

The evidence which we have suggests that the whites have toward the Fox two general kinds of attitude. On the one hand, the Fox are Indians, feathered redmen with a romantic past. They belong with the free-roaming brave creatures of nature who have fascinated house-and technology-dependent Americans ever since white settlers colonized the West."

"It is rather curious, the fascination which the Indian has had for the white. Although contributing relatively little to the culture of white America, the life of the Indian seems to have been important to the white as a symbol of all the things which his culture is not—close to nature, stressing spiritual rather than material values, etc.—a kind of dramatic antithesis to it.
other hand, the Fox are, to their neighbors, clearly marked by their poverty, lack of education, and style of living as lower-class people. In one aspect, the whites show themselves as patrons of the Indians, encouraging craft work, arranging for Indians, properly feathered, to appear at fairs, and proud of their "friends among the Indians." At other times, the whites appear as employers and schoolmates expressing their feelings of class superiority. The same white individuals may, and often do, express both sorts of attitude at one and the same time. Thus one white woman who has figured frequently as a patron of Indian arts and culture, says that "we could learn much from their deep faith" and from their musical superiority, but adds immediately that, "they're so unsanitary, you know."

Both these attitudes are reflected in the conception which the Fox have of themselves. At Pow Wow time, pride in the heritage of the Indian shines forth; here is the only All-Indian Pow Wow in the Midwest, here the Fox can show the whites something. Yet even at this time, there is some ambivalence. The announcer takes pains to point out to the white audience that the settlement has a good school, that its people live in regular houses, much as whites, that its young people go to high school, and that there is a large group of veterans. Beside this, there are a number of young people who will not dance, who would feel embarrassed to appear in Indian costume, dancing before whites. Some of these find themselves other functions—selling refreshments, perhaps. One or two wander uncomfortably about among their friends.

The Mesquakie have a disquieting style of joking with white visitors. They may say, "Aren't you girls afraid you'll be scalped, out with all these wild Indians?" Or an expert trumpet player pretended, to the trumpeter of the field party, that he had no idea how a trumpet might be used. He jokes: "I'm just an old Indian, just like the other Indians around here. I'm even dumber than most... I can't help you study the Indians. I think it's good that you boys study us Indians, but you should remember that we are like animals." Like much other joking, this humor is aggressive; the Fox is insulting the white for his underestimation of the Indian. But the aggression of this humor cuts both ways; the Indian insults white by insulting himself. It seemed to me that this humor reflected a state of mind in which bitterness and frustration must be, to some extent, directed inward, and in which devaluation by whites was reflected, to some extent and in moods, in devaluation of the self.

I have an impression that for the Indian who manages to rise from the lower class, either by education or by some special role like that of the artist, the problem of ambivalence towards his ancestry ceases to exist in any important way. For a person like Will Rogers or the ballet dancer Maria Tallchief, being an Indian seems to be merely a source of added glamour. Even those Mesquakie who went into the Army seem to have found their Indian blood, for the time, no source of shame. But for the Fox for whom being an Indian means also being identified with a low-status group, I suspect that the ambivalence is always there at the back of consciousness.

 Acting as Indians.—There is a story that shortly after Reconstruction, the head of the Freedman's Bureau visited Atlanta University, and, after a speech, asked his Negro audience what message he should take back to their well-wishers in the North. The answer which came, in a small voice from the back of the room, was "Tell 'em we've arisen." I repeat this story because it seems to me to illustrate a characteristic state of mind of the American Negro, proud of the "progress of the race," and just in this way, a characteristic difference in the state of mind of the Indian.
The Mesquakie do not talk of the "progress of the race" and they are not typically full of optimistic hopes for the future of the Indian. Indeed, they tend to live much in the past. "You look around here. These old timers are strong and in good shape. Look at these young ones. They all have beer bellies. People die all the time and they don't notice it. They forget. The old timers have no education but they were smart. Their minds were clear. When we talk to the agent we have to read papers. The old timers didn't read papers." They have no sense of identification with past achievements of the Indians which might rival those of whites; Fox who we have told about the cities of the Maya and Inca were quite startled at the idea that Indians might have produced such things. But just the same, they tend to find their golden age in the past, rather than in the future.

I think that there are probably two reasons for this. In the first place, the Negro was torn so forcibly from his culture in Africa that his only choice was to start from scratch; the Indian, on the other hand, has seen his culture gradually eroded away. His sense is of loss of the old, not of building a new way of life. In the second place, the system of racial segregation practiced in the United States means that Negroes who become educated and achieve high social status still remain in the Negro community; the mass of Negroes profit, in this way, by the wall of segregation. Indians who become educated, who pass into the middle class, become, on the other hand, not quite Indians; they may still be proud of their Indian ancestry but they are not presently Indians in the same way that the middle class Negro is still a Negro. In this way, the "aris'n" Indian tends to be "drained off" from the Indian group; he progresses as an individual, but the group is left behind.

The Indians as a group, therefore, are left with a sense of present problem, but no clear goal for future achievement. Thus, among the Fox, there are almost as many ways of "being an Indian" as there are adult members of the community. There are those who have gone forth to take their chances in the towns and cities of the white world. There are those who, remaining in the settlement and strongly identified with the Indian group, strive for "progress" within the settlement on the model of white culture. There is the "professional Indian" whose chief interest is in representing the tribe ("my people") to whites. There is the older man who remains Indian in culture, unreflectively, as a matter of course, while working perhaps at some unskilled job in the white community. There is the determined, self-conscious espousal of the "Indian way." There are the young men with high-school training, a series of wants which they do not know how to satisfy, and a feeling of no place to go. There are the young acculturated leaders of the "conservative" faction, trying to hold together a community so that their parents and other less acculturated people will have a place to belong. Thus the meaning of "being an Indian" is different for almost every adult.

There is one common theme, however, which runs through all these variations of definition. This is a common agreement, conscious or unconscious, explicit or implicit, that real power rests with the whites. I think it can be shown that this premise lies behind every attempt at action towards solving the tribe's problems by any group of Mesquakie.

This is quite obvious when it comes to the program of the "progressive" politicians of the community. Here the assumption is that the Mesquakie will best succeed by following the lead of the whites and changing in the direction of the techniques, and even the values, of white culture. However, the premise of white power is held equally by the conservative political group, though less in a self-evident form.
The objective of the conservatives is to restore the hereditary chief to power, and to maintain the community intact, but it is by no means hoped to do this without white support. On the contrary, the conservative faction includes in its program the getting of more help from the government by having an agent right on the settlement as in former times, along with a government farmer. "This used to be a great farming community. We had an Indian farmer here and an agent... Our bins were full. That was when we used to get appropriations from the Congress to get us going. Now they don't help us any more. It's hard to get started." Thus speaks one of the Oldbear stalwarts. Another says, "You know everything was all right here until the Wheeler-Howard Act, then the government began to interfere. It's the interference of the government that caused this mess, the way the people can't get together. The government caused it and they are the only ones who can straighten it out." Both of the main factions base a good deal of their hopes on getting Indian claims money—presumably in huge amounts—from Washington.
explorers and, a decade later, missionaries. In the earliest accounts we find the major elements which dominated the development of the Fox until the arrival of white settlers in their territory after 1800. A tribe of one thousand to three thousand village-dwelling Central Algonkins, subsisting by hunting and fishing and the cultivation of corn, beans and squash, embroiled in the inter-tribal wars stimulated by the arrival of European colonists on the eastern seaboard and rapidly becoming integrated into the great fur-trade empire which ultimately extended from Montreal to the upper Missouri.

The overriding importance of the fur trade in the history of the tribes of this region justifies a brief digression for the purpose of outlining the industry as impinged upon the Indians. Although the system varied, both through time and among the various nations engaged in it, the nature of the situation seems to have imposed an essential uniformity upon the trade. Merchants in the eastern cities (Montreal, Albany and, later, St. Louis) received permits from the government to send limited numbers of canoes of goods into the Indian country each year. These merchants in turn granted credit to the bourgeois, who managed the expeditions. The bourgeois hired crews of engages to whom they granted credit in trade goods and who carried these to the tribes. The latter were given credit in goods (weapons, ammunition and clothing) previous to beginning their hunt and were thus in debt to the engages. When furs were brought into trading points, repayment of the entire series of debts began, ending with the marketing of the furs in Europe (Chittenden, 1902: Kellogg, 1925). The weakness in the system resided in the fact that several parties were at all times in competition for the trade. During the early period, the various mercantilist European governments, and later, the different competing companies of laissez faire England and America, were in almost constant conflict. The system, however, would not operate as outlined above in other than a monopoly situation, for at all points the debtors were tempted to violate their contracts by selling their goods to other than their creditors. The bourgeois, the engages and the Indians themselves frequently did this. There was no system of social control in the Indian country to force them to do otherwise. And, finally, this very impossibility of enforcement of rules of trade made it inevitable that liquor would develop as a major weapon of competition in the Indian trade. For two hundred years the governments involved attempted in complete sincerity to ban its use without success.

The practice of the fur trade under such conditions greatly stimulated war and intrigue among the European governments and the Indian tribes.

The Indian "Wars" are frequently described by French writers of the period and by later European and American historians as if they were wars in the European style: formal states of hostilities between sovereign states. Such interpretations, however, rest upon a fundamental misconception of the nature of Fox political structure. In reality, there seems to have been no centralized political authority capable of making decisions to be binding upon all members of the society.

The pattern of warfare which prevailed among the tribes of the area, both among themselves and, whenever possible, against Europeans, was consequently not one in which national armies were pitted against one another, but rather consisted of a series of surprise raids by small bands of warriors against enemy hunting parties or camps. These raiding parties seem to have varied from a handful of warriors to bands of eighty or one hundred men (Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XVI, 143, 307).
The war parties were led by the so-called "war-chiefs," among whom were counted any of the braves who had acquired sufficient reputations for bravery to enable them to make up an expedition. The status of the "war chief" was entirely "acquired" through the attainment of skill and "war power," whereas that of the village chief was frequently hereditary, subject to the endorsement of the council of old men (Forsythe, 1911; Jones, 1939; Marston, 1911).

After 1700, the sporadic Fox raids against the French and their Indian allies were intensified, due, in part, to British encouragement. These hostilities seriously interrupted the fur trade, causing the French to initiate a campaign of extermination against the Fox. In 1712, two bands, led by Pemoussa and Lamina appeared before the French fort at Detroit, presumably to trade, inasmuch as they had brought their families with them. Hostilities broke out, the Fox being joined by a band of Mascoutin and the French by Ottawas, Hurons, Potowatami and Chipewa. After a 19-day siege, the Fox attempted to escape, were caught five miles above Detroit, and were massacred. According to contemporary accounts, only one hundred men and a somewhat larger number of women and children escaped (Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XVI, 267-287). Thereafter, the tribes appear to have been somewhat scattered, parties being reported at Green Bay, Chicago, and in upper Michigan the next four years.

By 1728, the tribe had become divided into pro- and anti-French factions, each maintaining a separate fort. (Ibid., p. 21.) The anti-French faction appears to have been led by Pemoussa, for in 1729, Boucherville, a French officer who had been captured and taken to the latter's village, was told that there were at that time war parties out against the Salteaux, Menomini, and Illinois, all French allies. In 1730, however, a second massacre occurred when a large party of French, Illinois, Mascoutin, Sauk and Kickapoo fell upon the Fox villages, killing or capturing "all but fifty or sixty" (Ibid., p. 113.) In 1732 and again in 1733 further serious defeats were suffered. (Ibid., pp. 167-168, 187.)

All these engagements appear to have been defensive on the part of the Fox, they being attacked in their village with the result that women and children as well as warriors were lost. In 1734 the surviving tribesmen fled to the Sauk village on the Wapsipinicon River in Wisconsin, where they made up a combined village of fifty cabins. (Ibid., p. 207.)

The first Englishman to explore and describe Wisconsin territory was Jonathan Carver, an adventurer, who spent the years 1766-68 in the Northwest. He found the Sauk on the Wisconsin River, occupying a village of ninety "houses," "each large enough for several families." One day down the river, he found a group who fled to the woods to escape an epidemic of smallpox. Another Fox village of three hundred families was encountered by Carver at Prairie du Chien. The latter town had become a great fur trading post and boasted a number of European residents as well as large numbers of transient Indians from all the tribes of the region. (Carver, 1778, pp. 46-50.)

It is evident that in the interval between their last defeat at the hands of the French and Carver's visit, the Fox had greatly increased in numbers. In 1737, representatives of the Potowatami, Ottawa, Winnabago and Menomini had requested at Montreal that the Fox be spared further attacks. (Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XVII, 260-274.) Fox captives held by tribes allied to France were returned. It seems likely, however, that the number of Fox reported killed in the French reports was greatly exaggerated. In any case, and from whatever source, the Fox had, by 1765, recovered their aboriginal numbers.
For a short time after the French and Indian War, the British held a monopoly position in the western Great Lakes region, although much of the actual trade continued to be carried out by French engagees. With the outbreak of the American Revolution, however, the British position was threatened, and again there was competition between European governments for the allegiance of the Indian tribes. In addition, the Spanish, in alliance with the Americans, had begun to trade with the Sauk, Fox, and other midwestern tribes at St. Louis. (Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XVIII, 358-368.)

With the invasion of the northwest territory by American troops, the Indians of the area were caught between opposing forces. The Sauk and Fox, by this time strongly dependent upon trade, intrigued with both sides, playing one off against the other. (Kellogg, 1935.) Although with the end of the Revolution, the area occupied by the tribes was officially ceded to the United States, the control of the fur trade of the upper Mississippi Valley continued to be in dispute until well after the close of the War of 1812.

Although the fur trade was now at its peak in the Mississippi Valley, a new factor was about to enter the situation. Whereas in the past the relationship between Indian and white had rested upon the interest of the latter in exploiting the native economy, settlers now began to invade the territory occupied by the Sauk and Fox, demanding nothing less than the removal or extinction of the native inhabitants.

In 1804 five of the tribesmen had signed away the land on which stood the Rock Island villages. Although the Indians did not recognize this treaty, in the early spring of 1829 while the Sauk and Fox were away hunting, settlers arrived and began enclosing their fields, plowing up their corn and wrecking their lodges. In July, 1831, a body of militia was called out to carry out the removal of the Sauk and Fox to the area west of the Mississippi. After a brief stand, the tribesmen capitulated to General Gaines, commanding 1,400 mounted volunteers, and agreed to remove. A short time later, however, an intransigent group led by Black Hawk returned to occupy the abandoned villages.

In the autumn of 1831, a war party of Fox attacked a camp of Menomini near Prairie du Chien, killing twenty-four of the latter and wounding several more. A council was called by Major Bliss, commander at Fort Armstrong, with the united chiefs. Bliss demanded the surrender of the braves to the army. The chiefs, however, protested that they could not be held responsible for the actions of their fellow tribesmen. The braves in question joined Black Hawk's band which left the village for the winter hunt. (Black Hawk, 1834, p. 128.) A military detachment under General Atkinson was sent to capture the fugitives. He was met by Black Hawk who, with the encouragement of the British at Malden and joined by hostile groups of Winnebago, Pottowatami and Kickapoo, had determined to resist. The events of the Black Hawk war are familiar and readily available. It need only be mentioned that, after fierce resistance in which a large part of his force was destroyed, Black Hawk surrendered to Atkinson's forces and was imprisoned at Jefferson Barracks. The bulk of the Sauk and Fox, having remained aloof from the hostilities, removed to their new villages in Iowa.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the government officers in charge of Indian affairs attempted to implement a policy which appears in retrospect to have been fundamentally and obviously contradictory. These men were charged with responsibility for the regulation of Indian trade to the best advantage of the tribes and with suppressing the liquor traffic. In order to do this, it would have been necessary for the government
itself to carry on the trade and to rigorously prevent the entrance of unauthorized whites into the Indian country. The rising tide of settlers, however, could not be halted or even controlled. The puny military forces posted on the frontier were unable to police the entire wilderness, and liquor moved freely across the frontier with the authorized and unauthorized traders.

In Iowa, the westward-moving frontier soon overtook and engulfed the Sauk and Fox villages. The remaining unbroken forests were rapidly being hunted out and the tribesmen were compelled to travel long distances into the prairie plains for game. With the disappearance of game and the consequent drop in the volume of furs, the traders became increasingly interested in selling their goods to the Indians in exchange for annuity money. In 1836 and again in 1838, portions of Iowa land were ceded to the United States in return for annuity payments.

At this point, the factional division dating from before the Black Hawk War began to reassert itself. After the death of Black Hawk in 1836, his kinsmen and followers, led by Hardfish, carried on opposition to Keokuk leader of the "government chiefs," who since before the war had cooperated with the white traders and officers. In 1840 the Hardfish group presented to Governor Lucas a petition requesting that payment be made directly to family heads and announcing that they wished political independence from the government chiefs. Governor Lucas supported the Hardfish group, and a resolution ordering direct payment to family heads was passed by the territorial legislature. Before the resolution reached Washington, however, payment was made to the chiefs. (Parish, 1909, pp. 162-189.) The next year a new governor effected a compromise whereby the 1841 annuities were divided between the two opposing groups to dispose of as each saw fit.

Meanwhile, conditions on the frontier were becoming increasingly uneasy. Thousands of settlers were pouring into tribal territory and the chiefs were becoming further and further in debt to the trading companies. In 1841, the tribesmen were in debt to the three licensed traders to the amount of more than two hundred thousand dollars. The only alternative open to the tribe was the sale of their Iowa lands for funds to pay off the accumulated debts. A council was called by Governor Chambers at which all Sauk and Fox land in Iowa was ceded to the United States in exchange for settlement of all debts and five percent annual interest on eight hundred thousand dollars. The tribes agreed to remove by May 1, 1843, to the western part of the territory, and to a reservation to be assigned to them within three years after the date of the treaty. (Ibid., pp. 185-186.)

By 1846, the united tribes, with their agent, John Beach, had migrated to their new lands on the headwaters of the Osage River in Kansas. In his report for that year, Beach suggests that resentment against the government chiefs was beginning to split the group along ethnic lines. Keokuk who was now the recognized head chief with a five hundred dollar salary, had again been manipulating annuity funds. He had continued to contract large debts with the traders who had followed the tribes to Kansas, and to have these debts paid from the total annuities prior to their distribution to family heads. In this he was encouraged by the traders and their ally, agent Beach. The Fox, having arrived in Kansas after the setting up of the agency headquarters, were obliged to take up lands in the more remote areas of the reservation, thus leaving Keokuk and his group in positions of influence. (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1846; Green, 1913.)

In 1847, the orders of superintendent Harvey to agent Beach directing him to pay annuities directly to family heads were intercepted
enroute and the debts of the government chiefs were deducted from the total amount. After an investigation, Harvey reported to the commissioner that had the money been divided evenly, each Sauk and Fox should have received thirty-five dollars. After the deduction of Keokuck's debts, however, the Fox received but three dollars each. *(Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1847.)*

About this time, efforts began to be made to induce the Sauk and the Fox to accept modern farming procedures and to set aside tribal funds for a school. *(Ibid., 1849.)* Although the school was strongly opposed, a few of the tribesmen began to farm. In 1849, agent Handy reported that: "They have this year tilled every acre of land they had broken for them, and are asking for more." *(Ibid.)*

There is evidence, however, that this acceptance of white agricultural techniques was not uniform throughout the united tribes, but rather served to deepen the conflict between the Sauk and the Fox. The movement toward acceptance of items of white culture was led by Keokuck, a Sauk, and was opposed by the Fox who had been deprived under Keokuck's leadership. *(Green, 1913.)* In 1851 the Kansas reservation was swept by an epidemic of small pox which carried away three hundred persons. Most of the Sauk allowed themselves to be vaccinated and thus escaped the disease. The Fox, however, on the "advice of their medicine men," refused to be vaccinated and thus sustained much heavier losses. *(Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1851.)*

By 1856, the united tribes had come to an open split over the issue of acculturation. An attempt was made by the government agent to encourage the development of white agricultural techniques by allotting the reservation lands to individuals. The Fox, led by a village chief who had not been recognized by the government, steadfastly opposed the division of the lands and, when their opposition proved futile, removed from the reservation. A sum of money was raised from the sale of ponies and five men were sent back to Iowa to purchase land to which the dissenting Fox could return. Eighty acres of timberland were purchased on the Iowa River in Tama County and soon Maminwanige and his band began to trickle back to the Iowa land from which they had been ousted fifteen years before. *(Fulton, 1882, p. 437.)*

In 1856, a resolution was passed by the Iowa legislature permitting the Fox to remain so long as they remained at peace. Until 1867, however, they were treated by the federal government as renegades with the result that no annuities were paid them. In that year, by act of Congress, they were granted a pro rata share of the annuities of the united Sauk and Fox tribe and an agent was appointed to pay their annuities. *(Oxford Weekly Leader, Dec. 1, 1869.)*

**The Fox in Iowa**

The movement back to Iowa marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the Fox. By settling in an area now occupied by white farmers and purchasing land, they effectively removed themselves from the protective tutelage and domination of the federal authorities. Although agents were appointed for them, these men were local residents and confined their activities to the distribution of annuities. Legal jurisdiction and trusteeship over their lands were held by the State of Iowa which, aside from the collection of taxes on the lands, remained aloof from tribal affairs. In this situation, the Fox developed a relationship with the surrounding white community which remains almost unique among North American tribes. In the absence of federal administration, the tribe was effectively self-governing; relationships with white were
largely on an individual plane. Thus the Fox enjoyed an extended period of political autonomy during which acculturation could take place through a gradual process of interaction between individual Indians and whites in economic and informal associational activities. For some forty years they were spared the development of the political and psychological dependency which befell other tribes under the protective domination of the Indian Bureau.

In the report of agent Leander Clark following his first year of service in 1867, we see the Fox attempting to adjust to their new situation:

That part of the Sao and Fox Indians of the Mississippi who reside in the State of Iowa, have existed here for a long time, probably twelve or fifteen years, without help or aid from the general government, making their home during the summer season in Tama County, on an eighty acre piece of timber land, purchased by them in the year 1856. They have lived by cultivating small patches of land here and there, wherever they could get the privilege of doing so from the white people, in the summer seasons, and by dividing themselves into small parties and trapping on the several rivers throughout the state during winter seasons, and by begging when it became a matter of necessity. While they have done considerable begging in times when they considered it necessary, but seldom, I think, in a manner offensive or annoying to white people. . . . From the fact of their extreme poverty all this time, and the want of an agent or friend in whom they could trust, to advise, look after, and care for them, I am unable to report any considerable degree of progress in civilization. . . . This payment (of annuities) was a great relief to them, and enabled them to provide themselves with the necessities of life, which otherwise they had no means of doing.

Before making the payment on the 6th., to wit, on the 6th. of April, those present made of me a verbal request to retain from their tribal fund, then in my hands, $2,000 for the purchase of a certain piece of land adjoining their timber, containing 99 acres. . . .

The personal property of these Indians consists almost entirely of ponies. They have 316 ponies; at $40, $12,640. Their mode of life necessarily compels them to keep a large number of ponies to assist them in moving in spring and fall.

From the best information available, they have sold last year furs to the value of $1,994.

As a general thing these Indians have little or no trouble with the white people, with whom they are almost constantly brought into contact. While they do not see any beauty in civilization but are inclined to adopt the vices rather than the virtues of civilized society, still, in all their intercourse with the white people they are friendly and peaceful. (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867.)

The community in which the Fox were settling was one of pioneer farmers. Tama County had been settled in the decade following 1850 and was itself in the process of forming a "community" out of a loose aggregate of immigrant homesteaders from states further to the east. In a very real sense, the Indian and white communities of Tama County "grew up together."

In the nearby villages of Tama, Toledo and Orford (later Montour), the Fox were becoming well known. Trade frequently brought them to town, where their presence was noted by the local press:
A Mr. Degner assaulted an Indian; both drunk; Degner fined $30, 8 days in jail. (Tama County Republican, Feb. 22, 1867.)

ESTRAYED. From the Indian camp, Four ponies, large size, etc. ... Anyone knowing the whereabouts of any of these ponies will please send the information to the Indians' agent, L. Clark, Toledo, Iowa. (Orford Weekly Leader, July 3, 1867.)

Horses racing between Indians and whites Sunday. Indians lost $100. Much betting. (Tama Citizen, Aug. 19, 1869.)

While we are setting the paragraph, there are three big Muskwakkie Indians standing near us, watching our movements and exclaiming, "ohee wa wa hin ter oho gher wea, scalp him?" We suppose they mean in English that "if they'd caught us here 25 or 30 years ago they would raise our scalp!" You bet! but why won't they do it now? (Orford Weekly Leader, Aug. 7, 1869.)

The Meequawkikie were paid off last week, and so for a day or two past our city has been full of redskins, with heads and faces daubed with paint, rigged with red blankets, the squaws with gaily colored shawls, worn fantastically, each with a dirty papoose on her back. Some of the young warriores, in a horn, wore flapping gaiters, tall feathers on their heads, two or three kinds of paint on their faces, and gaily trimmed blankets. One Indian got some "fire water," and he was on hand for a fight, and his brethren took him home. The city marshall should, if possible, find out who furnished the liquor. (Tama Citizen, May 24, 1870.)

The little John Browns of untutored mind who don't see God in clouds or hear him in the wind are returning from their winter's sport of hunting and drying dirty meat. They have "heap 'u' meat" and more poor starved-looking dogs and ponies. We saw a three-year-old papoose the other day clothed in a red flannel string, three-fourths of an inch wide. Another was dressed lighter still. (Tama County Republican, March 18, 1869.)

... they have many of them discarded buckskin leggings and donned the pantaloon. Hats are frequently worn by the men, copper-tinted shoes by the ladies and under the control of the Lieutenant (Lt. Garrity, agent) they are fast assuming the habits and customs of their white neighbors. ... They are pecuniarily better off and live better than in former years, as the clothing and flour sold to them by the merchants of Tama County will testify. ... Many are under the impression that the annuity paid them is in the nature of a gift from the government, but such is not the case. The U.S., in paying them, is simply paying the interest of an old debt. They are not paupers, but the tardy recipients of what should have been paid them for their lands before they were ousted from their hunting grounds by Yankees and Hoosiers who have crowded them from the broad prairies of the Northwest to the contemptible space of less than a section of their own land. ... (Tama County Republican, June 30, 1870.)

The celebration of the Fourth at Orford. In the afternoon there was a Muskwakie Indian war dance, for which the Redskins received $20. ... (Tama Citizen, July 7, 1870.)

From the above sample of editorial opinion, one may derive some insight into the nature of the contacts between the Fox and their white neighbors and the attitudes of the latter concerning "Indians" which were crystallizing at this early period. The Fox were strange relics of the frontier, sometimes "dirty redskins," sometimes "noble savages," but on
the whole, were quite sympathetically regarded. They entered into the recreational life of the white community and their reasonably sound financial status made them an economic asset to Tama County merchants.

The inconsiderable influence of the governments is explained in considerable degree by the nature of the Indian Bureau during the nineteenth century. Offices in the Bureau were frankly regarded as political plums under the spoils system. The entire organization, from Commissioner to local agents, changed hands with each change in administration. In the Fox case, because they were located in a settled area and had few duties aside from the payment of annuities, the position of agent was a sinecure awarded to loyal members of the local Republican or Democratic organization. The agents invariably had other businesses requiring their attention and so had neither the time nor the inclination to devote themselves to the program of "civilization and Christianization" which was the purported goal of the Indian Bureau. Their terms of office were so short as to make it impossible for any agent to become intimately acquainted with Fox society and culture.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that little information concerning the internal structure of Fox society can be gleaned from the annual reports of their agents. These documents do, however, provide population, landholding and agricultural statistics. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Fox continued to acquire additional land until, in 1915, they owned almost 3,500 acres. Agriculture gradually increased until some one thousand acres were under cultivation. Population increased, through natural growth and immigration from the Kansas group and other tribes, from 264 in 1867 to more than five hundred at the present time.

What knowledge we have of the structure of Fox society, however, must be derived from other sources. A local newspaper account describes the political organization and the economic adjustment which was taking place:

The principal chief among them is Wau-an-wan-e-ka (Maminwanige), son of the noted chief, Poweshiek. . . . He is forty years of age, rather fine-looking, but a man of few words, and highly estimated among his people. . . . Wau-ke-mo is the second, or subordinate chief, and the "old man eloquent" of the tribe. . . . He is said to have more influence over his people than his superior.

There is also the regular medicine man, Po-too-to, who attends to all cases of sickness in the tribe.

The interpreter, Joseph Tesson, deserves honorable mention for the reason that he carries his discharge from the Union Army during the late Rebellion. . . .

In addition to the above-named men of authority, there are five or six others who take seats on the council whenever any business of moment is transacted. On such occasions, all adult members of the tribe are allowed to vote, but take no further part in the council. They do not depend solely upon hunting and trapping for their living, but cultivate a portion of their land. Much of the labor is done by the squaws. Recently, however, the men show more of a disposition to work than formerly. Some of them assisted the farmers in harvest and earned considerable money. On their own land they raise corn, beans, potatoes, and several kinds of vegetables. . . . During the winter season most of them go away to hunt or trap, leaving a few families to take care of their farms and other property left behind. (Orford Weekly Leader, August 7, 1869.)

Fox political structure consisted, as it had in the past, of an hereditary chief with his council of old men who served to coordinate the
activities of the members of the tribe around universally approved values. One of these was the acquisition of land. Even in the matters dealt with by the council, however, all adult men had a voice in the final decision-making. In matters of adjustment to the surrounding white environment, however, activities were coordinated on the family or individual level. Each was free to work for wages, to farm for himself or to accept white material goods as he saw fit. Because the Fox were landowners and officially under the jurisdiction of state instead of federal law, the agents, when they chose to attempt to speed up acculturation, had only persuasive powers.

Under these conditions, the first forty years after the return to Iowa were a period of gradual and orderly cultural change, particularly in the sphere of material culture. In 1873, the position of agency farmer was created. The farmer developed a model farm to serve as a pattern for Indian agriculturists and instructed the tribesmen in modern farming techniques, but made no effort to force them to accept his suggestions. Three years later, a school was built. Although the Fox at first opposed the building of the school, they soon discovered that the agent had no power to enforce attendance. Those who so desired enrolled their children and those who chose not to do so were free to follow their own convictions. On this voluntary basis, the enrollment of the school never reached more than ten pupils. (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876-1895.)

The learning of white skills and values, however, took place through informal interaction with neighboring whites.

As soon as the Indians gather their crops, and receive their full payment, they will all leave, except a few families who have no horses, and scatter over different parts of the country, one or two families in a place, to hunt and trap. They all have friends among the farmers, who permit them to camp on their land, and allow them to have fuel. They help husk the corn and get jobs to cut wood and make posts during the winter. The farmers also let them have the stalks in the field to feed their ponies.

The young Indians associate with the farmers' boys, and they sometimes teach them to read and write and figure. In this irregular way they have acquired what education they have. (Ibid., 1883.)

Through such contacts, the Fox slowly adopted white clothing, foods, agricultural techniques and equipment. A number of families acquired land away from the tribal community. (Ibid., 1877.) Techniques of business were learned and Fox was transcribed into Latin characters for correspondence. By 1893, six frame houses had been built to replace the traditional plank and bark houses and some eight hundred acres of land were under cultivation.

Throughout this period, the council functioned successfully to carry out enterprises requiring joint action. On the one hand, it acted in the purchase of land and agricultural equipment. When, in 1893, the warehouse in which farm equipment owned by individual tribesmen was stored was destroyed by fire, the council found means of getting sufficient credit to purchase equipment for the current season. (Ibid., 1878-1883.) On the other hand, it successfully opposed school attendance by more than a few children and the repeated attempts by the agents to divide the land into individual holdings.

In 1878, the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated a ruling requiring the enrollment of all tribal members as a requirement for receiving annuities. For four years the tribe unanimously refused to receive annuities.
under these conditions on the plea that registration of the names of their wives and children violated religious tradition. When, after four years, however, they were heavily in debt, they unanimously agreed to comply with the regulation. (Ibid., 1878-1883.)

In 1881, the old chief, Maminwanige, died and was replaced by Pushetonequa. Moquibushito, the son and heir of the former chief, was set aside by the council as being too young and incompetent to inherit the chiefship. This decision was accepted by the tribe as a legitimate council action, and Pushetonequa carried on the role and policies of his predecessor.

Although relations between white and Indian in Tama County continued, during the decades immediately following the return to Iowa, to be, on the whole, friendly, changes were taking place in the character of the communities surrounding the Indian settlement. The Tama and Toledo of 1856 were pioneer villages, more or less rough-and-tumble and loosely knit. The homestead farmers and pioneer merchants were inclined to accept the strange customs and pagan rituals of their Indian neighbors so long as the latter remained peaceful. Relations in the economic sphere were reasonably orderly and it was on this criterion that the Fox were judged.

Increasingly, however, during the eighties and nineties, Tama and Toledo began to settle down. The towns ceased to be way-stations on the pioneer routes to the west and became integrated, successful communities of prosperous farmers. In short, Protestant morality came to Tama County, and, with it, a burning missionary zeal toward the "unwashed pagans" in its midst.

In 1871, the Tama County Union Missionary Society was formed with the purpose of carrying out the Christianization of the Fox. (Tama County Republican, Feb. 6, 1871.) The following year, at the request of local residents, the Reverend Mr. A. R. Howbert, president of a Lutheran college in an eastern state, was appointed agent. These efforts at conversion, however, came to naught. After several unsuccessful attempts to hold religious exercises at the Indian camp, Howbert abandoned his missionary enterprise and was replaced in 1875 by a lay agent. (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873.)

Following this initial failure, missionary efforts lapsed until 1883, when the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian church established a mission near the Fox settlement under the supervision of Miss Anna Skea. Although Miss Skea's efforts at conversion met with no more success than did those of her predecessor, she did succeed in contributing to the acquisition of white skills. A sewing room was established in Tama where Fox women were taught dressmaking. This aspect of the missionary effort was a striking success, although it failed to have its intended result of making Christians of the women who came there to sew. In 1891, a new mission building was constructed. It is this building which still houses the Presbyterian mission, although at no time since its foundation have more than a handful of Fox regularly attended its services. (Ibid., 1883.)

In 1888 a group of Tama County citizens petitioned the Congress to remove the Fox to Indian Territory. Although no action was taken, the incident indicates that public sentiment toward the Indians had taken a negative turn. To make matters worse, the annuities for that year were held up and the Fox were unable to pay their debts to Tama and Toledo merchants; the agitation against them increased. (Ibid., 1888.) In the years immediately following, the reports of the agents are full of demands
for authority to enforce compulsory education, to stamp out liquor consumption and eloquent statements of the duty of the Indian Bureau toward its aboriginal charges. (Ibid., 1883-1896.)

In 1895, one Horace Rebk was made agent of the Fox. Rebok was a resident of Toledo, editor and publisher of the Tama County Democrat, and founder of the Indian Rights Association of Iowa, an organization of prominent Tama County citizens whose purpose it was to determine upon "the most practical methods of doing something for these Indians." The Association elaborated its program in the following committee report, issued June 2, 1895:

1. That during the thirty-nine years these Indians have lived in civilisation they have made some progress, but not at all in proportion to the opportunities that surround them.
2. That the problem of their civilisation lies in the line of their Christianization and civilization.
3. That during the past eleven years, a Christian mission has been maintained among them with commendable results, but that the task is greater than the capacity of the mission, and the mission is in need of reenforcement on the part of Christian people everywhere, and especially on the part of the people of Iowa.
4. That during many years a government day school has been maintained by the federal government which has accomplished some good results and has awakened among the younger generation a desire for knowledge, but that the present school is wholly inadequate and constantly meets with the powerful opposition of the chiefs and medicine men, and is sorely in need of larger support, a broader policy and greater authority on the part of the federal government.
5. That these Indians are in a morbid condition, mentally, spiritually and physically, and labor under the prejudices of confidence abused, rights violated, having taken their standard of Christian manhood from the most unfavorable portion of the white population.
6. That it is the pride and boast of these Indians that they shall be the last Indians to adopt civilisation and lead the new life, and therefore they adhere to their former customs and practices as they did fifty years ago, so far as their home life and personal habits are concerned; and for this reason a most deplorable condition exists among them.

1. Therefore, the committee would recommend that a society be organised to ascertaining the legal status of the people, in order to secure just recognition of their rights in state and nation.
2. To make all reasonable efforts to call the attention of the central government to their condition, and to secure legislation in their behalf.
3. And to secure the cooperation and assistance of all philanthropic people of Iowa, and to cooperate with other Indian organizations of the country for the betterment of these Indians. (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1896.)

In 1896, as a result of the lobbying activities of the Association, jurisdiction over the Fox was transferred to the United States, the State of Iowa retaining the right to establish highways and levy taxes.

The transfer of authority to the federal government marked a significant change in the position of the Fox in Tama County. Whereas formerly they were free to accept or reject elements of white culture, they now found themselves in a position of explicit subordination to the power of the federal agent. The Fox were thus shifted from a position of sub-
tstantial political equality with their white neighbors to one in which they were under a separate law, administered by members of the white community.

Having been granted law enforcement powers, agent Rebok built a jail on the tribal lands and recruited a police force of three, highly acculturated young Indians to suppress liquor consumption. (Tama County Democrat, Jan. 20, 1898.) Next, he persuaded the Congress to appropriate funds for the construction of a boarding school for Indian children at Toledo. Construction began in July, 1897, and classes were to open in September of the following year. By October, 1898, however, only four children were enrolled. The entire tribe, led by Pushetonequa and the council, refused to send their children. (Ibid., Dec. 3, 1898.)

In November, 1898, Rebok, Pushetonequa and three members of the council were called to Washington to confer with the Commissioner about the state of affairs at the school. Pushetonequa was offered an annual salary of five hundred dollars and federal recognition in exchange for his cooperation in enrolling the children. When this failed, the Commissioner threatened to fill the school with Winnebago children (a serious threat inasmuch as the Fox were fully aware that such action would lead to intermarriage and the dilution of their lands and annuities) if opposition to the school was not withdrawn. The chief and council, however, refused to capitulate. (Fox Microfilm Files, Reel 1.)

The feeling of opposition generated by the school issue soon spread to other areas. When, at Thanksgiving, the mission held its annual dinner for the tribe, an occasion which in the past had never failed to attract large crowds, the chief sent out runners advising the tribesmen not to attend. In December, a council was held with the chief, the council and some twenty-five other Fox were present. All voted against sending their children to school. By this time, seven children were enrolled, all orphans or children of the Indian policemen. (Tama County Democrat, Dec. 8, 1898.)

A few days later, however, Pushetonequa notified the agent that he was prepared to enroll his own children and to accept government recognition. Shortly thereafter, a dinner was held at the school at which the school was formally accepted and the children of several councilmen enrolled. (Ibid., Dec. 22, 1898.) A large segment of the population, however, still refused to send their children.

Determined to secure the enrollment of the remaining children, agent Rebok had himself declared in the federal court the legal guardian of seventeen children whose families still opposed the school. (Ibid., Dec. 29, 1898.) In January, two medicine men who had led the opposition were arrested on the charge of practicing medicine without license and were sent to jail. (Ibid., Jan. 19, 1899.)

Meanwhile, the opposition to the program of acculturation had mounted. Although since 1883 there had been some minor opposition to Pushetonequa by the rejected heir, Moquibushto, when the chief capitulated to the agent's domination, the kin and friends of Moquibushto were joined by other Fox in bitter protest. The resulting situation was one of two factions formed around the kin of Moquibushto and those of Pushetonequa, with federal authority supporting the latter.

The Moquibushto faction, however, also found support in the white community. A law firm in Montour, which had defended the medicine men, took up the pretender's case in the dispute over the chieftainship. Repeated but unsuccessful attempts were made to persuade the Indian Bureau to recognize Moquibushto. (Ibid., May 11, 1899.) A short time
after the enrollment of the chief's children, two children were taken from the school by a member of the Moquibushito faction. The Indian police were called out to arrest him, but, upon their arrival at his lodge, found him surrounded by a crowd of supporters. Outnumbered, the police retreated and filed complaints against the group in the Iowa courts where their leader was convicted. (Ibid., June 1, 1899.) The case was carried by the Montour law firm to the United States District court where it was held in the case of Peters vs. Malin (Repok's successor) that the courts of Iowa no longer held jurisdiction over the tribe. (Fox Microfilm Files, Reel 1.) Since no legislation was in effect empowering the federal agents to enforce compulsory education, the attempt at acculturation by force failed. Until 1912, the boarding school struggled along, attended by the children of Pushetonequa and his supporters. In that year, the school buildings were converted into a sanitarium for tubercular patients and day schools were again set up on the tribal lands, with only a modicum of success.

The factional split which had been precipitated by the acculturation issue, however, continued. Pushetonequa was now chief by the grace of federal power and received an annual salary from the government. He and his kinsmen became more and more oriented toward white political support and white values.

Beginning in 1910, the government agents again sought to persuade the Fox to allot their lands to individuals to encourage individual initiative. A group of young, highly-acculturated Fox, including former agent Repok's policemen, petitioned the agent for allotments. The program was solidly opposed by the Oldbear (literal translation of Moquibushito) group and was publicly denounced by chief Pushetonequa, although he later informed the agent privately that he would agree to allotments for the young men. (Ibid.) The division of the land was never carried out, however, due to the lack of power on the part of the government to do so by force in a situation in which the lands were tribally owned. In 1916, and again in 1923, attempts were made to persuade the tribe to consent to the allotment. The Oldbears, however, were able in each case to control sufficient support to prevent it. (Ibid.)

In 1919, Pushetonequa died and the government refused to recognize a successor. Tribal affairs were henceforth in the hands of the council, led by his son, Youngbear. The council, functioning as a self-perpetuating oligarchy, continued with federal support, replacing its members with others of pro-white orientation.

By 1937, the younger members of the Youngbear faction (as Pushetonequa's descendants and supporters had come to be called) had become an extremely pro-white force in the community. In that year, they successfully promoted the acceptance by the tribe of reorganization under the Wheeler-Howard act, which provided for representative government through an elected council of seven. The young Youngbear group was opposed in this movement by both the entire conservative faction and by the older Youngbears as well. The following year, Youngbear, who considered himself the heir to the chieftainship, requested support from the governor of Iowa in getting the new constitution revoked. Failing this, he and the older Youngbears accepted the situation and in later years successfully ran for positions in the elected council. (Ibid., Reel 2.)

The first elected council, composed principally of the young, highly acculturated members of the Youngbear faction, arrived upon the scene with great fanfare. Stories appeared in the local newspapers hailing the event as a turning point in Fox history and suggesting that the Indians were finally becoming civilized.
Meanwhile, considerable over-all acculturation had taken place in the period following 1900. A number of Fox children had voluntarily attended the boarding school and the day schools and in 1923 the first Fox student was enrolled in Tama High School. By 1937, six Fox boys and girls were attending high school. (Records of Fox students in Tama High School in the files of the Department of Anthropology, the University of Chicago.)

In the economic sphere, change had also occurred. During the nineteenth century, agriculture had developed to the point where, by 1900, some one thousand acres were under cultivation. More important, however, was the tendency of the Fox to find employment in the white communities surrounding the Indian settlement. Two hundred years of fur trade influence had firmly entrenched the importance of ready cash in the minds of the Fox; when this source of income declined, they turned to wage labor. Early in the Iowa period, they had begun to work for nearby white farmers in the grain harvest. By 1929 about half the families in the community were deriving the major portion of their income from wage labor on the farms, railroads and in the small industries in nearby towns and cities. Several families were traveling with circuses and side-show companies. (OFFE, 1940.)

The coming of the depression and drought period in the thirties found the Fox having developed many new wants, but without the means for satisfying them. The Fox were marginal producers both in agriculture and in the labor market. By 1937, over half the families in the communities were on relief. (Ibid.)

Changes had also occurred in the sacred sphere. Throughout the period, the mission continued to operate with little success. The pro-white orientation of the Youngbear faction, however, was ritually manifested in another way. About 1900 the Drum cult was introduced by Wisconsin Indians and was taken up by members of the Youngbear group. Although making use of "Indian" ritual and paraphernalia, the symbolism of the cult was clearly oriented toward the achievement of acceptance at the hands of whites. In the dances which take place throughout the ceremonies of the cult, special dances are reserved for white visitors. Announcements of the ceremonies are frequently placed in the local newspapers. Prominent among the ritual objects is a large American flag, concerning which the following myth is told:

There is a story about the flag. It's like this. Here is the United States. There are only Indians here. And here is overseas—all different nationalities of white men. God gave the Indians the drums and the white men the Bible. Before the white men came, the Indians knew they were coming. They knew they would be friends. God told them. They knew that some day the white men would be up in the sky. They knew that a little box in the corner would talk. They knew that some day the white men would go under the ocean. How did they know? ... This was not written down; they just knew.

The old men knew that the white men would come and bring the flag ... they would be friends. The first white men to see the (drum) ceremonies were soldiers. The soldiers came up to where the Indians were dancing and asked: "What are you Indians doing, having a good time?" The Indians said: "No, we're talking to God." Then the white men knew that they were both talking to God. They would be friends. The white men went over and planted the flag on the dance grounds. The Indians knew they would be friends. The white men didn't know it then. Every drum has its own American flag.

A lot of people don't know this now. Only a few. They have to
be told about it. The old men knew that as long as the Indians believe and go to ceremonies, there will be no war here. There may be war overseas, but not here. If the Indians don't go to ceremonies, we don't know what will happen. (Author's field notes, Summer, 1948.)

The orientation of this myth is clearly toward reconciliation with whites. White technology is foretold and thereby reconciled with "old Indian" values. The Indians are in an uneasy relationship with whites and must carry out the ritual acceptance of white domination if catastrophe is to be avoided.

Some of the members of the Oldbear faction also developed ritual symptoms of their political position. In 1904 the peyote cult was introduced and soon taken over by several of the Oldbears. Although the peyote ritual is permeated with Christian symbolism, it was adopted by them as an escape from their difficult position of double subordination to both whites and the white-supported faction. The night-long ceremonies during which dream-states were produced through the intoxicating effects of the peyote button, provided an ideal mechanism for escape through fantasy.

From the foundation of the new tribal government in 1938 until 1943, the council was dominated by the Youngbear faction. In 1941, an Indian Court was established with members of this group as policeman and judge. The court soon became a mechanism for the suppression of the opposing faction. Youngbear kin were allowed to engage in the liquor traffic, while offending Oldbears were imprisoned. In 1941, Tetapache, current leader of the Oldbears, initiated a petition calling for the abolition of the Indian court. (Fox Microfilm Files, Reel 1; Tama News-Herald, March 27, 1941.) He collected more than one hundred names, including those of many who by kinship were Youngbears. He then wrote to Congressman Owyne of Iowa complaining of the court and demanding that the hereditary chieftainship in the Oldbear line be reestablished. In 1943 the court was abolished. (Fox Microfilm Files, Reel 1.)

By 1944, the Oldbear group had succeeded in electing to the council three of its members, including the council chief, a member of the Youngbear kinship group who had shifted allegiance.

Meanwhile, the community was without provision for the maintenance of law and order. The 1901 court ruling had left the state and local authorities without jurisdiction, and the tribal court had been abolished. In 1944, a plan for the development of the Fox community, including the purchase of three thousand additional acres of land and the construction of many new dwelling units was presented to the tribe by the Indian Bureau. The plan was to involve the expenditure of one million dollars over a twenty-year period, a large part of which was to be provided outright by the government. Included in the plan was a provision that law and order jurisdiction be returned to the State of Iowa. (Ibid., Reel 2.)

The plan was flatly turned down by the council. The federal officials were told by the council members:

"More land only means more cockleburs."
"An Indian can live on fifteen acres."
"We can close our roads and keep the whites out any time we like." (Ibid.)

The following year, the council agreed to sell a large stand of walnut trees on the tribal lands to be used in making gunstocks for the armed forces. A referendum was held in which the council presented to the tribe alternative modes of disposition for the five thousand dollars
received for the timber. The voters were asked to choose between distribution of the entire sum to the tribal membership and the distribution of all but three hundred dollars which was to be retained in the tribal treasury. The second alternative was chosen. The tribe was soon notified by the Indian Bureau, however, that in their constitution no provision was made for the distribution of tribal funds and that the money would have to be used in a general tribal enterprise. Soon afterward, the chief of the council was recalled from office by petition.

In 1946, a rash of petitions broke out in the community. (Ibid.) The new chief initiated petitions for the recall of two of his councilmen. Within a few months a petition was circulated against the chief himself. The same year a fourth petition appeared calling for the ousting of the resident Indian Bureau official, a sub-agent, accompanied by a demand that a full-time agent be sent to the community. The following year, the sub-agency was removed as an economy measure and government services in the community were reduced to a day school and an occasional clinic held by a contract physician.

Meanwhile, the fifty Fox who had been serving in the armed forces were returning to their homes. Many of these men, having been members of the Iowa National Guard prior to the war, had served three, four and even five years. They had been dispersed into many separate units and had found a higher degree of acceptance at the hands of whites than had been the case in Tama County. Moreover, they had developed new wants which they were unable to satisfy in the home community. Upon returning to their homes, many of the veterans were taken into the Tama post of the American Legion, where their status as veterans won them a degree of acceptance. Within a year, however, complaints were made to federal officials that Indians were being served liquor at the Legion Club and the Fox veterans were henceforth banned from drinking there. The Indians resigned in a body and formed a post of their own, composed exclusively of Fox. The inability of these men to drink legally after serving in the armed forces soon became the major symbol of the unequal status of the Fox in Tama County.

In 1947, the Oldbear group reiterated their demand for the return of the hereditary chieftainship in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A few months later, their leader, Tetapache, died and was replaced in leadership of the faction by a young kinswoman. She had been one of the first Fox to attend Tama High School and had achieved considerable success there, both in academic and social activities. After graduation, she attended a junior college for a short time, but soon returned to live in the Fox community. She was highly intelligent, and, through her knowledge of white techniques of action and her excellent command of English, she soon became the "secretary" and the effective leader of the group of old men composing the core of the Oldbear faction.

In 1947, an elderly white man who had been fishing on the Indian lands was severely beaten by two drunken young Indians. The case received much publicity in the local newspapers and various groups of Tama and Toledo citizens demanded that the state and local authorities be granted jurisdiction in the Fox community. A bill providing for such jurisdiction was introduced in the Congress by an Iowa legislator and was passed the following year.

In the 1947 elections, the Oldbear group, raising the cry of "outside interference," elected three new members to the council, including the brother of the "secretary," a veteran, and very much oriented toward white material wants and behavior, but closely attached kinship-wise to
the Oldbears. In 1948, the council chief who, it was alleged by the Oldbears, had been in favor of the bill granting state jurisdiction, was recalled by petition and was replaced by an elderly Oldbear. Later that year, the "secretary" led a delegation of Oldbears, including most of the council members, to Washington to ask for a revision of the tribal constitution in favor of hereditary chieftainship. She also testified against the state jurisdiction bill then before the Congress and visited the National Archives to examine the past treaties of the Saco and Fox with the United States. Upon the return of the delegation, much publicity was given the treaties under which, the "secretary" reported, large sums of money were still due the tribe. The Oldbear faction set about hiring a law firm to represent them before the Court of Indian Claims.

This was the situation at the time of the writer's visit to the Fox community. The trend toward pro-white leadership which had begun with the capitulation of Pushetonequa to the demands of the agent fifty years before had been reversed and the Oldbear faction was in control of five of the seven council seats. The factions still thought of themselves as pro- and anti-white, even though fifty years of acculturation had spread a uniform level of acceptance of white material wants and behavior over the entire community. The real issue, however, was not the acceptance or rejection of white culture, but rather the rejection by the white community of the Fox themselves. The Youngbear faction had capitulated to the white community; it had attempted to exchange traditional Fox values for acceptance at the hands of whites. This acceptance, however, was not forthcoming. Fifty years later, the Fox were suffering under economic and status deprivation due to having developed wants which the white community was not prepared to allow them to satisfy. The Youngbear faction was blamed for these deprivations and lost members.

Meanwhile, Fox society had failed to develop mechanisms for the legitimation of leaders capable of initiating action to alleviate the deprivation. Instead of providing responsible democratic government, the elective system merely provided a more sensitive sounding board for factional conflict. Finally, the Indian Bureau, which had supported the pro-white Youngbear movement during the early years of its existence, removed itself from the Fox community. After forty years of a dependence upon the government, which had precluded the development of responsible leadership, the Fox were set adrift. The result was a community suffering under economic and status deprivation and so divided against itself as to be unable to take coordinated action.

**Fox Factions**

The first known case of a factional dispute in Fox Society occurred when the Frenchman, Perrot, attempted to bind the Fox to an agreement to allow French traders to pass through their territory to the Sioux unmolested. At that period, the Fox were only beginning to be influenced by the fur trade. The economy was based upon the raising of corn, beans and squash by women and upon hunting by men. Warfare between tribes consisted of raids by small war parties led by men who had acquired supernatural power through fasting. The village chief and his council allied themselves with the French, but were unable to prevent war parties from going against the French traders and their Indian allies. Furthermore, these parties were encouraged by British traders who were in competition with the French for the trade of the Great Lakes region.

During the period of French occupation of the Wisconsin area, ever greater pressure was exerted against the Fox to make peace with France. On at least one further occasion, a Fox chief, Ouachala, went to
Montreal and concluded an agreement with the French government. Shortly thereafter, however, the tribe was split into pro- and anti-French bands.

The factors responsible for the division of the tribe into factions during this period may be summarized as follows:

1. Fox society provided for the coordination of economic activities through kinship ties on the family level and for coordination of the warfare activities of small groups of warriors through the charismatic leadership of war chiefs. It did not, however, provide for the initiation of a course of action by the entire tribe. The village chief and his council were symbols of cultural unity rather than initiators of action. They could, through appeals to traditional values, adjudicate disputes, but had no authority to enforce commands through the exercise of coercive sanctions. Coordination of economic and warfare activities was provided for on sub-tribal levels, so that prior to white contact no situations arose which demanded coordination of the activities of the entire tribe.

2. White traders and governmental officials attempted, through friendly chiefs, to bind the entire tribe to a course of action: peace with their own traders and warfare against their competitors. Since no role carrying with it the power to enforce compliance with such agreements by the entire tribe existed in Fox society, these attempts failed.

3. Since there were always at least two European powers in competition for Fox allegiance, those who opposed the agreements entered into by the chief were encouraged by gifts and promises of support to form a dissident faction. Because the fur trade was carried on through a delicate system of credits in an area in which there was no mechanism for the enforcement of financial agreements, it was easy for competing governments and trading companies to seduce each other's Indian clients.

4. The inability of the village chiefs to control the activities of the warriors was increased by the stimulation of warfare provided by the acquisition of weapons and the upsetting of the equilibrium of inter-tribal warfare. All this was superimposed upon a situation in which warfare had previously held high status and had been supported by traditional systems for acquiring war power through supernatural means. War chiefs were therefore encouraged to form war parties in support of whatever European power offered them support.

The second documented period of factionalism in Fox society occurred during the time when British and American governments were contesting for control of the Northwest. This period embraced the peak of the fur trade and the beginning of the settlement of white homesteaders in Fox territory. Although the Fox had by this time become dependent upon trade for weapons and had come to have many wants (clothing, ornaments, liquor) which could be satisfied only through trade, the leadership structure of Fox society was essentially unchanged. Agriculture was carried on by women for the benefit of their near kin and fur hunting, like subsistence hunting earlier, was carried on by the families who derived income from it. Warfare continued to be carried out on a sub-tribal level through the leadership of the war chiefs. Documentary accounts make it clear that there was no provision for the initiation of action on the level of the whole tribe except in cases where the whole group was moving to or from the hunting grounds and were thus endangered by enemies. At such times, the war chiefs were empowered to enforce the coordinated movements of the family groups.

During the American Revolution, the combined Sac and Fox split
into factions much as they had done during the period of French-British conflict. After the war of 1812, Black Hawk's anti-American faction continued to receive encouragement from British officers in Canada. Keokuk was supported by the American forces. Inasmuch as there was no mechanism within Sac and Fox society for the enforcing of agreement between two factions, Black Hawk's group continued to oppose the Americans and the Black Hawk war resulted.

After the establishment of American control in the area, however, the situation of the Sac and Fox with respect to their relations with whites was considerably altered. The tribes were now under the influence of a single government and agents were sent to deal with them and to encourage them to acculturate. Inasmuch as Keokuk, a war chief, had been useful to the Americans during the Black Hawk conflict, the officials sent to deal with the Sac and Fox attempted to strengthen his role to one of effective leadership over the combined tribes. He was given an annual salary and the annuities from the sale of lands were paid to him and to the chiefs of the various villages for further distribution. Had there been a single policy for dealing with the Sac and Fox, this investment of economic power in leaders might have resulted in the eventual recognition of them as coordinators of the actions of the entire villages under their leadership. The group of whites who dealt with the tribes, however, was divided. On the one hand, the traders and some of the agents attempted to strengthen the power of these chiefs by putting them in control of annuity funds. The higher echelons of the Indian Bureau, however, were under orders to prevent the squandering of annuities by the chiefs upon liquor and luxury goods. They therefore took the part of the hereditary chiefs and family heads who demanded the distribution of annuities by families.

After the removal to Kansas territory, the Sac and Fox were again under the direction of agents who favored distribution of annuities through Keokuk and his followers. These agents also attempted to initiate a program of acculturation through the chiefs thus under their control. The Fox group, under the hereditary chief, Maminwanige, who had not been recognized by the agent as a "chief" in the distribution of annuities, became a dissident group opposing the allotment of the land in severalty. The conflict which thus developed was finally resolved by the return of the Maminwanige band to Iowa.

We may again summarize the factors leading to conflict:

1. With the close of the fur trade period, the economic basis of Fox society tended to shift from the hunting and agricultural activities of individual families to a dependence upon annuity distributions with which trade goods could be purchased.

2. Prior to this shift, no mechanism for the exercise of power over the whole community by a single leader existed. The shift to dependence upon annuities and attempts of government agents to control the tribes by distributing funds through recognized chiefs provided the potential basis for creating a paramount power role.

3. The whites who were in power positions with respect to the tribes, however, were not unified in their activities so that initial opposition to the investment of power in the recognized chiefs was encouraged.

4. The Indian Bureau attempted to initiate a program of acculturation through the recognized chiefs with the result that opposition to them was increased.
5. There existed an ethnic division within the combined Sac and Fox which was deepened by the investment of power in Keokuk who was a member of one of the ethnic groups—the Sac. This tended to increase the influence of Maminwanige, an hereditary chief who represented the cultural unity of the Fox.

6. The Fox group found support among the whites in Iowa. No force was exerted to prevent them from separating from the combined group.

After the Fox group under Maminwanige returned to Iowa, they were for an extended period independent of the power of the government officers. Economic activities were again centered in individual families. Annuity payments were distributed in this fashion and agricultural and hunting activities were as always carried on by individual families. Acculturation proceeded in a slow and orderly manner through economic interaction between individual Fox families and neighboring whites. Those activities which were agreed upon by the entire community—the purchase of additional tribal land and the purchase of agricultural equipment—were carried on by the chief and council without difficulty.

In 1883 the chief died and the council set aside his son and heir in favor of another man. This was in accordance with traditional Fox practice and was accepted. The neighboring white communities, however, were becoming more hostile to the presence of the relatively unacclimated Indians. In 1896 the agent attempted to initiate a vigorous program of acculturation, centering around the enrollment of the Fox children in school. In order to carry out this program, an attempt was made to strengthen the role of the chief by granting him government recognition and an annual salary in exchange for his support of the school. When the chief, Pushetonequa, accepted white support and used his influence to support the school, an opposition faction sprang up around the deposed heir to the chieftainship. This opposition group found support in the surrounding community. They hired lawyers and succeeded in having the power of the agent and his chief to enforce school attendance denied in the federal courts.

Since that time, the factions have continued to contend for power in the Fox community. The faction composed of the recognized chief and his descendants continued to have government support and continued in positions of influence. The opposing faction has continued to demand the return of the hereditary chieftainship in the direct line of descent from Maminwanige and has continued to find sporadic support from white lawyers and officials outside the Indian Bureau.

Since 1896 much acculturation has occurred in both factions. All Fox now have wants and needs for white material goods. Despite this and despite the fact that since 1937 the community has been formally governed by an elected body, the factional dispute continues to be framed in the minds of the Fox in terms of pro- and anti-white slogans, and has continued to be so bitter that community cooperative action toward the satisfaction of these acquired wants and needs has been impossible. At the present time, the "conservative" group holds a majority of the seats on the elected council and the young, very acculturated members of the pro-white faction have been repudiated by the community.

The factors involved in the present dispute would seem to be as follows:

1. So long as the Fox community in Iowa remained politically independent, the chief and council remained leaders in the sense of symbols of cultural unity and coordinators of a minimal set of agreed-upon activities. Economic activities were largely coordinated on the family level
through cooperation based upon kinship ties.

2. For a time, the Fox were accepted by neighboring white and free economic interaction went on, carrying with it slow and orderly acculturation.

3. When, however, the white community became hostile and attempts were made to initiate a program of rapid change through government recognition of the existing chief, a factional dispute arose along kinship lines around the previously latent issue of succession to the chieftainship.

4. The dispute was framed in the minds of the Fox in terms of acceptance or rejection of white values, and has continued to be so framed in spite of the general acceptance of such values in the intervening period.

5. With acculturation has gone the development of wants and needs for white material goods which the Fox cannot satisfy because they are not accepted by nearby whites as equals in the economic sphere and because they have not developed the skills and motivations necessary for successful competition with whites even if they were accepted. The factional dispute therefore tends to be framed in the minds of many Fox in terms of the betrayal of the community by the pro-white group to a white community which is not prepared to grant economic rewards in exchange for the acceptance of white values. The former pro-white leaders have therefore tended to be rejected by those members of the Fox community not directly allied to either faction through kinship ties, as well as by the "conservative" faction itself.

6. The "conservative" group continues to find support by white lawyers and other non-Indian Service whites with the result that their opposition is strengthened.

The factional disputes outlined above have occurred in Fox society under quite different conditions. They have occurred throughout a period during which the economic basis of the society has shifted from subsistence hunting to fur trade hunting to wage labor and during which the Fox have exchanged a large number of their aboriginal values for white ones. In all these cases of conflict, however, certain factors recur:

1. Fox society has never developed mechanisms for the legitimation of leaders with authority to initiate action toward ends not generally accepted by the members of the society. The coordination of basic economic activities has continued to be carried out on a kinship level.

2. Attempts to invest in leaders power to coordinate new types of activity have in each case been initiated by outside whites.

3. In each case in which this has been attempted, opposition movements have arisen.

4. In each case, these opposition movements have found support among other whites.

Although in the earlier disputes it is difficult to gather data concerning the more subtle aspects of the conflict, in the present case it is possible to see the operation of some of these less obvious mechanisms. When a cultural group finds itself in an inferior power and status position to another cultural group, certain lines of tension appear in the society. Those members of the inferior group who find favor in the super-ordinate group tend to press for the acceptance by their fellows of the value of that group. The members of the subordinate society who have
not found such favor tend to oppose such acceptance. As Simmel (1904) has pointed out, however, the programs of both groups are framed in terms of the whole society. Each believes that the acceptance of its program will contribute to the well-being of the group as a whole. Thus it happens that conflict within a very circumscribed and culturally unified community tends to become more intransigent because of the very unity imposed upon it by its cultural subordination.

In societies without roles for leaders capable of exerting strong power over its members, these conflicts have no means of being terminated from within. They can only be terminated by the support of the pro-acclimation faction with force from the super-ordinate group. In none of the cases of factionalism in Fox society, however, was this possible. So long as the territory of the Fox was disputed by two European governments, the opposition faction could always find support from outside whites. This occurred during the period of British-French competition for the fur trade and again during the American Revolution. When the United States established sovereignty over Fox territory, the faction opposed to Keokuk could find support from white officials and in the last resort could remove themselves spatially by returning to Iowa. In more recent times, the Indian Bureau has been unwilling or unable to control the rest of white society, and hence has been unable to apply coercive sanctions to compel the faction opposed to their programs of acculturation to recognize the authority of Fox leaders friendly to them. The "conservatives" can always find support in the courts or from other segments of white society.

These interpretations suggest the generalization that in a situation in which a society without a strong centralized power role is placed under pressure by a politically super-ordinate group to accept the values of that group, factional conflict will arise within the subordinate group which can be resolved only by the application of coercive sanctions by the super-ordinate group in support of their allies within the group to be acculturated, or by the splitting of the subordinate group. In the absence of either of these conditions, the Fox appear to be involved in internal conflict which they are unable to resolve.

1949 plans for a program of interference

In the summer of 1949, Robert Rietz returned to the Fox community, and with him were Charles and Zelda Leslie, Caroline Wissender, Irving Gerick, and Dr. J. Gewirtz, a psychologist who brought a group of students of psychology who pursued an analysis of doll-play among Mesquakie children.

After the field work of the second summer, two documents were prepared which report plans for a program of conscious interference. These are presented here with a third contemporary document which presents contrasts to some of the ideas in those plans.

The report by Leslie, Exhibit 15, in contrast to the other documents, carried on two ideas which had been hinted at earlier and which here were not made explicit, but which in later phases were to become more explicit and more central. The first idea, completely unstated in the document but inferable from it, was that the acculturation of the Fox community might not be an inevitable process leading toward cultural identity with the surrounding society. That inference is strengthened by an entry in Leslie's journal on July 10th:
Yet what more acculturated group could you look for than the vets? Acculturation is a rather inhuman word referring for the most part to having added this many traits and lost this many and replaced this many and modified them all. Evidently the Fox are going to be here for quite a while, their culture has a strong symbolic value not only for the older people. This is much more than simply being defined racially and linguistically by the white society as Indian. These people are Mesquakie Indians.

That notion was implicit, also, in Tax's early reports. Leslie's second idea was also not stated unambiguously. It was the notion that, granted the Fox have economic wants, which wants can be treated as ends of project activities, nonetheless Fox interpersonal relations cannot be treated simply as means to those ends; to the Fox, those interpersonal relations are ends in themselves. The idea was not unambiguous here; indeed, in paragraph two it was contradicted, but it is inferable. The general tone of Peattie's paper permits the same inference.

The first of the two documents reporting plans for a program of interference is a project statement which was prepared as a question for financial support from foundations; the statement was broad and preserved a good measure of the exploratory, unstructured nature of the activities to date. During the spring of 1949, there was a seminar organized for discussing the problems inherent in a program of interference. The seminar was directed by Sol Tax, and Professor Harvey Perloff and other students of Planning participated. Also at about the same time Fallers Miller, and Rietz went to New York City to attend an institute called by the Association on American Indian Affairs on Indian self-government, and there held conversations with John Provins, John Collier, and Rene d'Harmencourt and others. Later that spring, the first draft of the "Request for Support of the Fox Project," was prepared. Several persons were sent copies and they returned thoughtful criticism of it. Emil Sady, in a letter to Tax of February 18th, 1949, suggested:

... but, will it test what happens when a social scientist brings to his science a given value position? I see no mention of scientific research as such in the memo ... I think the project should be carried out as planned, mainly because I believe everyone should have such experiences. The participants will learn a lot and derive a great deal of satisfaction from the project. But if the proposition as stated is to be tested, other methods seem indicated such as (a) determining what scientific problems suggest themselves from the stated value position; (b) determining the additional facts and methods of gathering and reporting data in such a pursuit of these scientific problems; (c) discovering what facts [for] solving a given practical problem (e.g. land tenure) must, in any event ... be gathered in pursuing a purely scientific problem (e.g. kinship study); value positions seek out solutions to the same scientific problem in the same or in similar areas.

In a similar vein, John Collier suggests that the project would have to be set up with before-and-after studies. He goes on to say:

The main objective, as stated in your paragraph on page three, is the reduction of tensions and conflicts through swaying the community toward indicated improvements. Therefore at the beginning, or as near as possible, there should be a study of the tensions, the conflicts, etc. by psychiatrists, and not only at the overt behavioral level but also at the covert, personality-structure level, to determine (among other things) the extent of anxiety etc. due to frustrations currently present or presumptively influential from history.
... Finally, after whatever period of time, a second psychiatric survey would be made, to determine to what extent tensions, conflicts etc. have been reduced or changed.

Still further, the University of Chicago's Committee on Research reported on the project, suggesting that the research aspects of the project, as distinguished from the action aspects, receive more emphasis, that there be more indication of the means of evaluating the objectives of the project, that an analysis of the Fox be done and some hypotheses be presented concerning the "compatibility of the tribe" and the various plans proposed for their future development.

The basic model of science suggested by the above critiques was not incorporated into the later draft of the project outline, Exhibit 15. Perhaps the resistance to doing so was only temporary—a reluctance to structure a yet-unknown as if it were known. Perhaps the resistance came from a still-unclear idea that the knowledge presupposed for the degree of structuring suggested was, in human affairs, impossible of obtainment. Or perhaps there was resistance because it was unclearly felt that the very act of structuring violated in some basic way the effects sought. The later history of the project permits all those interpretations.

In the project outline, the bothersome values question, "Whose ends?" was unresolved and was taken to be "logically insoluble." The remote ends seen as desirable by the project personnel were rather open-ended goals, such as making members of the community "tension-free." But more immediately, it was felt that the Fox should have opportunity for material goods equal to that of the larger society. Economic conditions were to be created which would serve the wants of Fox individuals. Such conditions created, the Fox would then be free to stay or leave—that is, they would then be in a position to choose between the most remote possible goals, assimilation or preservation of the community. The operation called for, in those terms, was to change certain traditional Mesquakie patterns of behavior between persons which were preventing the realization of white-derived, material wants of individuals. In this formulation the problem was seen as residing essentially inside the Fox community and the basic frame of thought for action was the concept of means and ends.

The paper by Rietz, Exhibit 17, is the second document reflecting the plans which emerged from the first phase of the Fox project. These plans are more circumscribed and less questionable, from the standpoint of scientific method. The operations are fairly explicit and seem adequate to the ends sought. The basic conceptual tools here are ends and means. It is moderately close to being "science." Note the suggestion, that the program outlined could be implemented by the Indian Service.

An effect of the use of the means-ends concept, in both reports, is of special interest. There was no suggestion that the decision to undertake the economic innovations was relevant to the illogical but probably operative value judgment that the Fox decide their future—the Fox clearly wanted more income. But seeing Fox interpersonal relations as means to that end was a logical operation of the anthropologist. At this point the anthropologists were not aware that that operation could make the planned program relevant to the value judgment.
The Fox Project of the Dept. of Anthro. is one manifestation of the realisation that the anthropologist is responsible to use as well as create knowledge—particularly if too few other members of his society are prepared to apply anthropological theories. Briefly the central idea of the project is to study social change in the Fox settlement by planned interference in the acculturation process. This planned interference being an attempt to lessen social and personal strains by introducing various group activities and by effecting changes in the external pressures on the community (local whites, Indian Service, Iowa government, etc.). This project first began to be formulated by Sol Tax and a group of students in the summer 1948. The students had the impression that the Fox community was rushing toward chaos through the alienation of the younger generation and the lack of adequate community leadership. There were a number of individuals who acted informally as leaders under special circumstances and in the factions and cliques; but the positions of leadership where constructive community-wide action could be taken were filled by weak indecisive men, or, if a "natural leader" held such a position he was frustrated by rival groups, what appeared to be apathy on the part of many individuals, or by the jealousy of other "natural leaders." It became apparent, therefore, that the most immediate problem involved in the planning of the Fox Project was the structure of power and leadership within the community. The Fox Indians in spite of their ill treatment by the whites have maintained considerable individuality, personal dignity, and cultural independence. Any interference in their affairs by anthropology students must take full cognizance of the existing patterns of leadership and the quick resentment that a patronizing do-gooder interpretation of the Fox Project will engender. From both the point of view of gaining knowledge of the processes of social change and of helping the Fox adjust themselves to these changing conditions with less unhappiness the Project is a useful experiment—it has both humanistic and scientific value.

There are at least two justifications for considering an understanding of the individual leaders within the Fox settlement and the techniques of social control that function in the community as absolutely primary for the successful pursuit of the Fox Project. These are: an important element in the acceptance of the anthropologists and any innovations which we may attempt to introduce will be the active approval of individual leaders, or at least non-interference on their part; therefore we must thoroughly understand their personalities and techniques of influence; secondly, in order to initiate action we must be able to employ methods that will be understandable and stimulating to the Fox. The subject of this paper is the cultural atmosphere and the contrasting forms of social action that form the matrix within which specific techniques of social control operate. The intention of such a general approach is to present the mise-en-scene which conditions the direction of change within the society and its individual souls.

Let us first attempt to get an impression of the look and feel of a Mesquakie clan ceremony. It is Saturday, mid-summer, the mid-afternoon sky pale above the low hills and humid river flats of this small mid-western settlement. The gravel road that joins the Lincoln Highway is yellow and dusty; it joins the highway by the Pow Wow grounds near where the bridge crosses the Iowa River and curves north, crossing the Mill Race, the railroad tracks, then up the hill past the government school.
house. Along this road, the several others like it, the numberless paths and oar tracks that twist through the woods and the undergrowth there is little activity.

Pete Morgan's place is about 75 yards off the road; a small frame house with screen doors and windows; it sits against the side of the hill on crumbling brick supports. Close in front is the rectangular, plank-walled, dirt-floored summer house. By the side of the frame house a wooden bower covers a large plank platform. On ordinary summer days this is used as a place to cook and eat, to loaf and sleep, but now two silent women sit cross-legged in its shade watching the activity in the lawn around the summer house. About a dozen Fords and Chevies are parked on the grass just off the oar tracks that lead from the road. Small groups of men and boys scattered among the oars and along the terrace talk and laugh softly. Little groups of women with babies and girls sit quietly in the deep shadow of an enormous cottonwood. Some of them wear Indian dresses and moccasins—multi-colored, of beaded, ribboned, embroidered, dull shining stiff and soft materials.

Inside the summer house the ceremony has been in progress since earlier in the day; already the food has finished cooking and the pots hung high above the fire. Waiters and other attendants have performed many of the traditional rituals; under the guidance of the head man to-baoo has been offered to the manitous, guests and members; participants have been warmed by the sacred smoke of dry spruce, and the gods have been addressed in prayer and song. There has been an easiness in all these proceedings, an apparent casualness. By example the young are learning, and by participation so that these ways will not be forgotten, will not be lost. There has been tension . . . will be forgotten, the old ways. But it is good, the shrill songs with rasp and drum, the Indian songs and the Indian prayers and the Indian corn cooking and the sacred pack open by the sacred messenger, a puppy.

From behind the frame house a number of young men appear wearing dance costumes of wide beaded loin cloths, prism-colored head feathers, moccasins, and some with sleigh bells attached to leather ankle straps, or on straps that extend from the waist. The dancers know what to do—their position on the north or south side of the summer house has been determined from birth by their membership in one of the dual divisions. Since they were babies they have been coming to the olan dances, the rhythm of the songs, the mud circles on the roof posts, the sacrificed puppy lying with the unfurled pack, the jests of the onlookers, indeed all the faces and voices, the odors and colors are familiar . . . and all are Indian, things whose meanings they know, whose meanings they don't know, and things without meaning. They are here, they belong here. It is done this way because this is the way we do it. These things are this way because this is the way they are—everybody knows they are this way; . . . they know more than in those books [Michelson wrote]. The drum sounds: a low wail joined by the other singers; the rasps; and the dance begins. Later everyone comes into the summer house for the feast. The food in numerous tubs, large bowls and pans moves around the circle until everyone has had his fill. Good food, Indian corn of many colors, duck and pork, squash and watermelon, and dog. Seated on the dirt floor, kneeling and standing, the guests eat and joke and compliment the food. The singers do not eat now, they have a private meal after the ceremony is over. During the entire ceremony they fast and remain seated on the long shelf at the south side of the summer house. During the big feast they scrape their rasps in time with the drum and continue the songs.
The clan ceremony that I have been picturing is not any particular clan ceremony, but a generalization from several that I have observed. What I want to draw particular attention to is that no matter how progressive or acculturated, no Mesquakie is ignorant of the intentions and dignity of such ceremonies. The same is true for other ceremonies, such as the ghost feast, adoption rites, drum society dances, etc. From childhood the songs and dances have been experienced, and deep attitudes of respect learned and the sensual joys of communion. Like the language of the community these feelings and understandings are not shared by anyone outside the community—except other related Indian groups at considerable distances. The family relationships and the social controls that operate within the community are different from those of the surrounding white society. This isolation is a source of conservatism, a conservatism that reacts to the misunderstanding and lack of sympathy of the whites and that feeds upon itself. Thus in the emotional life of the community even more than in the outward forms of social organization there persist in individual personalities strong currents of the native world view. The techniques of leadership in operation at the present time are cast within this mold.

In our society leadership operates mainly through formalized, officialized, explicit and impersonal structures. Most individuals are capable of acting a number of roles or positions within these structures and of responding to all of the parts more or less adequately. Leadership in Fox society is implicit, informal, personal and non-authoritarian. The social sanctions available to the leader are diffuse and weak. Leadership is by persuasion, family affiliation, cleverness, and the attainment of (at least apparent) immediate rewards or advantages. This characterization and contrast is absolutely the most crude possible and refers to leadership in situations primarily of internal associations. That is, situations in which white people and white society are not immediately or directly participating. Pow Wows, meetings and dances at the store, religious functions, and to some extent factional issues are examples. There is evidence that leadership has never been strong among the Fox (see L. Fellers' paper; also T. Forsyth in Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi, edited by E. H. Blair, writes: "... the Fox Indians... pay no respect to their chiefs at any time, except necessity compels them, but as there are so much equality among all Indians, the chief seldom dare insult a private individual," p. 226).

Practically the first observation that one can make concerning individual personalities among the Fox—and this is because it is in contrast to ourselves—is the respect they show for people as individuals. I do not mean this in the moral sense, but in the sense that they seem to lack the habit of automatically typing people. For example, I, as an anthropology student supposedly studying the Indians and trying to formulate generalizations, often had the feeling that I was being studied, acutely and cleverly, but as an individual, not as a white man, or an anthropologist, or a student. This habit seems to be motivated (or reinforced—the reader should be warned that I am not attempting to use psychological terms professionally, but with their common-sense meanings) by suspicion of the motives of other people, white or Indian.

A second observation that can be soon made is the strong tendency to dependency in the personality of individual Fox. Most Fox seem to want and need constant reassurance for any behavior. They seem to prefer that other people make decisions and initiate action. Therefore there are few "natural leaders" and those people who are "natural leaders" are closely studied as individuals by the rest of the community and their
motives suspected. This effectively prevents leadership from becoming authoritarian. And it prevents the type of social action that readily deals with new situations. The consequence is that situations involving a large number of people cooperating are almost entirely traditional—the Pow Wow (which has become traditional within the last 34 years), clan feasts, and other religious ceremonies. In these situations people cooperate because they know what to do; they have done it before; leadership techniques are simple and function weakly. In these situations leadership amounts to initiating actions that are already agreed on.

Thus far we have pictured a clan dance, seen something of the social and cultural isolation of the community, contrasted the type of leadership patterns in Fox society to our own and have guessed at some of the psychological factors involved in the Fox pattern. I have said earlier in this paper that there was an impression that the Fox community was rushing toward chaos through the alienation of the younger generation and the lack of adequate community leadership. Perhaps one cannot observe more of the younger generation in smaller space than at a square dance at the store. The store is a small building near the railroad crossing. It has two rooms. In one is a barber's chair, a pool table that fills most of the place, and a narrow bench with the wall for a back. The other room is the store proper. Along the east wall is an empty shelf, in one corner an ancient broken nickelodeon, and along the south wall a counter with bread, candy, cigarettes and a desultory collection of dusty souvenirs. In the southwest corner, next to the door, there is a bright red sofa pop cooler. The store is run by a man with an embarrassed friendly grin and his wife, round and quiet. During the summer evenings the young men and girls hang around outside in the dark. They recognize each other by voice and gesture. There is much milling, joking, laughing and coming and going along the road by foot and in cars. The store is the hang-out for the settlement, like the corner drug store or pool room in small towns all over the United States. It's evening life is aimless . . . and restless. On several evenings each week [two] . . . brothers come over with their guitars and, together with . . . the store owner who plays fiddle, they play for square dancing. The caller is a chubby girl with a red jacket and a permanent wave. But it is hard to get a square started. Some of the guys . . . restlessly . . . debate what they are going to do—go to town, flirt with a girl . . . smoke another cigarette, go . . . to their folks . . . go play poker . . . Inside, under the dim glare of an Aladdin lamp several old women sit with babies in their laps, someone opens the cooler and gets a 7-Up, the boys play "I cross my heart honey baby . . . ."

After awhile a square is formed for dancing. One square crowds the room, and as the dancers go through the figures their brusque movements express the violent ennui of the evening.

Against such scenery as I have briefly drawn, the clan ceremony and a square dance at the store, the Mesquakie perform an infinitely complex and desperate drama. Along with their language, their religion remains the most coherent symbol of their separateness and pride. This external conservatism exemplifies and symbolizes a larger conservatism that pervades the character of the entire community and the personalities of individual Fox. Conscious and unconsciously everyone is involved in maintaining a continuity with earlier generations and in perpetuating the culture. Yet few, if any visualize the future with any degree of vividness; the present is too full of uncertainty, confusion and disappointment. Individuals are trapped in a world they never made; a world they are not equipped to handle, propelled by forces that they don't understand. Let us take an extreme example, a boy about twenty years old . . .
The first time I remember seeing [him] was at a clan ceremony. He danced with much enthusiasm and quite well. Several weeks later we met at a carnival in town. [He] is an agile clown—laughing . . . with a number of quick clever gestures and manipulations of the face and voice. But it soon becomes apparent that this is a cover against the world of which he is very afraid. He wants you to laugh, but he is afraid that you will laugh—not with him, but at him. Sometimes he will look at you for a moment seriously, trying to read your face to see if you are going to hurt him. Once during a trivial and friendly conversation with my wife he stopped suddenly and said, "I wish I was dead!" Then one day he and I were walking to his house after a clan dance. [He] stopped abruptly in the middle of the road, looked straight ahead and said with emphasis, "I don't want to go, it's [crummy];" "What do you mean?" "It's [crummy] at home, I don't want to go." We started walking again, and [he] shifted back to his clowning. He sings a great deal, mostly cowboy songs like "Those tears weren't meant for me," "Lonely lonely little sweetheart." Then impetuously a wailing "Wyooooteee, wyooooteee, wyooooteee," which he says is an Oklahoma Indian song.

He has a reputation as a jitterbug and a rake. He didn't finish school. He didn't like it because he says that he is dumb. He dances in most of the Indian ceremonies, and wears an Indian shirt to town often. It is hard to know how much of his Indianism is a function of being rejected by white society and how much an inability to reconcile the two cultures in which he has been raised, being strongly attached to both.

It is important to realize that these young people have been raised Mesquakies, with a different language and many customs that they are strongly attached to, but which are laughed at and misunderstood by whites. Their first view of the world is through the lens of an Indian language, and through the precepts of an Indian way of life. Their second view of the world begins to reveal a larger society in which they play an inferior and ambiguous part.

The multiplicity of social processes forces us to be partial observers, and analysis leads us to further reductions. That a culture has or can be examined or presented in its totality is an illusion. The conservative forces in Fox society have a number of psychological, sociological and historical sources. One such source is fear—fear of what is not understood in white society; fear of not being able to control relationships with whites; fear of being misunderstood, ridiculed and rejected. Suspicion, resentment, hostility and ambivalence are characteristic reactions.

There may be, there must be, some rational and pragmatic criteria for social action that will help the Fox solve some of their most pressing social and personal problems. This is the philosophical problem of the so-called "Fox Project." To attempt to apply these criteria by initiating some economic-political-social program, or programs, would offer excellent opportunity to observe social change experimentally . . . with some control of the experiment. Such a program could not possibly be drawn up and initiated by someone in the Indian Service in Wisconsin or Washington. To ask the Fox to face their social and personal problems rationally is to ask them to accept a revolution in their society, the moral focus of their lives; furthermore, it is to ask them to accept their future in a society of racial, class, religious and national prejudice. The problem of choice is for them in large part incomprehensible rationally and impossible emotionally.

Education of the right kind may be the long-term solution; the problems are immediate. Those social scientists involved in carrying
through the Fox Project should feel no compunctions about interfering in
the society; they should trust their own good intentions and concentrate
on their implementation. Thus they are confronted with an infinite vari-
ety of problems concerning the socialization of children, the interrela-
tions according to situation of kinship, religious, economic, factional
and allied behaviors; the techniques of social control and leadership;
the extent and influence of pan-Indianism; the symbolic values of white
characteristics; etc., etc.

Now—a last scene, one in which the younger Indians come in con-
tact with the white community. This should clarify what I have said
about misunderstanding and fear in the above paragraph.

The Indians have a softball team that participates in the local
league. Summer evenings the league games take place in a well-lit park
on the edge of Tama. The Indian team this year is not very good and man-
age to lose most of the games that it plays. After each lost game they
complain of the unfairness of the umpire.

This evening they play the second game of a double-header. The
bleachers are full of Indian and white fans. Children run up and down in
front of the stands. People smoking, eating candy and pop corn, talking
and laughing. It is the fifth inning and the score is 11-0 in favor of
the Paper Mill. So far the Indians haven't even gotten a man past first
base. Each time they have been up to bat the story has been three up and
three down. Now in the fifth a man makes a base hit. He steals second.
There is some chance for the Indians to score, thus saving themselves from
complete humiliation. A second hits a fly to center field. The runner
tries for third. The third baseman stands in his way to catch the ball
and is bowled over. It was an accident, a mistake. The white player is
hurt—several of his team rush over to help him. The runner draws back,
looks confused, and without seeing if he hurt the other player or showing
concern for him, walks rapidly, almost runs across the field to the bench.
The third base coach for the Indians, who is highly acculturated and from
whom one might expect the traditional "sportsman-like" behavior, stands
outside the little knot of players for a moment, then tucks his head and
walks steadily and rapidly down towards home base. This was only the
second out, so after the player gets up and limps away aided by his team
mates and a new player takes his place, the coach returns to his coaching
position on the sidelines of the third base.

The moment the accident took place the players on the Paper Mill
team said, "It's an accident." After everything was cleared up and the
game resumed they changed their minds and said that it did look inten-
tional. They talked about it.

Exhibit 16

Request for Support of the "Fox Project"

This is a brief outline of a project in which an attempt is being
made to observe and record what happens when a group of people, trained as
social scientists, try to combine with scientific research the persistent
application of a definite value position.

Basic theory.—Most workers who deal with group situations do so
with a definite value position either implicitly or explicitly involved.
They attempt to bring about certain conditions which they feel are desir-
able. Scientific workers, on the other hand, have traditionally attempted
to avoid such a position in dealing with groups, and to confine their ac-
tivities to what they feel is the objective, detached consideration and
recording of the group situation. In doing so, however, they are not only affecting the group situation by being involved in it, but usually affect it in terms of a value position of their own, which is not explicitly stated or recognized. In addition, the very policy of refusing to apply an explicit value position and to work in terms of it constitutes a value position in itself—that of non-interference.

One alternative to this apparent contradiction of professing ethical neutrality while actually being inevitably involved in a value position is to recognize that the values are present in all workers, to try to make them explicit, and to use them as part of the scientific data involved in the situation. It is this alternative which we have chosen.

It may be interesting to know the experiences and reasoning which led to this choice. In the summer of 1948, six students from the University of Chicago Department of Anthropology went, under my direction, to the Fox community to do anthropological research—pure research of the sort traditionally attempted by social scientists. However, both because we were studying the problem (that of leadership and social organization) which required us to know a good deal more about the hopes and aspirations of individuals, their attitudes towards each other, and their conduct in all sorts of situations than we could learn by looking on from outside, and because we responded to the Fox as fellow humans we became increasingly involved in the affairs of the community. We made many personal friends and assisted in community activities, and, in fact, found ourselves taking a definite stand as to possible future of the community and discussing with our Fox friends ways of bringing what we considered good to pass.

Therefore, we soon found ourselves confronted by the dilemma outlined above; we talked as if our science were separate from our values, yet found it impossible to be ethically neutral and to keep from affecting the group situation which we were studying. We might have tried to solve this problem by keeping tighter rein on ourselves and trying to be more neutral, but chose instead the policy of deliberate interference.

This was for several reasons. In the first place, we found that we learned more about our problems by interfering and "experimenting" than by waiting for situations to come to us. But in the second place, a part of our basic value position was that people could not be treated simply as things, or in this case, purely as objects of scientific study, but deserved also consideration in their own right. We felt obligated, living in the community and deriving benefits from it, to make some return to it. Thus we adopted a definite value position: the assumption that we as social scientists could and should take positive action to alleviate the problems of the people who are also our object of study.

This raises the problem, of course, of whether the scientists who adopt such a position can still continue to be scientists, or will lose their capacity for realistic observation and reporting. We hope that if we continue our deliberate interference, at the same time using our values and our actions as part of the system we are studying, and try to keep objective and complete records of what occurs, we may provide some answer to this question.

Another sort of fundamental question arises out of another aspect of our value position: the assumption that the values pursued in a given community should be derived, as completely as possible, from a consideration of the needs and desires of the community members themselves, insofar as they do not seem mutually contradictory or impossible of attainment. We do not want to "impose" our values on the community, but rather to act as
therapists, clarifying people's own objectives and showing them how they can attain them. Yet, because we have a definite position of our own and cannot prevent (and do not always want to prevent) guiding individuals in that direction, and because there is no agreement on goals within the community and we must choose between conflicting objectives, if any action affecting the whole group is to be taken, we cannot maintain such neutrality. We find this problem logically insoluble. We hope in continuing the project to develop some ideas whether valid compromise is possible in this situation.

The specific case.—The specific situation in which this theory is to be applied is that of the Fox Indians of Iowa. The Fox are a group of about 450 Indians who live on a 3,500 acre settlement in Iowa, in the midst of a prosperous white farming community. The group has lived here for about 100 years. For the first 50 or 60 years the group maintained a good deal of internal cohesion, remained quite isolated, and had little direct contact with the whites in the surrounding area. For the past 30 or 40 years such contact has increased considerably, and is continuing to increase. As a consequence of this contact, the members of the Fox community have adopted, and are continuing to adopt, many of the goals and values of the outside community. This applies not only in the area of material desires—such as white-type homes, automobiles, clothes, appliances, and so on, but in the more intangible but highly important area of spiritual and emotional wants and needs. At the same time, the pull of Indian culture is still strong; few of the people are Christians; bark houses are still built beside the frame winter houses; traditional ceremonials are carried on and are well attended; and although people between six and forty-five all speak English, Fox is everywhere the language of the home and of general conversation in the community.

This situation is reflected in the individuals in the community as a strong and difficult personal conflict. They are pulled, as it were, between the forces of two worlds—that of their home community and of the white world outside. Many evidences of this conflict can be observed. The bewilderment and dissatisfaction of the younger people, upon whom the outside pull operates most strongly, is reflected in the rate of promiscuity, illegitimacy, and drunkenness among this group. For middle-aged people, this conflict is often directly translated into terms of geographic movement; they will move away from the community and move back intermittently.

There are a number of reasons why the more recently adopted needs and desires cannot be satisfied within the limits of the community. Probably the most important is the economic situation of the community. Probably the most important is the economic situation of the community. Many of the values adopted from the white involve, either directly or indirectly, the attainment of an economic status high enough to attain these values. Although the Indians own their own land—they are theoretically at liberty to utilize it in any way they see fit—it is far from being utilized efficiently. Thus many people are forced to leave the community in order to make enough money to live, and beyond bare subsistence, to attain those money-facilitated values which have origin in other factors, it is extremely difficult for many individuals to become accepted as members in good standing of the outside communities to which they go to find work.

Thus the basic problem of the Fox can be seen as the existence among them of unhappy, conflict-ridden individuals who have come to desire values which they cannot achieve within the community, and cannot attain as members of an outside world which will not accept them as members in good standing. They can find acceptance within their own community, but not satisfaction of other wants; they can satisfy some of their other wants outside the community, but are not accepted.
In this situation, we have chosen as our main objective the reduction of tensions and conflicts affecting the members of the community by means of seeing that the community satisfies the needs and desires of the individuals in it better than it does at present. This value is, of course, not derived "scientifically" from observed aspects of the situation. It is due in part to our sympathetic interest in individuals within the community. In part it is due to a general cultural value principle to the effect that the goods and satisfactions which society affords should be available to all as equally as possible. In part, it stems from our value of free choice since we believe that only by making it possible for people to stay in the community if they wish to, can be make it possible for them to choose whether they wish to remain identified with the Fox community or to become assimilated in white society. Because of the latter value, we also hope in discussing the problems of the Fox with them, to bring about among individuals in the community some clarification of goals, and greater realism as to what is and what is not possible for them, and what the pursuit of these particular objectives may involves as consequences.

The University of Chicago has bought a 58-acre farm with farmhouse directly adjoining the lands of the Fox settlement. We plan to have students living in this house and working in the community through the year. For the coming year, we hope to have one student there through the whole year, joined from time to time for three or six month periods by others; after that, to have students out there for varying periods, which, for continuity, should overlap. Students who were in the community in 1948 were only part of the representation this year; eventually they will be entirely replaced.

In the coming year we hope to inaugurate several specific projects to give the community a better economic base. First of these is a cooperative farming project. Later we hope to get organized some small cooperative businesses; like a cannery or pottery manufacture. We also hope to organize recreational activities for young people.

Students of the field party this year (1949) have been engaged in the preparations necessary to the successful inauguration of these projects both in terms of acquainting the Fox themselves with the nature and the several purposes of the projects, and the lining up the adequate sources for the technical knowledge and skills necessary for their successful operation.

All such projects will be organized primarily by the Fox themselves, with the students acting only as instigators and advisers. We do not want to try to solve the problems of the Fox by handing out goods or cash; we want to see what can be done with outside leadership rather than handouts. We will work through the existing community groupings—the political cliques, the Council, and especially the local American Legion post.

Projects such as the above obviously require technical assistance which anthropology does not provide. We hope, therefore, to get students of agriculture, etc., in on the project, living with the social scientists, and taking part in the total project, contributing through their special skills. Such participation, for example, has been tentatively arranged with the directors of the related departments of the Iowa State University at Ames, to be conducted through the Extension Program of the University. A further example of the cross-disciplinary and interdepartmental participation which we hope will characterize the greater project was a joint seminar held during the school period immediately preceding the field trip this year. Students of the Fox project discussed some of the problems involved with two faculty members and several advanced student representatives of the Planning Department (Program of Educational Research and Planning) of the University of Chicago.
So far described, the project is little more than "social work." It will also be research, however, in that the participants will observe the situation of which they have become a part and record those observations and the general ideas to which they give rise as dispassionately and completely as possible. Here again, however, the desirability of cross-disciplinary participation for fullest exploration of the data which may result from such a project is recognized, and appreciated; and again, some of this sort of cooperation has already occurred. A joint investigation was undertaken by a research team of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station and the Department of Psychology of the University of Chicago during the first month of the field work period of the current year (1949). Data collected in this particular effort included information as to the nature of the child-rearing practices of Fox mothers and, consequently, of the earlier experiences of Fox children, and the nature of the behavior of Fox children (ages 4 to 8) in 50 minutes of well-controlled doll play, administered in two sessions.

The reasons why we would like this project to be financed by some agency other than the University of Chicago Anthropology Department are various. First, the funds available to the University of Chicago Department of Anthropology, which has supported the project during the summers of 1948 and 1949 are insufficient to provide year-round continuity that is necessary. Second, if money is allotted specifically for this kind of project, it will remove pressures which might otherwise arise for transforming the project in midstream into something else, of more traditional anthropological type. This safeguard is essential, not only for the carry-out of the project as outlined, but as part of our obligation to the Fox. Third, a grant for a period of years would assure the continuity necessary to discharge our obligations and to learn something, as well as making it possible, if the project is unsuccessful to pull out gradually without damaging the community too much. Finally, financing by an outside source would make it a great deal easier to bring into the project individuals from other departments of the University of Chicago, and from other institutions such as the Ames Agricultural School.

Objectives of the project.—Such a project would be useful on at least three different levels:

1. It would help us to learn something about relations between science and values, and, we hope, to formulate answers to the questions posed in the first section of this memorandum.

2. It would help us to learn something about how to solve a sort of problem which is very general in our society as elsewhere in the world; the problems which arise when a small culture group comes into contact with, and begins to be absorbed by the larger "Western" society.

3. It would provide for a group of people, trained either in the social sciences or in a technical field, a training experience in social action based both on explicit value premises and the scientific viewpoint.

Budget.—We would like a period of five years for the project. That should allow time enough to know whether we are able to influence the course of Indian life and also to learn whether we can try to do so and still maintain our integrity as scientists. At the same time it is short enough to give us (and the Indians) a feeling that we do not have forever to accomplish something.

We shall occupy the house owned by the University, and shall use the automobile and other equipment provided by the project in the past. We need money to maintain from one to six field workers and to provide
transportation and running expenses in connection with the work.

The sum of $35,000 for the five year period is requested, with the privilege of spending more or less than one-fifth of the sum in any one year.

Submitted by
Sol Tax.

Exhibit 17
A DISCUSSION OF CONTEMPORARY FOX SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, TOGETHER WITH A PROPOSAL FOR A COMBINED PROGRAM OF SOCIAL ENGINEERING AND SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Robert W. Rietz

Introduction

The Sau and Fox of the Mississippi in Iowa, numbering some four hundred and ninety-two individuals, occupy an area of about 3,500 acres on the banks of the Iowa River, in central Iowa. Although classed as a "reservation" because of the wardship status of the Fox, this land owned by the Indians themselves, and upon it they now pay taxes to the state. Assigned to a Kansas reservation in 1846, a group of Fox dissatisfied with their new home, returned to their Iowa homeland and purchased eighty acres of land with funds obtained through the sale of some of their ponies. Since that time, further purchases have brought their "reservation" to its present area. The Fox maintained their status as semi-independent land-owners, with their lands held in trust by the state, until 1896 when jurisdiction over the tribe was transferred from the state to the federal government. The state, however, retained the right to establish highways and to levy certain taxes. In 1937, the tribe accepted reorganization under the Wheeler-Howard Act.

Located in the center of a prosperous farming region, the Fox settlement is within four miles of two small towns, Tama, and Toledo. Toledo, the county seat, is primarily a retail shopping center with no large scale industry, and has a population of about 2,000. Tama, located on U.S. Highway 30 which also runs through the reservation, has a population of around 3,000, and several local industries together with two major railroad lines provide a more industrialized economic base.

The Fox occupy an inferior status position locally, as yet based more upon unfavorable culture-class evaluations than genuine racial intolerance on the part of local representatives of white society. Intermarriage is extremely rare. Full social acceptance is accorded the Fox only at the lower class levels and is very limited in incidence even there. Limited local economic opportunities, and a persistent preference for white personnel on the part of employers, have helped to limit Fox wage earning opportunities largely to unskilled labor roles.

During the summer of 1948, this writer was a member of a field party of six students from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago who, under the direction of Dr. Sol Tax, went to the Fox community to do anthropological research. Our concern being primarily with the study of leadership patterns and social organization, our research stood to benefit through actual participation in community life, and we became increasingly involved in the affairs of the Fox settlement. Faced, in this situation, with the choice of either attempting to maintain "neutrality" or choosing the alternative of "constructive interference," we became interested in the problem of the feasibility of a program combining social
engineering with scientific anthropological research. Not the least of the problems which immediately arose, of course, were those of the relationship between science and values, and the problem of maintaining scientific objectivity on the part of the scientist who adopts such a position.

These and other problems were discussed in seminar sessions and discussions during the winter which followed, and the following summer a new group of students accompanied the writer for a second visit to the settlement. This group, proceeding with the assumption that such combined approach and interest was possible and practicable, directed their research effort around preparing the bases for the development and implementation of such a project.

The discussion which follows is an attempt to program such an effort in some specific detail, and with some discussion of the problems and the opportunities peculiar to an effort of this sort.

Individual Adjustment

The Fox community of today reveals a complex heterogeneity in individual goals and values and in standards and modes of behavior relative to their achievement. Some preliminary discussion of characteristic modes of behavior with reference to "white" goals will contribute materially to an understanding of contemporary Fox social organization. The behavioral modes as described are meant to represent types of relatively stabilized "adjustments" of Fox individuals within their socio-cultural environment, with reference to selected illustrative goals and values of local white society as they have been conceived by many Fox through interaction with local representatives of white society and with one another.

Following is a brief statement of selected major goals, and associated value premises, and the institutionalized means or role behaviors related to their expression, as they seem to be most consistently pressed upon the Fox individual, together with a tentative typology of individual "adjustments." It must be emphasized that the categories used do not refer to personality characteristics, nor to aspects of character structure, but to types of behavior in specific roles and situations to be identified. This remains so in spite of the fact that in many instances the use of psychological concepts has contributed to their description.

Goal.—The exercise of leadership in a legitimized position of power.

Institutionalized means.—The active seeking of such an office or position on the basis of personal efficiency; the popular election; the vigorous exercise of initiative in implementing personally conceived plans for community action, within a culturally prescribed but wide range of such possible action.

Goal.—The acquisition of material wealth seen as a major criterion of individual worth.

Means.—The strict allocation of personal resources through both thrift and persistent effort toward this end; the exercise of ability in the pursuit of self-interest within prescribed manners in minor economic roles in accordance with a time-perspective of such roles which views them as waypoints in a temporal succession of rewards of roles of increasing economic importance.

1This typology is essentially a modification of that developed by Merton (1949).
Goal.—The maintaining of favorable relations with supernatural power as conceived in the Christian religion; salvation and eternal life in the Christian heaven.

Means.—The restriction of worship to the Christian deity alone; membership in a Christian church and at least occasional participation in its rituals; abiding by the ethical principles of the church as propounded by its local ministers.

At a higher and still more general level is the value position which sees in actual social interaction with white society members at the full acceptance level a major measure of individual worth and prestige. Fullest acceptance and satisfaction of this value would require no less than full membership in white society and might, at present, mean leaving the reservation and possibly the selection of a white marriage partner. Logical extension of this goal would exclude retention of even membership in Indian religious institutions, since to retain membership, in purely Fox institutions would be to qualify the goal to that extent.

Adjustment Types

Conformative.—In this type of adjustment, both a cultural goal and the institutionalized means of its achievement had been accepted and internalized by the Fox individual as his own.

is a member of the local Presbyterian Mission, has accepted the Christian deity, is a regular attendant at church services, and feels that smoking, gambling, and drinking are all sinful. works in town, has built a reputation of always being a cheerful and willing worker whatever the duties he may be called upon to perform, and is looking forward to higher promotions. He feels that many fellow Fox are incompetent, lazy, and unreliable. was a sergeant in the army. Characteristically, he ran for the office of Legion commander, and was elected, whereupon he attempted to initiate certain compulsory activities such as practice drills, etc. Frustrated in this role, he declares bitterly that what the Fox need is discipline.

Synthetic.—This type represents an adjustment wherein the basic value premise and goal of white society have been accepted and institutionalized, but the institutionalized means for their expression have not. Rather has a synthesis been accomplished, through which the value premise and goal are achieved through institutionalized means which represent a modification of Fox institutionalized roles more in accordance with the newly derived value and goal.

is a member of peyote. He feels that the god of peyote and the Christian god are one and the same. In the army he felt that the protestant chaplains were his chaplains too, since they were in the service of the very same god as worshipped in peyote. He believes the gods worshipped in the olan ceremonies of the Fox to be false gods, and that their worship is not the true religion. But purely Christian rituals are not necessary, although there is nothing wrong in the Indian joining a Christian church.

Ritualistic.—In this type, institutionalized means, or behavioral norms of white society, are accepted and utilized and are spoken of and treated as evidences of an orientation toward the corresponding goal, but an adjustment has been made to a relatively low level of success. Fuller realization of the goal has been tentatively abandoned as a direction for effort. As such, this type represents a retrenchment in a situation usually characterized by insecurity and doubt, to a role which can be maintained in relative security.
works as a semi-skilled laborer in a nearby town. He dresses well, owns a car, and feels that many other Pox who are not similarly employed probably "couldn't hold a decent job." He is not looking forward to promotion or a better job, for one reason because he is afraid he might not be able to do it, and so might lose what he does have. He values social acceptance by whites rather highly, but seldom actively seeks it out. has learned certain roles involving a limited social acceptance by whites and is careful not to exceed them nor to get himself into situations in which he might suffer rejection.

Withdrawal.—This is the type of adjustment which characterizes the almost asocial individual. While new goals and the means of seeking them through institutionalized role behavior as recognized in white society have been accepted and internalized, the individual has failed of achievement and assumed the inevitability of future frustration. Both the older and the new, the white way and the Indian alternative, are thereupon denounced as worthless. It is not uncommon that refuge will be found in a minor alcoholism, for the desire for a recognized social role of prestige is still an active one, nor has the high value of the cultural goal as defined by white society been successfully renounced. The individual reflecting this category reaps the opprobrium of both "progressive" and "conservative" in the Indian community, for his behavior subjects the values and goals of both to question and derision.

has antagonized both many local whites and members of his own community. A minor alcoholic, he is the victim of an almost paralyzing insecurity in interaction with whites, whose acceptance he greatly desires. He ridicules people who "put out" (are steady reliable workers, or attempt to promote community welfare) whether Indian or white, but from time to time he will work hard, especially so if in a semi-leadership role, for approbation which he will then generally affect to disdain. Following failure in a major effort to secure social acceptance by local white people, he has done little or nothing to even support himself for several years. An initial extremely hostile attitude toward members of the field party was later followed by an equally extreme dependency relationship.

Rebellious.—In this adjustment, the major specific goals and means of both white and Indian society are rejected. New roles, as yet undefined, but preferably within a social situation of a new sort, are demanded, in which the role of the Fox and of the Fox individual will be of a different cast, at least equal to and preferably superior to "the white people." Both traditional Fox goals and the position of student to white society have been rejected; there is a rebellion toward the actual situation within which the individual finds himself. This will be the victim of the demagogue, the purveyor of a new order or the man with the myth of the Indian as the true chosen people of the earth.

is hostile toward white society generally. He would like to see a rather non-competitive community cooperative type of economic effort which would result in a very prosperous unified Fox settlement, so that the Indian could show those (white) people who "think they're better than everybody else just because they happen to live in a better district." Representatives of a religious sect, recently proselytizing in the Fox community, who hinted that Indians were actually whites too, found in him one of their most interested listeners. He often points out evidences of intolerance and biased judgments to whites who reveal them in his presence.
Resistant.—For this type, the adjustment to new alternatives is one of almost untroubled disinterest. The old Indian way is the way for the Indian and there's enough of that. There is some concern exhibited over the fact that some others have chosen to disavow this way, and there is sorrow evidenced that derives from a suspicion that soon the Indian way will be no more, but there is little evidence that there is any question about the acceptance or rejection of the alternative and the new.

finds in his unskilled labor job sufficient provision for his and his family's economic needs. He is an enthusiastic participant in clan ceremonies. He seems to concern himself very little with what white people might be thinking about him as long as they treat him reasonably and leave him alone. He is proud of the annual Pow-Wow, where the Fox perform their traditional dances for white tourists.

Atavistic.—The label chosen for this general type is more or less self-explanatory. A prior conversion to white goals and means is followed by a later rejection, often bitter, and the re-adoption of the old where goals conflict. The effort to achieve the newly accepted goals through the difficult-to-learn prescribed channels, as they could be utilized, has met with frustration. Hostility toward a reified white society stereotype may be tremendous.

is bitterly hostile toward white society. She originally attempted to enter white society through the role of hospital nurse, but after a rather traumatic rejection experience she returned to the Fox community. While she had tentatively taken up the Christian religion, she now dutifully attends the clan ceremonies. She is the spearhead of an attempt to discover reasonable bases for the pressing of claims against the United States government, and has diligently searched for old treaties that might reveal such bases.

It should be understood that, inasmuch as these types as described refer to role behavior and not to psychological states or personality characteristics, an individual may (and often does) vary in type with reference to different goals and in different areas of activity. Adjustment, in the sense of routinized behavior in role performance, is not exhausted for any given individual by the limits of a particular descriptive category, nor are these categories derived from the classification of individuals whom they are conceived to represent. Rather do they refer to what is characteristic in role behavior in limited types of situations.

In the sort of general social situation in which the Fox individual finds himself today, complicated by a baffling heterogeneity of goals, roles and values, a great many of the possible constellations of individuals (which may include both Indian and white) in social interaction, reveal an essential group normlessness for roles therein, a lack of consensus as to structure, that provides an almost endless source for personal and interpersonal conflict. One factor which does serve quite often to structure situations which include both Indian and white is the very common subordinate-dependency role of Indian to white.

A quick outline sketch, attempting to indicate the loci of adjustment types (as described) with reference to Fox social structure would mainly be drawn in terms of a generational differential. With respect to the four illustrative goals chosen, older Fox tend to representation through the Resistant type of general adjustment; the young adolescent would offer the greatest contrast as that group which, as a group, offers the Conformative as most characteristic.
The group of intermediate ages, however, is far from representing a simple gradient of gradual interpenetration. This middle-age group represents one for which, in general, the classification as offered can least legitimately be applied. It is the group which reveals the greatest heterogeneity and the least consistency in goals, values, and behavior in interaction. It is here that the individual who varies in adjustment type relative to different goals is most often to be expected.

Perhaps the one general goal toward which there might be found a fairly regular transition toward increasing acceptance, implying a corresponding modification of behavior, is that of full social acceptance by representatives of white society. And in the middle-age group will most probably be found the man or woman who has joined the local Christian Mission, not so much because he or she has accepted the Christian religion as such, but because of the seeking-out of avenues of acceptance interaction and goal satisfaction of the related sort. Here also will most probably be found the young man or woman who, while willing enough to take part in the private clan dances and ceremonies, is by no means willing to don an "Indian costume" and dance in the annual Pow-Wow before white visitors. One major consequence of the heterogeneity characteristics of this age group derives from the unpredictability and apparent inconsistency of the behavior of its members as revealed to their young and adolescent children.

Fox Society Today

During the period immediately following their return to Iowa, Fox political structure followed a more or less traditional pattern, with the locus of power in a tribal council of older men, and with a hereditary chief who exercised little actual authority. (See Jones [1939], pp. 82-84, and Tax [1935].) The chief was himself chosen by the council from specified blood lines of a certain clan; candidates felt to be incompetent could be merely set aside or ignored by the council. Dominance by any single individual was avoided.

In the 1890's under pressure from local Iowa residents, jurisdiction over the Saug and Fox was once more transferred to the federal government, and the relative political and economic autonomy which the Fox had heretofore enjoyed was replaced by a situation in which they were made subordinate to a local representative of the government of the United States, in a special wardship status position removed from political articulation with the local white communities.

A short time after the return to federal jurisdiction, the chief of the tribe, under pressure from government agents, agreed to collaboration in a policy of enforced participation by members of the tribe, in programs of the Interior Department oriented toward a more rapid acculturation and assimilation. A factional cleavage resulted in which an opposition group formed around a legitimate candidate for the cheiftainship who had originally been put aside by the council as incompetent; a factional cleavage which lingers today. (The writer has drawn heavily from Fallers (1949) account of Fox factionalism for material for this section.)

Several later incidents, more or less similar in nature, served to further stabilize the identity of the faction as representing an actually existing group with a certain power, and lines of factional affiliation were more or less clearly drawn. The Conservative group, with a golden age in the past, offered beliefs in contrast to those of the Progressive (or collaborationist) faction and a golden age to come. Since that time, factional affiliation has implied predispositions of acceptance or rejection of a policy of conversion to the white man's way, in spite of the
fact that the general level of acculturation of the membership of both factions is actually about the same.

Today there is much less of a correspondence between factional affiliation and behavior with respect to specific issues. A fictional or reified type of factional structure still remains. Old alignments are maintained and are seemingly taken up by one's children. But while the concept of factional entities still persists, and is revealed in verbal protestations and in affiliations decided upon the basis of kinship, differences of opinion are more and more to be seen as related to differences in age-group orientation. With the cessation of active governmental intervention, and the lessening of direct pressures and supports therefrom, the general differential acculturation of the several age grades of Fox society is slowly and almost imperceptibly becoming revealed. It is almost as if a latent, but much more stable and more regular process, is "coming into its own," while the structural shreds of a once bitter factional division slowly disintegrate. However, as those of intermediate ages gradually replace those of older, a shift toward personal efficiency as a basis for leadership choice will become more and more general, and a later pattern of younger men as leaders should follow. A period of "transition," which includes the present, should also be characterized by the importance of this "shift" as a factor making for personal conflict.

Disputes between members of opposing factions (especially if older men) will now usually be interpreted as being due to factional affiliation while similar disputes between members of the same faction may reveal almost identical differences of opinion, but will remain an individual matter.

In 1937, largely due to the efforts of a small group of relatively highly acculturated and younger members of the Progressive faction, the tribe accepted reorganization under the Wheeler-Howard Act. This meant the abolition of hereditary chieftainship, and provided for an elected council of seven with one member as chief, together with a constitution and by-laws to define the power of the council. So great was the resistance to this departure from tradition, even from among the older members of the Progressive faction itself, that the proposition barely succeeded of acceptance, the vote being 80 for and 78 against.

One main factor which helps to keep the issue of factionalism alive derives from the efforts of a young woman, member of the Conservative faction, who has linked an effort to discover bases for legitimate claims against the United States Government with an effort to get rid of the present constitutional set-up and reinstate the hereditary chieftainship in the old pattern. By implying the latter to be necessary to the successful prosecution of possible claims, she has temporarily instilled new life into the factional structure. She offers an example of the type of adjustment described as "Atavistic," and has apparently channeled some of the hostility she evinces toward white society toward members of the Progressive faction as well.

A person actively seeking leadership roles will often be thought of in terms of factional affiliation, especially if he is an older man. If he is a young person, however, even men of his own faction will tend to oppose him, or at least not to support him, since traditional attitudes with regard to leadership roles favor the authority of age as well as the avoidance of individual domination.

One result of all this has been the relative withdrawal from active political effort by all but one of the more acculturated members of the Progressive faction, in disillusion and resignation. In partial
consequence, older men of the Conservative faction temporarily dominate the present council, although the Progressive faction factually represents a majority of Fox.

Among the Fox, persons of this general age grade and level of acculturation represented in the present council tend to think in terms of inherited rights to special status and special treatment with regard to their relationship to white society, with little or no conception of return responsibility. At present, this council provides little more than a feeble symbol of cultural unity, a maintaining of traditional relationships to what is conceived of as an ultimate source for the means of economic and political adjustments, and an effective sounding-board for public opinion on matters of Interior Department policy and the behavior of its local agents.

While the pre-organization type of council had had a sort of dependency relationship with the federal government and its agents which implied that its main function was that of acceptance or rejection of proposals for the maintenance of a welfare which was seen as their due, even the Progressive dominated new type of council had a similarly conceived type of relationship. In the latter instance, the distinguishing characteristic was a predisposition for prior acceptance of the waited-for proposals, or, sometimes, directives for action. The same essentially dependent relationships tended to eliminate functions more directly derived from the needs evolving in everyday local interaction in both cases. Here, subjective attitude toward an institution have contributed to a disarticulation from local and inter-community political and economic institutions, and rearticulation now presents a problem of considerable magnitude.

The limited conception of the role of councilman has led to a belief that if only he knew the best way to carry out his duties in this relationship the economic and political problems now pressing for solution would somehow be solved. Successful performance of this role is thus conceived in terms of the most effective exploitation of an essentially unprofitable dependency status, or relationship.

A "middle group," so called because the two families which form its nucleus are not immediately descendant in a line of chiefs, is a rather highly acculturated group seeking power largely through a political opportunism as regards factional affairs, and the development of a cooperative group for the sale of reservation produced handicrafts. This latter group has a constitution and by-laws, and membership is largely recruited from Progressive ranks. Members are largely dependent upon intra-community white sponsors for initiation of activity as well as for judgments of conduct and as sources of approval and acceptance. The organization is saving funds with which to outfit a large stone building built for the tribe some years ago, for the sale of handicraft on a large scale. The handicraft itself is but sporadically produced, and is usually time-consuming in manufacture out of all proportion to the small amounts for which it can be sold.

There is little to suggest that officers and members feel any great compulsion about the performance of their duties and obligations. However, at this stage, the dependency role and the rewards of interaction overcome the limiting factor of limited economic motivation on the part of the general membership that might otherwise preclude its existence as an institution. This is a good example of a sort of general problem which the local Indian agent is continually facing; whether to provide the dependency abetting leadership as expected, with a consequent failure of the development of roles of personal responsibility on the part of his wards, or to deny it. The refusal to provide such leadership might mean the
abandonment of a nucleus of sincere individuals to an impossible frustrating situation which they do not fully comprehend, and which is largely the result of an acceptance of white goals without a corresponding emphasis upon means necessary to their realization. At least in providing such leadership the agent can feel that he may be able to make available an in-group situation within which an eventual development of the full constellation of emphases upon roles, goals and means might possibly take place.

Economic life.—Of the total reservation acreage, some 1500 acres can be considered to be arable land. One third of this is now farmed by a white tenant-farmer; the rent money from this tribal farm is used to pay state taxes. During the years from 1896 to 1930, the federal government had assumed the responsibility for the payment of these taxes, with funds from yearly congressional appropriations for that purpose. In 1930, Congress refused to continue such appropriation and, since no institutionalized means of raising such money through taxation or special levy had been developed by the Fox in the years of their wardship status, the simplest and quickest way to get it was to rent a large proportion of their best lands.

Of the remaining 1,000 acres, about one-third are subject to disastrous early spring floods about one year in four. In the event of a relatively minor inundation, these lands are quite fertile, and an average corn crop can be raised with a minimum of attention. Around 800 acres were under cultivation in 1949; 550 or so were in market crops of field corn or soy beans, and the remainder in gardens, squaw corn patches, and the like. There is little attempt at conservation of the soil; land is usually put to corn year after year for what it will yield. Only two of the larger farms are mechanized. By far the majority depend upon the use of horses for plowing and cultivation. Only for nine individuals does farming represent the only economic effort, and the remainder of the working Fox depend upon outside wage labor, to varying degrees, as a source of income.

Fox land is assigned to individuals, by council action, for their exclusive use; an assignment can be inherited, however. A by-law of the constitution provides for reassignment if land is not actually used. However, at least for many older Fox, the possession of such land represents something like a symbol of "belongingness," a mark of full membership in Fox society, and unused land is seldom reassigned. In addition, the man who seeks to put more and more land under cultivation, much less under his name, is not only suggesting invidious comparisons but is looked upon generally as a person who is benefitting from that which belongs to all. In consequence, those who do possess the mechanized equipment for raising their farming effort above the level of mere subsistence are reduced to private deals with individuals who have assignments but do not use them.

Older Fox were not too concerned as to the nature or the duration of the unskilled labor type of employment they were able to get. Their availability, traditional position, and "unreliability" are still at the basis of present attitudes of white employers in nearby communities. Fox of intermediate and younger age grades still add to this general reputation: some because of an adjustment (Resistant) similar to that of the older generations, others because the type of wage labor available does not bring the rewards their more demanding standards require.

During the latter part of August of each year, the Fox hold their annual Pow-Wow. Attendance during the four-day event varies between four and seven thousand persons, depending largely upon the weather and the success of the advance publicity. In recent years, associations of business men of nearby Tama and Toledo have cooperated to advertise the event in the press and over the radio.
Although, of course, there is great interest in its financial success and some emphasis upon the commercial aspects of the celebration, the Pow-Wow is also the great social event of the year. Most everyday concerns come to a halt; farms and gardens lie unattended and time off is taken from regular jobs while the Fox descend upon the Pow-Wow grounds almost to a man. For everyone there is the opportunity of participating in a grand common enterprise, which will characterize no other single event during the year.

Management of and general preparation for the Pow-Wow are in the hands of a Pow-Wow committee, a body of elected officers, and another of subordinate officers chosen by them. In this situation, where there is little question of generalized power roles but only limited duties; the Progressive majority is marked. The manner in which the organization is activated and operative suggests a synthesis of white and Indian concepts with respect to this sort of activity. Thus, while leadership roles are delegated and legitimized, they carry no license to innovations; traditional duties are to be carried out in the traditional way. Where the 1949 committee was composed almost entirely of veterans, there was no "Legion Day" as they had wanted; the voice of the older men was to the contrary, and the traditional locus of actual power remains.

However, the Pow-Wow and the committee do offer one example of relative freedom from the usual utter dependence upon white initiation and guidance of group activities. To some extent, institutionalized roles are evolving on the basis of present needs precipitating actual interaction toward shared goals. Rules and principles arise and are made explicit, as a set of regulations derived through group discussion. It is interesting to note that when questions arise with regard to some immediate problem, there is evident both some confusion as to just who is to do what about it, and a tendency to attempt to refer to or attempt to devise some abstract rules or principle to govern such a situation thereafter.

Religious life.—The Fox clan of the present day is more in the nature of a religious cult group than a kinship unit of the sort usually referred to by this term. The traditional beliefs and practices expressed in the religious affairs of the clan are still the beliefs and practices of the vast majority of older Fox, and of a not inconsiderable number of those of intermediate ages. Members of both factions are included in those who participate in clan ceremonial most regularly. The clan feast offers the greatest single recurrent opportunity during the year to gather together the somewhat geographically scattered community membership in common activity. The sentiments "collectively expressed" here are fundamental sources of the unity of the group. However, many younger Fox would adopt Christianity were it not for reservation pressures, largely from the older generations. Many more are just non-religious, who feel that elements of Fox clan ceremonial are somewhat fantastic or irrational after their intimate contact with whites through high school or army experience. In view of the lack of integrated economic and political effort among the Fox, it is probable that the persistent retention of aboriginal religious beliefs and practices in the face of continued missionary effort is related to some extent to the importance of participation in religious ceremonies as a measure of full membership in Fox society.

The "Drum Society" or "Religious Society" as it is sometimes called, appeared among the Fox around 1900, apparently imported from the Potowatome of the Tripoli area in Wisconsin. Present membership varies between 30 and 40 individuals, and while theoretically open to all, is made up almost exclusively of members of the Progressive faction. Persons may,
and a few do, take part in both clan and Drum Society ceremonies.

While a limited synthesis of white and Fox religious beliefs and goals is revealed in the myth and ceremony of the Drum Society, a marked ritual expression of acceptance of and adjustment to white political domination is evident. The Christian deity is accepted as legitimate, and identified to some extent as he to whom the Fox also address worship. But while the paraphernalia of ceremony and ritual are practically devoid of any symbolic relationship to the Christian myth, each Drum "has its own American flag," and the flag is a symbol prominently displayed during the ceremonies.

There is a peyote cult on the reservation. Membership is limited, there being but a dozen or so active adult members at present. The religion of the clans is held to be false, and membership in peyote implies acceptance of the Christian deity as the true god. In terms of professed beliefs and ritual practices, the ideal peyote member would evidence a synthetic type of adjustment to white Christian religious goals treated in the previous discussion of adjustment types.

Here the white goal and value premise have been accepted but the institutionalized means for their expression in white society, i.e., the Christian church and its rituals, have not. Instead, a modified Indian type of ritual, replete with Christian symbolism, has been developed. Thus, in the night-long peyote ceremony, the hours previous to midnight are representative of the Old Testament, those after represent the New Testament, while midnight is the time of the coming of Christ. Prayers refer to "Our Heavenly Father," and converts and children are baptized. This type of modified Christian symbolism is combined in ceremony with the drums, rattles, eagle feathers, and sacred tobacco of the traditional Indian type of ritual.

Both the Drum Society and peyote are emphasizing the status of the Fox as members of a group which transcends the mere local community, i.e., their status as "American Indians." The sharing of beliefs and practices in sort of a super-community church functions to support a conception of the Indian as a member of a generalized group having a special relationship to the white man as a whole, rather than pointing up to the Fox their roles and their status as citizens of Iowa, territorially and politically affiliated with the local communities of Tama and Toledo.

The Midwiziwin, or medicine society, and the singing-around-society are additional religious groups, very limited as to membership at present. They seem to depend for their existence upon the ambition and the efforts of the present leader of the Drum Society, a younger man who, sincerely believes in the rightness of his calling, and who has been referred to by his father as "like the white man's Jesus Christ." A dual division, formerly with some religious functions, serves now as little more than a means of providing competing sides for occasional sport and game activities.

There are at present two active Christian Missions attending the reservation, one established about 1900, the other in 1939. Neither has been very successful. Both are fundamentalist in tenor of their teachings, while demanding adherence to rather strict rules of conduct. Each has about fifteen adult members, although perhaps twice that number have attended ceremonies very irregularly for some time. Satellite associations to include non-members of the church and act as coordinating and proselytizing agencies have been little developed. The limited appeal of the Christian Mission has resulted in a membership largely made up of those highly motivated toward acceptance by and social interaction with
members of white society, and those who feel themselves to have been cured of serious illness through conversion (the Christian church, too, is felt to have curative functions). The resulting in-group support, therefore, is not of the sort which results from the open statement of shared convictions and genuine effort in terms of them.

Associations.—The Fox have their own American Legion post, with 22 of the 47 World War II veterans as members. The age range represented is roughly between 25 and 40 years of age. Except in a few instances, factional affiliation of members is not very marked, and members are drawn in about equal proportions from both factions. The post was organized largely through the efforts of a local white man, resident of Toledo and county Legion officer.

The continued existence of the Legion post is largely, if not entirely, due to the efforts of four members who are highly motivated toward social acceptance by white society, and they are the initiators of most of the post activities. Because of a more general desire for social acceptance too, one of the major functions of the post lies in providing an avenue for identification with whites, in the common identity of the legionnaire. Large public Legion ceremonies involving equal participation with whites as fellow-legionnaires, brings out not only the full Legion membership attendance but almost the entire veteran group—including some of those who live in cities perhaps fifty miles from the reservation.

Regular monthly meetings, special business meetings, and attempts to initiate activity other than that of a public ceremonial nature are almost completely unsupported. Such meetings may be called three or four times before anyone at all will appear but the post commander and perhaps one or two others.

Because of their rather extended period of successful participation in white society, the honors awarded them and the status of returned warrior, the rest of the Fox community tended to look upon the veteran group in something of hopeful anticipation with the thought that they might be able to in some way improve the lot of the community. An attitude of prior approval of Legion sponsored activities was general. However, in view of the limited interest of the members of the post, and since the Legion member had no better grasp of the nature of the problems with which the community is faced than did most others, nothing of the hoped for sort of activity has materialized. Today there is a developing resentment of the fact that Legion members seem to accept offered privileges and deference as their due and let it go at that, with little sense of return responsibility.

The Mesquakie Women’s Club was organized in the hey-day of organization during the period when the power and prestige position of the younger Progressive members was at its peak, in 1937. Characteristically, for the period, the group was organized with a constitution and by-laws. There were official positions to be filled by membership election, minutes were kept of club meetings, and formal programs of club activities were arranged and carried out. There were two classes of members—active and advisory. The active class was presumed to include all the Indian women of the reservation, while the advisory class was made up of white people, usually those who held official government positions within the community, or in the hierarchy of the local Presbyterian Mission.

In general, the organization reveals the dual dependency relationship characteristic of by far the majority of such projects which have been organized for the Fox by whites for the last several decades. A dependency upon white leadership for the initiation of action is paralleled
by a dependency upon them as judges of conduct and sources of approval. The activities of the group largely involved the satisfaction of the demands or suggestions of the white leaders, and which extended to the definitions of what is to constitute social activity in purely social affairs. As in the case of other similarly organized groups, the in-group situation was complicated by the factor of indirect white legitimation of roles and support for them, as contrasted to mutual support deriving from mutual agreements as to the essential worth of the activities engaged in for their own sake. In such a situation, active competition between members for approval and recognition of worth by whites qualifies group unity, and detracts from the felt validity of judgments of conduct and activities which drive from membership consensus alone. The group is no longer very socially important, although still in existence and brought together for special activities from time to time.

Recreational.—Organized recreational groups on the reservation today include three boys' baseball teams and a girls' softball team. There is little of marked factional affiliation on the part of the members of these groups. Most members of the ball teams are drawn from the 20 to 30 age range, and the proportion of married to single persons is about equal. One of the boys' teams is sponsored by a Tama merchant who paid for uniforms and equipment, and this team plays in a local league composed of other similarly sponsored teams of the Tama community. Organized athletics represents one avenue relatively open to the Fox for attaining social recognition and prestige in interaction with members of white society, in which the Fox have some confidence in their ability to perform. It is the major such avenue for the pupils in attendance at the local Tama high school, for example, and the outcome of any game in which Fox individuals are playing is a matter of great moment and personal concern for most Fox.

The family and the household.—The basic and most important social unit of Fox society is the bi-lateral family. Because of a wide variety of standards of conduct characterizing especially the age ranges which include most Fox parents of adolescent and younger children, moral training, or the development and maintenance of standards of conduct for the young, is rendered especially difficult. The homogeneity of beliefs and the lack of any competing standards beyond group standards which serve to reinforce such codes in more "primitive" societies, is absent. In addition, a conflict of standards between the old and the young characteristic of a society in transition, and a discrepancy between the stated codes and the actual behaviors of the parental generations, provide additional factors contributing toward maladjustment on the part of the young Fox boy or girl.

Further, the instability of the family structure itself, due to the relative frequency of divorce and separation, with consequent changing residence conditions and family constellations; detracts from the power of the family as a social form within which stable and consistent standards of conduct can be fostered and developed. Out of a total of 86 Fox families of today, but 36 consist of a man, wife, and their own children, i.e., only in 36 cases is the family of orientation identical with the family of procreation. Twenty-four of these families include illegitimate children. Eighteen families include man, wife, and children of one or the other or of both, by previous marriage or affairs. In ten families, children are being reared by relatives other than either parents, while twenty-two families consist of but one parent and his or her offspring. While most Fox parents preach the virtue of chastity, the above figures are offered to show the family composition of Fox society today, rather than to emphasize too strongly a discrepancy between precept and practice. While chastity is taught, unchastity is not violently condemned and only outright promiscuity brings permanent lowering of status and a mild general contempt.
However, in spite of this general situation, an expectancy of increasing incidence of delinquency or deviant behavior would remain unwarranted were it not for two additional and important factors: 1) the attitudes (as contrasted with practice) of whites of local communities toward divorce, separation, and unchastity, and 2) the nature of the Fox-white interaction situation at the adolescent level.

Although racial prejudice is as yet not an active factor, social discrimination on the basis of membership in the Fox community is, and there is little social interaction acceptance between Fox and white except for limited instances and confined largely to interaction with whites of the lower economic levels. Visiting at the homes of whites, or invitations to meals there, are almost unheard of. Conversely, visits to Indian homes by white friends are extremely rare. Among other things, the Fox home, by average white middle-class standards, is crowded, dirty, unsanitary, and very poorly furnished. These facts are not lost upon Fox adolescents. Reactions to this general social exclusion vary, of course, between adolescents, from almost complete indifference to extreme sensibility.

Another factor making for possible individual conflict and maladjustment lies in the overcrowded condition characteristic of the reservation household. A total of 489 Fox residents make up 82 households. By far the greater majority of Fox homes consist of but two rooms. The average number of persons for households which include children 18 years of age or younger is 7.12. In 9 households, two elementary families are included; in two others, three elementary families. Twenty-eight households include eight or more persons. In the face of inadequate economic bases for the setting up of new and separate households, overcrowding and consequent tensions are increasingly a factor of the home life of the younger generations. The resulting strains can be expected to add to the instability of marriage and the home.

Summary and Conclusions

Analysis of the data reveals the Fox community to be characterized by a developing social disorganization. For the present discussion, this term is used to indicate:

1. A lack of institutionalized means for the satisfaction of individual and group goals.
2. A degree of non-differentiation of activity incompatible with the concept of organization as implying integrated effort toward the accomplishment and the maintenance of the validity of shared goals.

When considered from the point of view offered by these two major criteria (not seen as mutually exclusive), disorganization in Fox society reveals both form and direction within the on-going process which is the social system, or system of relations of the Fox community. Form here relates to the manner in which persons in specific social positions are characterized as to goals and to their relative achievement, in terms of criteria. Direction relates to the progressive penetration of this characterization to occupants of further specific types of social positions in a major recognized and regular pattern of such penetration through Fox social structure.

For Fox society, a vertical factional cleavage involving a policy of non-cooperation as between active members of opposing factions contributes to the precluding of genuine group collaboration in efforts to solve community problems. However, a serious lack of institutionalized means for the satisfaction of individual needs follows what might be
called a horizontal cleavage, or generational differential, in that this situation is much more characteristic of younger age-grades than it is of older.

For the older age-levels, institutionalized means provide fairly adequate avenues for the satisfaction of traditional values and goals. For the satisfaction of a fairly low level of material wants, there is subsistence farming and occasional traditional religious and social values, there are the clan feasts and dances, with an opportunity for acquiring prestige. For the selection and exercise of leadership, there is the elected council, settling matters of policy in a more or less traditional way of open discussion, resulting quite often in unanimous decisions. Since the majority of the members of these age levels tend to view their community as one with inherited rights to special status and treatment, with little or no participant responsibility, the tribal council as it is in the logical institutionalized manner of dealing with the federal government and its agents.

In the roughly intermediate age-grades, those including thirty to fifty-year-olds, the greatest heterogeneity of goals, values, and standards of conduct is to be found. One related consequence of this is the absence of consistent and successful modification of the behavior of the young adolescent by cultural surrogates, to relate to the needs and roles of others with respect to a shared system of values and goals. For the Fox adolescent, the peer group quite often has a greater role in defining status activity and consequent relationships than do older cultural surrogates.

It is at the post-high-school and early-adult levels that the effects and symptoms of social disorganization are most clearly marked. There has been, on the whole, a greater intimacy of contact between the members of these general age grades and the members of nearby white communities, and upon them has fallen an ever-increasing pressure toward the acceptance of white goals, values, and standards of conduct. In addition, this group feels the effects of an economic and status deprivation which has partially resulted from attitudes formed largely on the basis of past judgments made about the behavior of older Fox by the white people of nearby towns. A confused appreciation of the nature of their over-all problem eventuates in a general tendency to "blame" white society, as they in turn are blamed for their condition, a factor contributing to increasing inter-group tensions.

Going to work outside the reservation is, from one point of view, a reduction to similarity of function, if the individual is oriented inward to the detached, semi-isolated reservation group as that of which he is a member, and that within which he derives his defining relationships. If the job has only reservation meanings, instrumentally defined in terms of operations performed in securing sustenance alone, then the situation resembles that of a group of separate non-organized hunters or gatherers (non-organized as to hunting or gathering). Outside jobs may actually represent little articulation with white community. If one does not look upon the job as part of a larger system within which one is involved, does not envision relationships to others in terms of it, or relative to it, then articulation is qualified to that extent. To most Fox, there are two societies, Indian and white, and he is a member of the former and not a real participant in the latter (which instead is more like something to which
one has relations as a whole) as an integral element or constituent member. There is an awareness of this less than full membership.

This does not mean that a separate complex organization must always exist for the Fox or else the society must be considered to be disorganized, it does suggest that if internal de-organization is not paralleled to some extent with a developing participation in white society at the individual level, Fox society will become essentially a geographically and racially defined special status aggregate, not a "society."

It is reasonable to expect that the influences of the school and the local white community are going to increase rather than decrease in incidence and importance with replacement of generations. In view of the nature of the intra- and inter-community relationships which now make for personal and social disorganization, it is also reasonable to expect that the type of assimilation process which is taking place will continue for some time. If this is so, a most undesirable form of acculturation and assimilation experience can be expected, giving rise to a great deal of personal frustration for some time to come, and very possibly including the emergence of a vicious factor of racial intolerance.

The Engineering-Research Program: Economic Emphasis

In view of what has been said, it seems that the question involved here is no longer one of cultural pluralism vs. assimilation. It seems inevitable that the Mesquakie become more like white people, at least to the extent of the minimum requirements for economic security at a somewhat higher standard of living reasonably soon if an undesirable form of assimilation process is to be avoided. This would require the initiation of new economic enterprises, located to begin with, preferably on the reservation itself. It is doubtful whether such a project would be very successful without the concurrent removal of the Fox from the present special wardship status.

The development and implementation of such a project is probably a matter for the Indian service. In the sections which follow, some suggestions are made as to such a general program for the Fox based upon the data which have been offered, together with a discussion of the opportunities for scientific research open to the social scientist in such a role as social engineer.

Although involving a longer time period, it would probably be better to start with a small scale economic operation--say one involving about ten men. Such a group would be large enough to provide in-group support, and small enough so as not to directly threaten existing power roles, nor to involve too many divergent or opposing points of view or political alignments. The initial year of operation should be seen as more in the nature of a "pilot" study, through which sufficient knowledge would be gained to allow for reliable prediction as to the length of time required to establish the desired economic base and the level of intra-community social relationships hoped for, with satisfactory indications of relative permanency.

A small truck farm project seems reasonable and logical: It would be expandable; could start small and expand considerably (a) through enlarging the number of participants, (b) through the addition of related activities (cannery; frozen foods); it would initially present no marketing problems if done on contract bases. (This has been checked and is possible.)

The prestige of the occupation in the area is relatively high. The activity can be related with local, state, and county organization.
The economic rewards are substantial, and there are available avenues for interaction with many sorts of related occupational associations.

There is a definite relationship between effort and reward. Expansion will enable the development of leadership roles based upon efficiency in a restricted area of activity, not too vague or too general so as to constitute a threat; thus also avoiding conflict by not forcing choice between alternative modes of legitimizing leaders.

This sort of project has the approval of both factions. The effort is in line with already existing skills and community resources.

It is not too expensive to be initiated by the Fox themselves. There are available existing institutions (extension services) ready and willing to provide for gaps in skills and techniques.

However, the general problem is one of motivation as well as of opportunity. While in white society the compulsive performance of institutionalized roles is insured through extensive social pressures to conformity, this is not so for similar roles in Fox society. One of the vicious aspects of a social situation such as the one in which the Fox find themselves is precisely the fact that persons may be very highly motivated to certain goals while this in no way insures a corresponding motivation to the utilization of such means as may be prescribed for the achievement of these goals. The persistent indoctrination and reiteration which makes the acceptance of the necessity of the performance of such roles seem almost of the order of nature, as it were, to members of local white society, is lacking in the life experience of the majority of Fox.

With the announcement of coming Indian Service withdrawal, a major step in the revision of group standards will have been accomplished. Cooperation in ambitious economic enterprises can then be related to the continued existence of the community, and in-group support and an element of prestige obtained.

Since such an action on the part of the Service would probably require an act of Congress, the same proposal should include the repeal of every aspect of the present discriminative Indian liquor laws as applied to the Fox. Not only does this law, at present symbolize the inferiority aspect of a low status position to the Fox and to whites, but its enforcement also precludes an unbelievable amount of informal social interaction between white and Indian in Tama and Toledo. This point can hardly be expressed too strongly.

While the satisfaction of material wants and a higher standard of living are important desired goals, they are also prerequisites for the satisfaction of the goals of social acceptance. Both these sorts of rewards must be forthcoming or the effort will fail, and the relation of the one to the other should be clearly understood, if at all possible, by the Fox participant. The project director will, of course, be in a position to initiate informal social interaction between white and Indian in many more sorts of situations than can be envisioned at the writing of this paper. This calls for on-the-spot initiative which it would serve no useful purpose to anticipate here.

With present knowledge, it is impossible to predict how long it would take to effectively divert the direction of the assimilation process to a more desirable course and to arrive at a level of stability of the social process relatively safe from regression at the withdrawal of outside guidance. However, in terms of gross judgments, it would seem that a period of from six to eight years should allow for sufficient stabilization.
of the developed roles and relationships. This estimate is based in part upon the length of time required to accumulate sufficient funds to allow for the involvement of a significant number of Fox who could be success-
fully motivated to participation, which should be something like four years, and an additional three years for routinization of such roles.

While the development of a program of economic rehabilitation will proceed to a large extent on the bases of ad hoc judgments and deci-
sions, a tentative three-year preliminary outline can be attempted.

For the first year, a truck farm operation involving ten men should begin in early spring. The group should be a cooperative organi-
zation, and should be led to commit itself as to operations in group dis-
cussion. It might be wise to consider one hour's work as representing one "share" of the final net proceeds of the operation, if the group will openly decide upon it. A poultry project may be added if it appears that there would be time available to handle it.

The handicraft group should be activated, and a stand could be erected at the junction of highways 30 and 63. This effort should repre-
sent an attempt to clarify once and for all the possibilities of earning worthwhile amounts of money in handicraft activity. The stone house proj-
ect as it now stands serves as a myth of future tremendous successes which serves to some extent to divert energies from other effort. In the summer a pottery project could be initiated. This should be a cooperative, and financed by individual share purchases to insure serious participation. If possible this project should be one for Fox women.

In the fall, a cooperative grocery store could be started. This should be organized in terms of accepted cooperative principles, and incorpo-
rated. Shares should be sold to individual members, and rebates should be given on the basis of purchase. This type of project affords a good opportunity for group decision, while requiring individual investment, and provides for prestige and leadership positions on a board of directors.

Granted a reasonable success in the truck farm project the first year, there are about thirty men altogether who would probably be glad to join in such an undertaking the second year. If at all possible, the sum of perhaps $500 should have been withheld from distribution, from the pro-
cceeds of the first year's operations, and this should be used to set as many acres of berries as can be handled. These patches will not bear until the third year. Unlike the original truck farm crops, the seed for which is furnished by the contract canner, this effort will have to be financed by the group.

In the spring of that year, an attempt should be made to contract for the sale of canned truck produce to large institutions. One such in-
stitution is located in nearby Toledo. If this arrangement could be made, the present Fox cannery should be rebuilt with funds collected through the sale of shares in another cooperative enterprise. The cooperative type of organization would seem to be quite suited to the Fox in view of their tra-
ditional political power structures. Perhaps the cannery could be managed by Fox women, since they are already familiar with the necessary techniques. As much as is at all possible, all interaction in business arrangements where white persons are involved should be carried out by Fox.

Perhaps by the third year enough money can be raised for the opera-
tion of a frozen foods unit. Frozen berries are a profitable item with a ready market in the area. At this point, those Fox who can be interested in these sorts of activities should already be involved. If by this time it appears genuinely feasible that a large number of Fox can cooperate in a large scale single operation effort, there are several truck garden products
(e.g., peas) which could be grown over the greater part of the arable reservation lands. At this level, such an operation would be highly profitable, whether the product were sold to a contract canner or canned on the reservation itself. However, this sort of general community-wide activity should not be attempted without assurance that qualified leadership is forthcoming for the group from among its members, and that such leadership will be accepted at this point.

The Lewinian concepts of in-group stability based upon commitment, and in-group support should be utilized, and, if possible, the attempt should be made to precipitate a measure of group commitment, not only on the part of those directly involved in some small original productive enterprise with regard to their own efforts, but involving the temporarily non-participating Fox in such approval-commitment, as well as the still larger Fox-Tama-Toledo "group" itself. The documentation of such an effort should be well worthwhile for all who are concerned with the study of the problems involved in the reduction of inter-group tensions, and should provide some important conclusions.

Such a program would require year-around presence of at least one person to provide for necessary continuity and the maintaining of the necessary level of participation in new roles. During some months of the year, an additional four or five graduate students representing various disciplines could join the project, providing help toward its successful conclusion while gaining valuable field work training.

The Engineering-Research Program: Research Emphasis

In addition to what is generally termed a "functional" or "integrational" point of view, the Fox data had been approached from a point of view which sees the social process, from which our concepts of structure are abstracted, as representing a sort of ever-changing manifold having temporal extension, or recurrence in specific events. Behavior is reciprocally modified every day; even subtle changes in such modification may eventuate in changes in social structure as we see it. The factors active in these events are what we are after. We would like to know, for example, whether there are factors inherent in the topological characteristics of given manifolds which the student can reliably identify as eventuating in predictable directions of social change.

What can be learned from such a general effort as has been suggested depends, of course, upon what kinds of questions one can ask and expect to answer, and the relation between these particular questions and suggested answers to more general propositions is one measure of the interaction between science and engineering as activities carried out by the investigator.

One such problem which arises, for example, is that of "cultural pluralism" vs. "assimilation," and this, of course, requires some understanding of the form and direction of change in a given social process. In the case of the Fox, irreversible changes have removed the possibility of this choice. The related problem is now one of concern with the type of assimilation process which is to take place.

Another question, derived from similar concerns, is that of the extent to which administrative policy can be derived from considerations of the goals and values of the subordinate minority community members themselves. The case of the Fox suggests that the question as it stands requires qualification; which of the heterogeneity of goals and values are to be selected? And the answer is suggested in the form, direction and irreversibility of change in the social process. The major goals and values of the post-high-school group will characterize Fox society in time,
and their relative realization will largely define the type of assimilation process which is to take place.

The research student, social engineer, will find himself in a position midway between an emphasis upon patterned or convergent types of phenomena, and concern with unique or divergent types of phenomena characterizing the historical development of the unique human individual. He finds himself, in essence, engineering changes in unique human relationships which he expects will have a predictable bearing on the mass phenomena or configuration of the social process as he sees it.

Persistence or variations in factors influencing recognizable forms of inter-personal relationships are related to stability and persistence as well as to form, rates, and directions of change in social systems. Therefore, it is highly desirable, if not essential, that the social anthropologist direct some effort to the better understanding and description of the social process as revealed directly at the level of the expression of inter-personal relations. Concepts and techniques in this field are notoriously undeveloped, even for those therapeutic situations in which we might expect them to be of the greatest importance. As Reusch and Bateson have put it, in rather extreme terms:

... the modern psychiatrist, for example, interacts with his patients and then makes this interaction the subject of discussion; but he has no language either to describe the events which took place or to express his own feelings about those events.

(Reusch, Jurgen, and Bateson, Gregory [1949] p. 106.)

The social anthropologist in the engineering situation can make significant contributions in this field wherein techniques of observation and interpretation are so sorely lacking in development. The manner in which cultural goals and values are derived and expressed through human interaction is already an area of his greatest concern. It has been demonstrated that purposeful human behavior involves the operation of self-corrective, self-regulating mechanisms through which behavior is modified with reference to a changing condition relative to the goal (or end state) which it is the purpose of the organism to attain. (Rosenbluth, A., Wiener, Norman, and McElroy, J. [1943]; Frank, Lawrence [1948], p. 191.)

The inference of goals and values from observed behavior, and the further inferences as to the manner in which individual goal-directed behavior is modified or conditioned in specific interpersonal relations is, of course, a central problem area in this field. With some knowledge of the nature of socio-cultural systems, together with life-history data of individuals, the social anthropologist in the role of social engineer is unusually favorably situated to contribute to the development of more adequate techniques of observation and interpretation in this significant middle-area of interpersonal relations.

Where factors precipitating specific interaction between persons of known total social positions and characteristic lifegoals are to some extent known, there is the possibility of recognizing stages of process in the development of social institutions. The attempt would be to relate progressive reciprocal modification of the behavior of individuals, through a developing congruency of patterned "adjustment" in the development of roles, to the formation and stabilization of interaction systems, or social substructures, and their internal and external relationships.

Of course, the problem of how certain persons tend to act with reference to what goals in the presence of which people and why, and how this is to be related to larger configurations in developing social systems, is just about as comprehensive and inter-disciplinary as one can get. At the same time, there is little point in giving up at the outset and regarding
the attempt to relate field work effort to the answering of such a list of questions as merely having a sort of heuristic value. In the Fox situation wherein the very diversity of individual life experiences is so complicating a factor, we stand also to gain by a diversity inviting comparisons. It may be that the various projective techniques would provide helpful short-cuts in such an effort.

The above discussion has emphasized the role of the individual as active participator rather than as passive recipient of largely externally originating stimuli. This is in line with a progressive abandonment by personality psychologists generally of the concept of a simple linear causality implied in limited stimulus-response analyses, in favor of what might be called a "configurational-emergent" conception of "causality" in analyses of human behavior. (Frank, Lawrence K. [1934]; also Kluckhohn, C. and H. Murray [1948], pp. 3-32.)

However, the further recognition that in talking about the individual and his environment we are treating of a certain type of system, not of a well-isolated entity acting against a background of social, cultural, and physical environments is also revealed in the increasing incidence of such words and phrases as "mind-body," "psycho-physical," "socio-cultural," "individual-in-society," "psycho-cultural," in social studies, representing a general point of view which has perhaps been most fully explored in the "trans-actional approach" of Dewey and Bentley. A quotation from the latter will be illustrative: (Dewey, John, and A. F. Bentley [1949], p. 138; also see Cantril, H., A. Ames, Jr., A. H. Hastorf, and Wm. H. Ittelson [1949] for a discussion of the application of this approach to the problems of psychology.)

The organism, of course, seems in everyday life and language to stand out strongly apart from the transactions in which it is engaged. This is superficial observation. One reason for it is that the organism is engaged in so many transactions. The higher the organism is in the evolutionary scale, the more complicated are the transactions in which it is involved. Man especially is complex. Suppose a man engaged in but one transaction and that with but one other man, and this all his life long. Would he be viewed in distinction from that transaction or from that other man? Hardly. Much analysis, if an analyzer existed, would at least be necessary to separate him out as a constituent of what went on. A "business man" would not be called a business man at all if he never did any business; yet the very variety of his other transaction is what makes it easy to detach him and specialize him as a "business man." Consider the great variety of his other transactions, and it becomes still easier to make "a man" out of him in the sense of an "essence" or "substance" or "soul" or "mind," after the pattern demanded by the general noun. He comes thus, in the end, to be considered as if he could still be a man without being in any transaction. It is precisely modern science which reverses this process by driving through its examinations more thoroughly.

One consequence of such a general approach is an appreciation of the fact that program of social engineering such as is proposed for the Fox calls for patient reconstruction, not only in terms of the deliberate construction of a "topography" of special conditions (in-group support; structured reward situations, etc.) as bases for effecting stable changes in goal orientation and behavior but also basic, essentially structural changes in what Northrop has called "the traditional universals embodied in the brains of men." (Northrop, F. S. C. [1948], p. 41c.) Recognition of these facts is evident in the following paragraph from Lewin (Lewin, Kurt [1948], p. 68):
Re-education influences conduct only when the new system of values and beliefs dominates the individual's perception. The acceptance of the new system is linked with the acceptance of a specific group, a particular role, a definite source of authority as new points of reference. It is basic for re-education that this linkage between acceptance of new facts or values and acceptance of certain groups or roles is very intimate and that the second is frequently a prerequisite for the first. This explains the great difficulty of changing beliefs and values piecemeal. This linkage is a main factor behind resistance to re-education, but can also be made a powerful means for successful re-education.

Another consequence is the recognition that the role of initiator of planned social change brings up the further problem of the necessity for the inclusion of the investigator as part of the data of observation since he is, presumably, a potent aspect of the interaction situation. However, this is also true of any participant-observation role, with varying degrees of importance in consequences. With the added function of initiator, certain advantages accrue. Thus, such a planned effort includes an ordering of events with reference to known similarities in types of recurring situations.

In the necessity for appreciation of total context in such an attempt to stabilize developing new common understandings and patterned behavior, the anthropologist's traditional concern with a total culture or social system is a distinct requirement.

Of course, it is all very well to speak enthusiastically of "new points of view," while it is something else again to translate them into field work practice. However, in the attempt to relate individual goal-directed behavior to major factors seen as significant variables in general social situations the anthropologist has an opportunity to both contribute to this translation and to help to remove the study of societies in transition more comfortably away from a sort of helpless witnessing of apparently fortuitous events in an anthropological no man's land.

That understanding gained in such an effort as has been suggested will stand to gain considerably from comparative material derived from similar efforts, on almost any scale, in similar situations, goes without saying. Situations of this general type are numerous enough in the Indian population of the United States alone to make similar studies in situations characterized by important differences in terms of significant major variables both possible and extremely rewarding. Comparisons with situations generally similar, but with more adequate economic bases, would be an obvious starting point.

The problems chosen for discussion here are but illustrative of the many which present themselves for the research aspect of the project as proposed. In view of this fact, together with the fact that situations such as that of the Fox represent a problem of a sort general in our society today, also among the most pressing of those in the world in which we live, the nature of the interaction between social engineering and social science research has a third dimension—that of the relation of the social scientist to the rest of humanity.

Summary

A summary discussion of contemporary Fox social organization has been presented. It was concluded that Fox society today is characterized by a developing social disorganization, found to reveal both form and direction in the on-going social process which is the social system of the Fox.
In terms of form, a generational differential was found in which for the older age levels institutionalized means provide fairly adequate avenues for the satisfaction of traditional goals, while for intermediate and younger age levels there is a progressive decrease in the availability of such institutionalized means.

In terms of direction, the influence of the local representatives of white society and of the several schools in the inculcation of new wants and values for the satisfaction of which there is little available institutionalized provision were seen to progressively characterize the society with the simple replacement of generations. A heterogeneity of goals and values was found most characteristic of those of intermediate age levels, and the lack of consistent coherent social pressures to reinforce the moral precepts pressed upon the growing child in the family situation was related to an increasing difficulty in the maintenance of the validity of shared goals and values.

Selected major economic, political, and religious goals as most consistently pressed upon Fox society by representatives of white society were discussed, and a typology of individual adjustment to assimilation pressures in terms of these selected goals was offered.

It is suggested that a program of combined social engineering and social science research could be carried out which would be rewarding in both fields. A tentative outline is offered for a program of economic rehabilitation through which a measure of community integration in political and economic activity could be realized through cooperative production in reservation based enterprises. A higher material standard of living for the Fox is seen as basic to the accomplishment of a measure of social equality and social acceptance by representatives of local white society, which would halt a growing social, and possibly racial, intolerance in an undesirable type of assimilation process.

Some research problems are mentioned, as examples of those which arise through the questions, asked during the attempted implementation of such a project, to illustrate the interaction between social engineering and social science research in this particular type of investigation situation within which is also involved an explicit value position on the part of the student. The problems are felt to be of the sort which are related to the development of general propositions.

In view of this fact, and in view of the fact that the type of minority group of which the Fox situation is an example is an important and pressing one in our society, it is concluded that the project as proposed could be of considerable importance.
For accidental and purposeful reasons, the Fox project did not remain the set of ideas and planned activities which emerged out of the thinking of its first phase. In this second phase four studies and three partly accidental experiences led to a very different conception of the activities which would best serve the Fox and science. Developments at the Ft. Berthold Indian Reservation in North Dakota led to the involvement there of some members of the Fox project group. Walter Miller returned to the Fox community and finished his study of Fox patterns of authority. Tax gathered together the loose ends of the thinking to date in his publication "Action Anthropology," and a variety of latent ideas and accidental experiences led him to a new hypothesis on acculturation. Another student went to Philadelphia and went to work with an immigrant Kalmuk group. Paul Diesing, a Ph.D. candidate in philosophy in the University of Chicago, did an analysis of the first phase of the Fox project which made explicit and resolved certain contradictions. And anthropologists in the Fox community became involved in a Fox-Indian Service dispute over the Fox school. These several things led to the formulation of the project which contrasts with earlier formulations and which is the present state of thinking.

This later thinking contrasts with that of the first phase in three main dimensions. First, due to a variety of experiences of the effects of administrative power over cultural enclaves, there was a shift, in point of emphasis, away from the conception of the Fox as passively having things done to them by white contact, and toward the Fox as actively doing things, already and always, in adapting to that new environment. The new conception led to the decision that future project activities be undertaken completely removed from any source of coercive power. Second, due to an ordering of earlier ideas about action-research and a very new idea about acculturation, education of Indians and whites about each other, rather than economic programs for the Fox came to be seen as the central activity. From that, the things to be learned were questions concerning the channels of communication, readiness for and resistance to ideas, and the relations between ideas and behavior. And third, due importantly to an anthropological analysis and a philosophical study and to the above separation from coercive power, the means-ends concept was largely discarded. That permitted a resolution of the "logically insoluble" values question of the first phase: now the project clearly held itself responsive only to Fox ends and could logically state how.

All three shifts called for, and partly reflected, a re-look at Fox life and Fox problems. As the Fox came to be seen as active agents, the possibility was raised that their adjustment to contact was already the best possible. If that were so, and if there were discontents in spite of it, then the problem lay somewhere in the situation beyond Fox control, in some conflicting combination of demands being made of the Fox by the larger society. And the hope was that those impossible demands are not inherently necessary.

The three shifts seem compatible with one another. The inference is possible that, in spite of their several apparent origins, the basic drive to this combination rather than some other came from the value judgment that the Fox should decide their destiny and the unsatisfied urge to make that judgment logically coherent and thereby communicable. The project could have made assumptions about human nature and deduced from them a logically consistent, humane rationale for coercion; others have.
Involvements in a new situation

In the fall of 1949, conversations, initiated by Galen Weaver of the Race Relations Department of the Congregational Church's Board of Home Missions were begun which led two participants in the Fox project into a situation developing at the Ft. Berthold Indian Reservation in North Dakota. In September of 1950, Robert Rietz, who had spent two summers in the Fox community, and Robert Merrill, a student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago who had been conversant with the activities in the Fox community, went to the Ft. Berthold Reservation. Merrill studied there four months, and Rietz, as an Indian Service employee, remained four years.

The exchange of correspondence between Merrill and Tax, Exhibits 18, 19, and 20, shows how the experience of the contrasting positions held by Rietz and Merrill vis-à-vis the Indian community led to a clarification of the position desired for members of the Fox program vis-à-vis the Fox community. Basically it is a question of the anthropologist's position inside or outside the administrative body and, stated otherwise, the effects of the power of that administrative body. Conversely, it is also a question of the relations of the anthropologist to the academic community.

During the summer of 1950, there were only occasional visits to the Fox community.

Exhibit 18
University of California
Department of Anthropology
Berkeley 4, California
Saturday morning Sept. 2 [1950]

Dear Bob [Merrill]:

... The report troubles me in some respects, however. It suffers (I think) from not having an audience. Or if it has a reader in mind, I don't know who it is. Possibly you intended this for the "public document"; but in that case I think it requires a series of private accompanying documents depending on the readers. For example, Weaver ought to be told something of what the difficulties with the present plans appear to be. Now you hint at them, vaguely, but you don't come down to the concrete. From the bottom of page 8 to the middle of page 11 there is an excellent outline of the bases of the difficulties; I like it; but I am able to read between the lines, and I am not sure if Weaver can or will—or whether he will do so accurately. I think you must be considerably more candid and open—even if that requires a letter to accompany the general document. Perhaps that is the best plan to perfect this as a general statement that the Indian service people, the council, the yeses and the no's alike, and anybody else can read—and then to explain it in appropriate ways to different people. But I think Weaver ought to have something more than this as it stands.

I think that your discussion of the action-research is good, and what you propose to do specifically seems wise to me. However, I worry a little about discussion of the division of labor between you and Rietz. And that brings up my second major worry about the paper as a whole, coming back to the first section on "Role of the Applied Social Scientist." Again I have to read between the lines, and I wonder if we see eye to eye on the problem. The basic value premise I share. The statement that follows about "final decisions" I don't quite understand. I ask you two questions, for clarification: (1) What if you are convinced of the necessity for decision A and the Indian agent or commissioner—and/or the Indian
party-in-power—decides on A'; assume that you have stated your case and
done everything possible in the way of communicating your reasons and at-
ttempting to persuade by discussion, what do you do? What if it is the
Indian Service vs. the people whom you have persuaded? (2) What's the
difference between your role and that of Rietz? Rietz is an employee. If
faced with question (1) he would have a choice of resigning or conforming
and working to put into effect the (in his judgment) bad decision. What
would be your choice?

This is one of the things we must try to work out. I do not know
the answer, but your statement is possibly misleading. I would rather see
the issue faced, maybe discussed, and perhaps left with a question. But
I do not like the thing left as if you and Rietz are in the same position,
with only the accident of source of funds distinguishing you. The very
last sentence of the paper shows that you probably are agreeing with me.
But again there is such vagueness that Weaver would probably pass it over
and it may very well be that he will conclude that since—indirectly
through his efforts—Rietz is now on the job, he needn't worry more to
get an "independent" appraisal or integration.

Please realize that when I talk about "vagueness" I realize that
it is purposeful on your part. I am not suggesting either that you think
or that you write "vaguely." There is a real problem here of communica-
tion, and substantive issues of what one ought to say to whom. So I come
back to the problem of an audience. I think I would be happier, on the
whole, if you had imagined as your audience a group of students (colleagues);
for them a spade would be a spade. Then you could have "watered this down,"
for general consumption. But I suppose it amounts to the same thing (and
may be better) to write a general report as you have done, and attach cov-
ering letters for your colleagues or for Weaver or others.

... With best wishes, regards, etc. to you both from us all.

Sol [Tax]

September 29, 1950

Exhibit 19

Dear Sol [Tax]:

I'm dreadfully sorry I'm so late writing. I planned to write much
sooner and tell you the situation and my plans about the paper and other
things, but Quinn has been sitting on the paper for some time and I didn't
want to give you a schedule on that till he'd completed going over it be-
cause he's been working hard on it and I wanted his ideas. Now he's gone
off and won't be back till Sunday, but I hope he'll be done by the first
of the week. It will then take me about a week to do the revision. The
revision will be fairly extensive because of the way the situation is go-
ing which I'll now explain.

On the economic planning a number of things have changed or are
changing. The Western Segment, they are now discovering and as I and some
others suspected, doesn't look anywhere near as inviting as they thought.
They're now thinking of it supporting 40-50 families rather than over 100
in cattle—and there may be shift upward in the amount of cattle per fami-
ly planned—people are vague on that. They also realise the isolation
from the outside and the sparseness of settlement involved there, so Reifel
et al. think of putting their best families there because they can more or
less take care of themselves. Their answer to the obvious land shortage
however, is not to intensify the search for additional land, but to consid-
or pushing hard for the placement off the reservation of a large number of
families—ca. 100 or more, though only about 40 said they wanted to go off.
The additional ones are to be those "susceptible" to placement—which apparently means they don't know what else to do with them. This still leaves an unmentioned group of 75-100 that people don't want to talk about—their notion seems to be that these are lease people who will want to sell their land and that the money they'll get will take care of them for a while. No real thinking about the "incompetents," except placement, seems to be going on. No families are moving this fall.

The second main economic thing is the change in the council and its implications for the use of the tribal money. 7 new council members were elected, including Martin Cross and the council is now 5-5 yes and no. They split even in trying to choose a chairman between Carl and Martin, and so had a referendum which Martin won 323 to 225, last Tuesday. Because of the delay in getting a chairman, the new council isn't organized and functioning yet... Therefore per capita is now officially and strongly in the picture, and though Quinn will try to "educate" some of the new people to a program with the help of Carl and Ben Youngbird and may well succeed, they won't be able to do much with Martin with the techniques they plan to use so there's some hope the Council at least will get people to face squarely the issue of what to do about people who aren't susceptible to loans and maybe get some of the Agency people to think about the advantages and disadvantages of a per capita which may well come—Reifel tried that when he was here, but didn't succeed very well. He pointed out how having a per capita would resolve a lot of hostility about distribution, etc. and that regulations on its use would undoubtedly be made by Congress or the Secretary of Interior, but the other people seemed very anxious about the loss of control involved (except Clyde).

The third main thing is how Rietz is working into the situation. He is doing excellently, and I greatly admire his skill with people, his ideas, and how he uses them. I think he's doing the best job that could be done in the situation, but what can be done doesn't fit either his or my ideas of the ideal way a community analyst should work, though it has advantages of its own. Both Reifel and Quinn had vague but in a way definite ideas of what he should do and the involve a lot of administrative responsibility. Since even Reifel apparently cannot think very much of set-ups which involve little or no control not backed up by administrative sanctions, our idea of getting the people to do a lot of things, though sometimes accepted verbally, isn't accepted in concrete cases, at least yet, and that will only change slowly. That, coupled with the staff shortage has resulted in the following definition of Bob's role. He's now putting out a weekly agency news bulletin—getting the people to take over the responsibility and having it out of agency control just didn't pan out, though he hopes to gradually change things. Next, he's to be Quinn's "Field Assistant"—which apparently means he's to go into the districts and explain to people what's going on—i.e., take over the role Reifel started this summer—hear their complaints and plans, etc. In other words, be a combination of Tribal Relations Officer (they may be still trying to get such an officer, but it must be stymied somehow) and do Quinn's contact with the reservation people since he feels he's got to do a lot of off-reservation contact work with county, state, etc. and higher Ind. Serv. echelons. (Basically, I think, he just doesn't like that contact work on the reservation and so splits his job that way—he does have too much to do.) This "Field Assistant" aspect hasn't developed yet, so I can't tell exactly how far it will go—but Quinn, I think, will try to push as much administrative work of that sort on Bob as he can, while Bob will try to minimize that and maximize participation by the people, as well as get some research done. He is also supposed to develop "community services" though just what this involves isn't yet clear.
He has been able to work in some research plans, and has been doing a great deal of educational work in talking with the Agency. He hasn't seen any Indians except Agenoy employees and Council members—and not much of the latter except Carl, but he should shake loose from Elbowoods in about a week. For research, we're developing a sociometric test to be given in the reservation and surrounding white schools along with other tests Frances Cushman is giving as part of planning the educational set-up for the future Reservation. Also, he discovered the survey records that Mac- Gregor made are here and they turn out to be fuller than I thought, so we're trying to figure out how to get a lot of the basic data compiled to correlate with the sociometric data, school grades, etc. Quinn also wants for him to go over the welfare cases and see what cockles there. Getting out the news bulletin has enabled him to get a good picture of how the Agency and Agenoy community works here at Elbowoods, but he hasn't seen much of their field work. He's also got at least some of the Agenoy people to keep records of who comes in and about what which should reveal some interesting patterns about areas of anxiety and lines of communication. He feels that whatever he does, he'll get a lot of information, at least about how administrators deal with social scientists, so he isn't too worried about how his role shapes up.

It seems to me, under these circumstances, the best thing I can do is get as much "basic research" done as possible, particularly that involving the Indian as against the Agency community, since this is what Quinn et al. understand least and so do not give Bob too much of a chance to do. This is what I've been trying to do as well as get Agency ideas about what they're going to do and how they fit Bob in. I am going to continue to focus on the economic behavior problem, but to do that I'm trying to get at some of the informal social structure. Bob has been in a position to pick up a lot on the formal structure so we'll be able to put the two together. But I've found, as I guess everyone finds, that you can't do much without a census map, and since I also need economic background and behavior data, I've decided to get that together from the records so both of us can use it—Bob hadn't yet got secretarial help to do that. This should take about a week. The chief gap so far is lack of educational and health data, but we may be able to find something. I've already gotten enough social structure data so that by pulling the background data and that together, I should be able to focus on some specific hypotheses. With the emphasis on placement, which may turn out to be necessary, together with the fact that they're thinking of dorms in surrounding towns to house kids while they go to white schools and various other possible transfers of functions to county and state organizations, either or both of us should try to get a picture of what has happened to people who have gone off to live in towns. I haven't thought very far on that yet.

Now, back to the paper. I've been thinking a lot about it, and am still dissatisfied with my notions on revision. I strongly hesitate to make an elaborate listing of problems as in the economic outline I sent, and with the problems and plans in such flux, I somewhat question its usefulness if I thought I had enough data to do it accurately. But I agree that my efforts at generalizing the problems weren't clear or specific enough. It comes to me that perhaps the thing to do is to define the problems around a revised and somewhat elaborated analysis of underlying patterns based on pp. 8-11, rather than let it sit off by itself. But I will have to emphasize strongly its tentative character. I also think I should focus more strongly on "social" rather than technical problems making a selection that will be somewhat arbitrary but present reasons—such as the dependence of technical needs on a diagnosis of underlying problems. Since Bob's role has crystallized, that can be presented more specifically and has more arguing points for continuing my sort of work.
than I thought it would have. Also, I think I should stress more the
gen-eral implications of the work so we can explore a broader base of support
—also because I've become very aware of how little, as far as I can tell,
anyone knows about the conditions favoring and hindering smooth and success-
ful acculturation. Do you know of any analysis based on cross comparisons
to test specific hypotheses about the factors underlying differential acoul-
turation in a relatively homogeneous group? There are lots of general ideas,
but I don't recall and can't find any that have been carefully checked in a
specific situation. It's this sort of knowledge you need if you're going
do any planning based on evidence. I don't think MacGregor on the Sioux
or the people on the Papago come very close. At least I can't find in them
evidence for evaluating various rehabilitation plans, and particularly no
evidence that would convince an administrator (nor even evidence to ac-
count for the differences they do observe.) But I need to think about this
more.

So it goes. I don't have notes to send you because I've been taking
them on slips in ink and trying to work out a way of classifying them so
they're easily available and usable while in the field. As soon as I get
a way that seems to work, I'll start typing them. I'm enjoying myself very
much, but wish every minute I were six people so I could do all the things
that need to be done. My regards to everyone.

Sincerely,
Bob [Merrill]

Exhibit 20

Dear Bob [Merrill]:

... I was very well impressed by your letter. Your thinking
on the matters I raised seems to me thoroughly sound, even though (like
you) I keep my fingers crossed on the whole business. I think we ought to
look at the Fox and the Berthold projects as an experience in which as much
as anything else we are exploring the usefulness of various roles that so-
cial scientists can play in a democratic society. Obviously neither you
nor Rietz ought to become an "administrator" in the Berthold situation; we
have seen anthropologists as administrators ... and there is little doubt
that they cease being anthropologists, even though (who knows?) they may be
better administrators because of their anthropological training. Are we
spoiling an anthropologist by getting Rietz on the Indian Service payroll?
(In this case no, because it is Rietz—and he won't be spoiled—but then do
we put him in an untenable position?) Can't we have a class of people who
are paid by a bureaucracy to help it while not being part of it? If I re-
call correctly, the Army likes civilian technical personnel; why? At the
same time can't the University or academic community play an active role be-
yond the roles its members may play as "citizens," and mightn't the outside-
of-the-bureaucracy social scientist in government employ maintain a connec-
tion with the academic community who on the one hand criticize and help him
and on the other support him in his position as a free academician-technician.
Maybe as we work along in Berthold ideas will crystallize that might prove
generally useful.

As far as you are concerned, you should obviously do only what you
think proper to do. You do not have to worry about what I shall think in
addition to what all the other parties involved will think. I think that
a major factor is and ought to be your sense of responsibility as a scien-
tist, so that in a general way you will of course worry about what your
colleagues think. But after you have taken into account such possible
differences as you may determine exist, you must still act on your own conclusion. And I would of course respect your decision and hope that you are right. That must be the relationship in the academic community (different enough from a bureaucracy!) if it is to function freely. Fort Berthold is really your responsibility because you know most about it. All that I (and others at Chicago) can do is discuss and question, to help you clarify your own mind. That was the purpose of my questions about your paper, and they were as successful as I had hoped. I think you have made important headway.

I think there is every motive for getting out your paper as soon as you can. For one thing, of course, action is urgent and the situation may get farther and farther committed in "wrong" directions. For another, you oughtn't to lose the benefit to your position of the very good ideas that you have. It seems to me that if you work out your paper while at Berthold in the next week or two, you have the further advantage of working it out with some of the important people in the situation—Whitman, Reifel, and others. You can discuss your tentative draft with them and at once get needed criticism and initial acceptance. If you say it must be ready in a week or two, there will be a sense of urgency, as well as an excuse of haste if somebody's ideas don't enter too fully into your draft. By the time you get this letter you will probably have determined your course of action.

As for "criteria of verification"—I doubt if any except too general ones will ever appear. When the hourglass sand runs out, your best convictions of what is "probable" will have to do!

Your outline on the Economy is most admirable; and your suggestions for revision seem to be in general excellent. . . .

Sol [Tax]

**More Fox theory**

In the summer of 1951 Walter Miller returned to the Fox community to continue his study of Fox patterns of authority. He remained through the summer and until Christmas. The paper, "Authority and Collective Action in Fox Society," Exhibit 21, resulted. Miller was accompanied at different times by Claude Tardita, Florence Simon, and William McCormack. There were no activities, that summer in pursuance of the proposed program as outlined by Rietz.

Miller's analysis of patterns of personal relations was one important factor which led to a later rejection of the means-end model central in the thinking of the first phase of the project.

**Exhibit 21**

**AUTHORITY AND COLLECTIVE ACTION IN FOX SOCIETY**

Walter B. Miller

We were once powerful; we conquered many other nations, and our fathers conquered this land. . . . This is the only country we have left and we are so few now we cannot conquer other countries. You now see me and all my people. We are but a few, and are fast melting away. We do not wish any more proposals made to us.

— Wapello: A Fox Chief

In the days when the Fox Indians stalked wild game through the low rolling hills and forests of the Eastern Woodlands, or planted maize by the banks of the river that skirted their village, their chief and their council served at once as a sensitive gauge to the will of the people, and
as the instrument which enabled the tribe to act together. The line separating the people from its council was blurred and tenuous, and the chief was a porous vessel through which flowed the will of the tribe. The right of the council to act for all the people was unquestioned. It had been granted and was sustained by the sacred power of the gods and was accepted and supported by all the people.

The Fox were a proud and independent people, and they recognized no sovereignty beyond that of their own chief and council. They maintained a system of authority which enabled the people to act together effectively, to worship their gods, to fight their enemies, to plan their future and resolve their differences, to support their code of laws, and morals, to gain their livelihood from the rich and fertile land where they lived.

Today, all this is changed. The outstanding social and political fact in Fox life is that they are a subordinate and a dependent people; a once autonomous political unit, now surrounded on all sides by a vast sea of alien conquerors; conquerors on whom they must depend for the satisfaction of their needs, and to whose ideals and morals and values they must, perforce, accommodate themselves. It is within the matrix of this situation—a once autonomous people, now subordinate to anational entity vastly superior in power and numbers—that the Fox must carry on the activities which make up their daily lives, and exercise that authority permitted them to secure their execution.

Were you to visit the present day Fox settlement during the bright, warm days of late August, you would find yourself in the midst of a colorful and impressive exhibition of organized activity. This is the "Pow-wow," a four day public celebration put on each year by the Fox. You would see Indians directing traffic, ushering and seating a large crowd of white visitors, collecting admission, selling souvenirs, staging a program of native music and dances. You would realize that this was an enterprise that required the coordination of considerable numbers of people; detailed advanced planning; arrangements as to publicity and accommodations; collection and disbursement of funds. It would seem evident that the direction of this enterprise lay in the hands of an efficient and well organized administrative body; a group capable of initiating a complex enterprise and exercising the authority necessary to see it through successfully.

However, if you were to drive along the busy East-West highway, a scant half mile from the packed automobiles, the whirling dancers, the crowd of spectators, you would pass, perhaps without noticing it, a sizable well-built stone structure, encircled by a firm gravel road—completely deserted. There is no glass in its windows; no floor over its black dirt base; no smoke rising from its broad chimneys. The Indians call it the "Stone House." It was built in 1941 for the use of the Fox. Located directly on heavily travelled route thirty, it would make an ideal souvenir stand, service station, lunch counter; it is large enough to be all three. For years, the Indians have planned, discussed, debated the possibility of putting the Stone House to use, and the means to do so. But at no time have they been able to institute or organize the administrative machinery necessary to direct and coordinate group action toward the end of utilizing the Stone House. There it stands, deserted, a monument to the apparent inability of the Fox to organize and execute a group project.

This striking contrast between the Pow-wow, vital and competently managed, and the Stone House, deserted and unused, vividly points up a disturbing dilemma. Why are the Fox successful in running and managing one kind of group enterprise, while in others they appear completely immobilized and ineffective?
We are going to examine this problem from the point of view of the exercise of authority in Fox society. Reitz and Peattie, in discussing this question, have shown how confusion and uncertainty as to the desirable ends of action have hindered and disrupted collective action by the Fox. We will turn our attention here to another aspect of the same problem—the question of means. It is not only because the Fox are frequently unable to agree on what ends are worthwhile that causes them so much difficulty, but also because they are so often unable to set up and maintain the means necessary to attain even those ends that they agree are highly desirable. An essential component of the means by which human groups coordinate their actions is the exercise of authority, and it is around this area that we will center our discussion. We will discuss the concept of authority shortly, but for the time being we can define authority, roughly, as the validated right of an individual or group to perform those functions necessary to coordinate collective action, enforce norms, and maintain essential services for a social group. We can rephrase our problem in a more general way to read: "What constitutes effective authority in Fox society?"

The system of authority exercise that prevails in the present day Fox community is a hybrid. The Fox have been subjected for two hundred years to the purposeful and unrelenting pressures of a powerful Pygmalion—a proselytizing giant who has been unyielding in his attempts to mold the Fox into his own image. The present system, then, is a heterogeneous, unbalanced patchwork of native and American-Westernized elements. Its most striking characteristic is the extent to which native elements have persisted in the face of such powerful pressures.

The five hundred people of the Fox community are today involved in a gigantic administrative bureaucracy; the Fox are the lowest echelon in a chain of command extending through the United States Department of the Interior, the United States Indian Service, and areal administrative office, an areal sub-agency, their own local administrative office, and finally to their own elected council. The 3,500 acres of the Fox settlement, roughly the size of an Iowa township, form no areal unit in an administrative jurisdictional system which includes Tama County, Iowa, the State of Iowa, and the Government of the United States. Contrasted to the political system of the tribe of hunters and small-scale agriculturalists who possessed the fertile woodlands of the eastern United States long before the coming of the whites, the government of the industrialized bureaucracy that now surrounds them appears as a veritable model of concentrated, high intensity authority. And the net result of contact with and pressures from these whites and their government has been to convert a political system which was once genuinely democratic, in the ideal sense, to one which is far less so.

The whole system of authority of aboriginal Fox society was geared to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of any one organ or position of authority. This was done by the use of a number of devices which were established by tradition, validated by the support of the gods, and sustained by the attitudes of the people. In one sense, the Fox were zealously individualistic, and bitterly resented and resisted any attempt to lessen what they considered their god-given right of self direction in another sense, they were selfless altruists who held as a shining ideal, "the good of all the people," and were ready to sacrifice personal interests and private rights to the almost personified ideal of community welfare.

The basic conditions of Fox life have changed radically in the past 200 years. The system of political authority that enabled a small,
independent, semi-nomadic group to adapt itself to its environment is necessarily inadequate to enable the tribe to function as a small subordinate political sub-unit in a vast bureaucracy, with a different culture and different values. But if we are to understand the operation of the present-day system of authority, it is important that we have some idea of the way it operated before the coming of the white man. Elements of this system and the attitudes associated with them still exert a significant influence on the conduct of present-day affairs.

Features of the Aboriginal Authority System

[The following section is abstracted from the author's fuller account—"The Authority System of Aboriginal Fox Society" (on file in Fox MS files, University of Chicago.)]

Aboriginally the Fox were a tribe of Indians speaking the Algonkin language, and living in the woodlands of northeastern United States. The tribe was never large—it probably averaged around two thousand people. They lived by hunting and small-scale agriculture. In the summer the people lived in three or four separate villages, usually by a river bank. In the winter they left their villages and hunted small game in the surrounding territory. They were an extremely religious people; much of their time was devoted to religious activities, and religious ritual played a large part in economic and political activity as well. They carried on sporadic, small-scale warfare with neighboring tribes, neither for conquest nor for land, but for the prestige that success in war gave to the young men. The basis of their social organization was a number of totemic sub-groups, or clans, and these groups formed the basis for many of their group activities.

Locus of authority.—The tribal council was the primary organ of authority. It was a truly representative group, since it was composed of the head men of each extended family grouping or clan that made up the tribe. Thus everyone in the tribe was represented on the council by a member of his own family. The basic mechanism of decision-making and policy formulation was the unanimous agreement of council members. The process of discussion and debate that led up to the final policy decision was long and leisurely, and usually included a good deal of informal discussion both between the council members themselves and between the councilmen and other members of the tribe. Thus a completed and unanimously-agreed-to decision generally took into account the wishes and opinions of all parties concerned. The most important feature of the council was that it was "representative"; the interests of each individual were cared for by someone who knew him. But this was not enough. For the Fox, the true "locus" of authority did not reside in any governing body, or monarch, or ruling class. It resided in the people themselves. When decisions were called for that affected the whole tribe, a mass-meeting of all the people was called, and all were free to participate.

Positions of authority.—There were few formal offices, or authority roles, and these were distinguished by the extent to which their powers were limited and circumscribed. The holder of a permanent authority role could exercise an extremely small amount of real authority; the tenure of a role-holder whose functions involved any considerable degree of real authority was strictly limited in duration. The two primary authority roles were those of War-chief and Peace-chief. The Peace-chief, or Village chief, acted as the presiding officer of the council, but his influence, in council affairs, was not greater thereby than that of the other councilmen. He served also, for the tribe, as the visible symbol of their unity and identity as a group, and was expected to act, at all
times, in accordance with the tribal conception of the good, wise, and just man. The position of Peace-chief was hereditary in the Bear clan, and his descent from the supernatural totem of the clan at once granted him the charter to hold his position, obligated him to adhere to the moral commandments of the tribal deities, and assured him of their support, so long as he acted for the common good. Primogeniture, however, was never adhered to rigidly. The right to hold the position of Peace-chief was always subject to the approval of the council.

The role of War-chief was open to any adult male who could enlist the support of a group of followers. He could attain this by demonstrating a combination of proven ability in warfare or the hunt and the assured support of supernatural spirits, which was sought by the war leader through a vision induced by ritualized fasting. During the course of a war-party or hunt the War-chief could exercise directive functions involving considerable authority. But war parties were small, generally not exceeding a dozen men, and the men could repudiate the authority of their leader at any time they saw fit. In addition, the prerogative of the War-chief to exercise these directive functions even for so small a group was strictly limited in time. His authority prerogatives were limited to the duration of the war activity itself, and the return of a war-party to the village was marked by a ritual during which the temporary authority of the War-chief was vividly and explicitly revoked, and the superior authority of the council symbolically reasserted.

A third authority role was that of Ceremony-leader. This role was even more limited in its scope than that of Peace-chief. The Ceremony-leader acted primarily to guide people through the phases of one of the numerous religious rituals whose occurrence was a frequent and important feature of Fox life. But the essential procedures of these rituals had been established by tradition and were known by all, so the authority of the Ceremony-leader was confined to directing the participants in a ceremony, by means of signals, through the various ritual episodes. This extremely limited authority was limited still further by the fact that the performance of the functions of the ceremony leader did not extend beyond the staging of ceremonial.

Thus the aboriginal system of authority roles prevented the concentrated exercise of authority by three main devices: roles involving the exercise of authority were few in number; individuals who held a role permanently or by right of birth were strictly limited in the amount of power they could exercise; individuals who could exercise any considerable amount of power could occupy their roles for limited periods of time only, and incumbency was always contingent on acceptable performance of their duties.

In addition to the tendency to limit the authority of individuals, there was very little tendency to form or maintain permanent groups to pursue special group interests. The extended family, or clan, was the basic unit for economic or religious groupings; groups formed on a non-kinship basis, such as war-parties or hunting parties, were temporary, and with fluctuating personnel; associations, special societies, special interest groups, played a small part in aboriginal Fox life.

Nor did there exist anything like social classes. In fact, there was a remarkable degree of equality, of rights and of status, among members of the tribe. People of all ages and both sexes were accorded a high degree of respect. Age-grading was weakly formalized, and women, although formally in a position of subordination, could actually exercise a good deal of influence if they were capable. The few captives taken in war were not put into a permanent "slave" class, but were permitted to marry into the tribe, and their children were tribal members with full rights.
There were practices that prevented the passing on to his children of the property or prestige that a man might accumulate during his lifetime. Individual land ownership was unknown, and the personal property of an individual, his tools, his clothes, his belongings, were distributed, at his death, to the people who assisted at his funeral. Thus the accumulation of family property was made impossible.

The co-ordination of action. — Most of the subsistence activities of the Fox—small-scale agriculture, hunting and trapping—were carried on by individuals or small family groups. For other activities, such as war-parties, group games, tribal movements and religious rituals, collective action by larger groups was called for. People were able to act together in these activities because they were familiar and recurrent; their basic procedures had been established by tradition, and all the participants knew what they were. Each person knew his job, and how it fitted in with the actions of others. This meant that collective action was co-ordinated with very little overt direction by a person in authority. People knew what to do, and went ahead and did it without being told. This was possible because few of these collective activities involved anything new, and all the people shared a common tradition which told them how to act in each such situation. In addition, the largest of these groups were quite small by our standards; a war-party rarely involved more than ten or fifteen men, and a village, the largest group that regularly acted as a collective unit, rarely exceeded 200 adults. In this way, people were able to carry on group activities with very little direction; the function of persons in authority was limited mostly to giving signals to the group as to when various phases of the action started or ended; very little real formulation of action or decision making was involved.

The validation of authority. — Why did people accept the authority of the council, the war chief, the village chief? People would accept the authority of a leader or of a group if they were convinced of his Competency to do the job involved; if he represented and acted in accordance with the wishes of the group he directed, and if they knew that his right to lead had been granted and was supported by supernatural forces. All three of these factors, operating together, were influential in determining whether authority would be accepted; but the most important factor was that of supernatural support of an individual or group in authority. The Peace-chief or Village-chief was felt to be the direct descendant of a powerful god, from whom he derived the right to his position and whose power he shared. A War-chief was granted the right to lead a war-party only if he had been able to obtain—through visions induced by fasting—assurance from the gods that his mission would be favored by supernatural support. The council, in conducting its activities, leaned heavily on advice and guidance from the supernatural, and made certain by rites and prayers that its decisions were approved by the gods. In addition, the question of Competence was closely associated with the support of the supernatural; if a war-party leader or a hunt-leader failed to produce the goods, it was believed that his supporting spirits had deserted him, and that his failures were a sign that he had lost supernaturally-granted power.

The factor of group support was also highly important in determining whether authority would be accepted. Even if a leader or the council were competent, if they acted in any way contrary to the wishes of the group they led, or a part of that group, they would find that those people refused to follow them, or accept their direction. The Fox did not accept direction out of a blind "respect" for authority, or through fear of force; to keep a position of authority, a man had to act in accordance with the wishes and desires of the people he led; otherwise, they would refuse to follow him.
Supernatural support, competence, support of the people—these determined whether people would accept the exercise of authority, and each factor was intimately related to the others.

Attitudes to authority.—We have seen how the Fox system of authority operated to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of any individual or small group; the Fox believed that the right to exercise authority was derived from the supernatural, and resided diffusely among "all the people." To support this system, and maintain this belief, there existed among the people definite attitudes towards authority and collective action. The people resented attempts by a person in a position of authority to exercise any real power. An individual who attempted to exceed the amount of authority considered appropriate to his position was subject first to vicious gossip and accusations of witchcraft, later to withdrawal of support, and finally to rejection by the group. Corresponding to this resentment by the people of the authoritarian behavior was a reluctance on the part of individuals to accept positions of authority. The standard attitude expressed by a person called upon to assume authority was: "I really don't want the job—but if the people really need me, it's my duty to accept." The people zealously guarded their right to self-direction; they were "individualistic" in that they preferred to carry on their activities and co-ordinate their actions by following, as individuals, practices and procedures that were commonly known, rather than by submitting to direct authority.

At the same time they were "collectivistic" in that the "welfare of the people" was a paramount value for them; each person was deeply aware that "the people"—the group of his own kinmen and neighbors—was a vitally influential force in his own life, and one to whose welfare his own desires frequently had to be subordinated. "Publico opinion" was a powerful force in Fox life; there were, in fact, no formal agencies for the enforcement of law or the maintenance of order; the pressure of public opinion—the fear of what his neighbors and kin might do or say—was almost always sufficient to keep an individual in line. Despite considerable freedom to follow known procedures as individuals, there was little tendency to overstep the limits of accepted practice.

We have already mentioned the strongly prevailing sentiment in favor of maximal diffuseness of authority—the participation of as many people as possible in decisions that would affect group welfare. Issues that concerned all the people should be decided by all the people. It was felt to be "fundamentally indecent for a single individual to presume to make decisions for the group." (Kluckhohn, 1947, p. 22.)

The scope of authority.—Just as individuals zealously guarded their right to self direction, so the tribe as a whole zealously guarded its right to function as an autonomous, independent and unconfederated political unit. Before the coming of the whites, the Fox tribe showed little tendency to form alliances, make treaties, or become confederated with other tribes. The exercise of authority within the tribe was limited by no higher political power, nor did it extend to or affect other groups. The Fox were an independent sovereignty, proud of their own traditions, and zealous in preserving their tribal identity and political independence. After the coming of the whites, the tribe was forced into temporary alliances with other tribes under pressure of continued military threats to their existence. But these alliances were temporary, and were dissolved as soon as the pressure of the crises was relieved. The longest such alliance was made with the Sauk Indians; a tribe closely allied to the Fox in language and culture. This alliance, undertaken with great reluctance and under critical stress, lasted a little more than one hundred years (1740-1856). But
even during the existence of this forced alliance, the Fox maintained their own political institutions—their council, their village chiefs, their war-leaders—as independently functioning agencies. (See Rebok, 1900, p. 18.) The authority of either tribe in reference to the other was very limited. This is in sharp contrast with the neighboring Iroquois tribes, or tribes of the Southeast, who formed political alliances under stress of the European invasion, and where the sovereignty of individual tribes was subordinated to that of the larger unit.

This tendency by the Fox to limit the scope of political authority to the tribe itself, and the corresponding reluctance to share it with other groups, is closely related to the "weakness" of Fox internal political structure. We have seen how the authority of Fox leaders was accepted only provisionally and by free consent; that the right of individuals to make decisions for the entire group was not admitted. It can be seen then that the Fox had no mechanisms for dealing effectively with other groups. If an individual or group entered into an agreement with another tribe, there was no assurance that such an agreement would be accepted by the Fox. If most, or even some of the people, did not approve of the agreement, they were under no obligation, and could be subjected to no compulsion, to accept it. To the European powers, accustomed to dealing with the representatives of sovereign powers who really "represented" their own nation, this caused endless trouble and misunderstanding. Agreements entered into with anything less than the whole tribe could not be "binding" and the whole tribe was seldom willing to limit its own authority by entering into such agreements. We have seen how the scope of authority within Fox society was severely limited both in intensity and duration; a corresponding limitation in the scope of authority characterized the relations of the Fox with other groups.

The Authority Process

During the course of their dealings with the Fox, the United States Government has pursued varied and changing ends. These have included eliminating the military threat of an armed and dangerous enemy; the procuring for the United States of the lands occupied by the Fox; the "civilizing and christianizing" of the pagan Indians; making over the Fox into a "self-supporting" agricultural community, and, most recently, casting them loose from United States' administrative control. The Fox also have pursued their own general ends—which have frequently been in opposition to those of the Government. They have striven, above all, toward the end of maintaining their own identity and integrity as a community and as a people. They have fought to maintain the ownership of their land on a communal basis; to adhere to their own religion; to maintain their own language. In addition to, and involved in these general ends there have been more specific ends of action—ends involved in economic subsistence; in maintaining essential community services, such as road-building and medical care; in the maintenance of law and order in the community—all the recurrent and detailed ends of action necessary to the functioning of a social group.

The achievement of all these ends has necessitated the exercise of authority. In some cases—the removal of the Fox from their lands by the Government—this authority was resisted, and involved the application of armed force. In other cases—turning the Fox into a community of farmers—it was ineffective, in that it failed to achieve the aimed-for end. In some cases—establishing a tribal court and judge—it was concentrated; in others—running the Pow-wow—it is diffuse. But in each of these cases of authority—whether effective or ineffective, resisted or accepted, concentrated or diffuse, there have been common elements and
practices involved on the process of authority exercise. We are going to show how this process operates in one area of Fox life—the area of co-ordinated group action—but it will be necessary first to specify the kinds of things we will direct our attention to and the terms we will use in so doing; we can do this most conveniently by outlining briefly the basic components of the authority process.

The authority process.—The authority process is, most generally, a method by which human groups attain certain collective ends. Whenever the attainment of these ends requires collective group action, people have to know what they are to do—how they are to act towards one another and the objects of their activity. They get to know these things because they have learned them or because somebody tells them. In some cases, as in a baseball game, people can act together successfully with very little overt exercise of authority, because everybody knows the rules of the game, and can follow them without any direction. In other cases, such as the fairly complex Fox Pow-wow, there have to be individuals or groups whose specific job it is to make plans, devise ways to cope with certain problems, communicate these to others involved in the enterprise, and direct action towards the execution of these plans. The things that have to be done so that people can act to attain these collective ends we will call "authority functions"; when it is the recognized job of one person to perform these functions—such as a judge or council head—we will call this position "authority role"; when a formally constituted group has the job of performing these functions we will call it an "organ" of authority, or "authority-organ."

The specific functions performed by those occupying given authority-roles or organs vary according to the kinds of activity in which they are involved; the functions of a judge or policeman are concerned with the enforcement of certain rules; a band-leader functions to direct on-going action; the functions of the council are concerned with making decisions that affect group welfare. Two of the most important authority functions are the formulation of plans for action, and the direction of action as it is going on. We will refer to other such functions in the course of our discussion. (For a more detailed treatment of specific authority functions, see the author's "Authority System of Aboriginal Fox Society."

Authority-roles and functions.—We have already defined authority as the validated right of an authority role holder or an authority organ to exercise those functions necessary to achieve specified collective ends. A crucial term in this definition is "validated." This means that the right of a role holder to exercise the functions involved in his position have been recognized and accepted by the people affected by the exercise of those functions. We have already mentioned, above, the bases for the validation of authority in aboriginal Fox society. (For a discussion of validation or "legitimization," see Max Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organization, 1947, pp. 124 et. seq.)

The word "right" involves the dual idea of prerogative and obligation; perhaps the word "job" would better express the idea. We can think of an authority-role as the job of someone to perform specifically designated functions; a role is "defined" to include certain functions, and we can think of the role as existing independently of the person who happens to occupy it at any given time. (See Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, 1936, for a discussion of the concept "role," especially ch. viii.) The roles "traffic-policeman," "trial-judge," "football-coach," "band-leader," "councilman," "Indian-agent" are each defined to include the performance of designated authority functions, and the people subject to the authority
of people in these roles accept their right to perform them. Thus the two essentials of an authority role are first that it is defined to include certain authority functions, and second, that this definition is accepted as valid by people subject to that authority.

Elements of the authority process.—If we were to examine a number of different events that occur in Fox life today—a tribal election, the arrest of a traffic violator, planning a new highway, a baseball game, a religious ritual, a program of native songs and dances, a council meeting, a government-sponsored garden project—it would seem apparent that each of these situations differs materially from the others, in external form and detail. But they all have in common the fact that none of them would be possible without the exercise of authority, and the basic process by which authority is exercised in each case involves essentially the same elements. We can ask—what conditions must be met, and what elements must be present if authority is to be exercised effectively in each of these cases?

We have already mentioned two of the elements essential to the authority process. There must be, first of all, certain functions performed if action is to be directed and co-ordinated. And there must be, secondly, designated agencies to perform these functions; we have cited role-holders, and organs of authority.

We can mention here two more elements essential to the authority process. The first is the existence of a body of rules that serves as a guide to action. Society has devised solutions to most of the recurrent problems that confront people; these solutions take the form of rules, or directives as to how people should act in different situations. These sets of rules are ramified and complex, and cover a tremendous range. There are rules that specify how people should act towards one another in given situations; that outline the techniques of agriculture, manufacture, warfare; that guide the organization and direction of collective action. Some of these rules are written down, as in the case of a code of laws, a constitution, a table of organization; many of them are unwritten, and are learned by people through experience in different activities. Sometimes these rules come in "sets"—a series of directives for a full sequence of activity such as a religious ritual or the manufacture of an automobile; sometimes the rules cover only a limited segment of behavior, and can be selected and applied in appropriate situations. It is from these rules that people in authority derive the "orders" used in the direction of action.

The second element essential to the success of the authority process is the possibility that some sort of effective pressure can be brought to bear in cases where authority is resisted or ignored. In the great majority of cases where authority is exercised, people accept its validity, and act according to its directives. We have mentioned above some of the reasons that authority was accepted, or "validated" in Fox society. People generally accept authority because they feel that it is in their own best interests to do so. There are instances, however, where authority is resisted; where the right of a role holder to exercise authority is questioned, or his directives refused. In such cases, unless there is some way to apply sanctions against this non-acceptance, the authority process cannot succeed. Such sanctions can range all the way from gentle persuasion or the pressure of public opinion, through threats of punishment or the withholding of rewards, to the direct application of physical coercion, or force. Ultimately, the successful exercise of authority rests on the possibility that some effective sanction can be brought to bear in cases of disobedience or non-adherence. The authority of the United States Government, in 1842, operated successfully to get the Fox to cede all their
lands in Iowa because the Government threatened to withhold from the Fox all means of livelihood. The authority of the United States Agent succeeded, in 1898, in getting Fox children to school for the first time because he had those parents who objected put in jail. The present Fox council does not exercise some of its constitutional authority because it can command no adequate means to enforce unpopular directives.

We have cited, then, four elements necessary to the successful exercise of authority; certain functions which are performed; agencies to perform them; a body of rules to guide action, and the existence of sanctions which can be applied if authority exercise is not accepted.

The general sequence of events that occur when authority is exercised is roughly the same in all instances. We can distinguish four phases of the authority process: Initiation, Formulation, Communication, and Execution. The authority process gets under way when the need or desirability for action towards certain ends becomes apparent. In most cases these "needs" are recurrent, and the authority process is set in motion at regularly recurrent intervals. In other cases the process is initiated as a response to emergent events or situations such as a flood, an attack, a famine. Once the desirability of ends is acknowledged, it becomes necessary to formulate means to achieve the aimed-for ends. People generally derive such means from the body of rules that deals with the situation at hand. From this body of rules they select appropriate directives, and form them into a plan of action. In many cases a set of rules governing the whole procedure is available, and need only be decided on, as for a square dance or high mass; in other cases directives must be selected, manipulated, arranged in a sequence that will make possible adequate adaptation. Once a plan of action is agreed on, or formulated, it becomes necessary to communicate this plan to those who will be involved in its execution. Sometimes it is necessary to outline the proposed action in considerable detail to those who will execute it; often it is necessary only to designate which of a number of known action sequences is to be followed. Sometimes, as in this latter case, the act of communication is all that is needed for the execution of the action plan; in other cases someone in authority gives orders or directions to see that the plan is executed. Where all the participants are familiar with the details of the action plan—as in a religious ritual—such direction is only "nominal"; the authority-role holder merely signals the episodes of a known action plan. Or it may be, as in a military raid, that a role holder may have to size up a situation and give directions that will enable others to adapt to it successfully.

In brief, then, the exercise of authority involves a process by which designated role holders devise a plan or choose directives to achieve certain ends; communicate this plan to others, and direct their actions so that the plan or directives can be executed. We can see from the above that all the phases in this sequence—Initiation, Formulation, Communication, Execution, are not present in every instance. Execution may follow directly on initiation, as in a game of tag or a group dance, where everyone involved is familiar with the total sequence of action. Where a separate formulation phase is present, communication or direction might be unnecessary, where all those involved in the execution of action were also involved in the plan making process.

In this paper we are going to examine the authority process as it operates in one important area of Fox life. To institute and maintain organized groups requires that authority be exercised to co-ordinate the actions of people so that they can work together effectively to achieve the ends for which the organization is set up. The Fox have frequently
experienced a great deal of difficulty in this area, and much of this difficulty has involved the authority necessary to co-ordinate such enterprises—authority which we will here call "Co-ordinative Authority."

Co-ordinative Authority

You see, there are two factions here; whatever one side is for, the other side is against. . . .

A Fox Councilman

Sure, I'm for getting some of these projects going; but so many people from the outside have gotten something going here and then pulled out, that the people are just naturally suspicious of anything new. . . .

A Fox Woman

Now what those Indians out there ought to get started is a . . . .

A White Lawyer

Under the headline: "Indian Band to Broadcast at Ames College," a 1926 newspaper report told of the sixteen-piece Fox Indian Band—"The only Indian Band in the Middlewest" and its crowded schedule of concerts in various Iowa cities. A 1941 story reported the establishment of a new Indian Tribal Court, set up to enable the Fox to try local criminal offenses. In 1937 four Fox men formed a co-operative group for the purchase and use of agricultural equipment; in 1944 another such group was formed, and in 1947 another. In 1937 a tribal cannery and a supporting system of vegetable gardens was introduced. In 1941 a community-wide agricultural co-operative organization was projected. In 1916 fifty Indians attended a debate sponsored by the Fox Y.M.C.A.; in 1941 the Fox 4-H Club had six members; and Fox Scout Troop had nine. In 1947 Fox American Legion Post 71 staged a military funeral for a deceased comrade.

Today, every one of these organizations is defunct or inactive. The Fox Band, Tribal Court, Tractor-Co-operative, Cannery, Garden Project, Y.M.C.A., Scout Troop, 4-H Club, American Legion, no longer exist.

To this list of extinct organizations we could add at least as many more that were projected or planned, but never got started. The Fox themselves are conscious, to an unusual degree, of this difficulty in instituting and maintaining organized groups. Were you to ask them why, you would find their explanations ready and facile. "Our biggest trouble here is jealousy; everybody wants to run the place"; "These Indians just won't co-operate"; "There are two sides, they're always fighting. Whatever one side is for, the other is against"; "We are all divided up. We are split up and fighting one another; we just can't get together. . . ."

But in the face of this record of defunct organizations and abortive plans, and this expressed conviction of inadequacy and frustration, there is also a record of organizations that have persisted and functioned well for many years. A Fox council has met regularly for uncounted centuries; Sacred Pack societies have been staging their ceremonies for at least as long; the Fox Pow-wow has been put on for over fifty years, and has maintained a formal organization for thirty-six years; Fox baseball teams have met neighboring teams since the turn of the century. Clearly, this self-confessed inability of the Fox to "get together" is limited to certain areas of activity. It would never occur to the Fox to doubt their ability to "get together" to put on an adoption feast.

To institute and maintain organized groups, the exercise of what we have called "co-ordinative authority" is necessary. Americans [some ambiguity necessarily attaches itself to the terms used to refer to the two societies involved here—that of the Fox Indians, and that of the
Fox Indians, and that of the American-dwelling Europeans. In this paper the terms "Fox," "Indians," "native," "local," "internal" will refer to the former group, and "American," "White," "outside," and "external," to the latter. Familiar from early youth with a score of clubs, associations, fraternities, circles, lodges, know and take for granted the essential elements of this kind of authority—a constitution, a corps of officers, a chain of command, committees; voting, majority rule, formal procedures for conducting a meeting. Generally, the essentials of this specialized process are known, and the authority necessary to carry them through is accepted.

In pre-white Fox society activity was co-ordinated by processes which were also well known and accepted, as we saw above. These traditional procedures were highly effective, but they differed considerably from the formalized set of procedures that serves as a model for American organized groups. Thus, in cases where current Fox organizations have been patterned after the American model, the Fox have had to learn from Americans the essentials of this kind of organization.

Our examination of co-ordinative authority in current Fox society will revolve around a central question: "Why is co-ordinative authority effective in some cases and ineffective in others?" "Why do some organized groups persist and function successfully, while others fail, or function badly?" We will start by looking briefly at a number of specific cases—turning first to some groups that have failed, and later to some that have not. Then we will try to explain the reasons for success or failure by examining the differences between these two kinds of cases.

The Fox Band will furnish an excellent starting point for the first kind of group, because in this case the question of ends was fairly unequivocal. Everybody thought the band was a good thing; its existence was unanimously approved, and its demise unanimously lamented. We must therefore look beyond the explanation: "They couldn't agree it was a good thing" for the reasons behind the failure of the Band.

Unsuccessful Groups

The Fox Band.—Although collective music making was a traditional practice in Fox society, American musical instruments were not used until about 1900. In 1891 a Presbyterian Mission was built near the Fox settlement, and the missionary kept on hand a number of cornets and snare drums in an effort to attract to the mission the young men who enjoyed experimenting with these interesting playthings. By 1906 there was a mission "band" of three cornets and a drum. From this nucleus there developed a military band of about 14 men, sponsored and guided by mission personnel. This mission band remained in existence sporadically up to 1923, with new members recruited from those young men who had learned to play band instruments at the Indian boarding schools. The novelty of an Indian military band proved a good commercial attraction, and the band was hired to perform at local fairs and celebrations. In 1923 the Fox band was re-organized with a formal administrative set-up, including a president and business manager, and the band administration was integrated into the tribal administrative system by placing the elected officers of the band under the supervision of a band committee chosen from the tribal council. This formal organization of the band was effected under the tutelage of locally interested whites, and made possible internally by the presence of two or three young men recently returned from the Indian boarding schools, where they had learned the principles of American group organization. This council-sponsored band functioned successfully for 19 years, playing each year at the Pow-wow, and fulfilling commercial engagements in the midwest-
ern area. White musicians were frequently used to fill important instrumental spots, but the direction of the band remained essentially native.

In 1942 friction arose within the band over the question of leadership. Some band members felt that the bandleader was trying to exceed his authority, and refused to appear for performances. The band did not play its scheduled appearance at the 1942 Pow-wow, and has been defunct ever since. In 1948 an attempt by an interested white to get the band reorganized failed. The failure was due to the same factors of internal dissension that caused the break-up of the band, and this in face of the fact that all parties involved, as well as the tribe as a whole were unanimous in the conviction that the band was a very good thing, and that it should be started again.

The Fox Legion Post.—The role of "soldier" in Fox society has always carried with it a high degree of prestige. A successful warrior in aboriginal life was highly honored and respected. Many Fox young men enlisted for service during World War II. Fox men found that in the role of servicemen they were accorded an unprecedented degree of acceptance by the whites; as soldiers they were able to participate with whites on close to equal terms. When the war ended, it was natural that the veterans should want to maintain their identity as soldiers, both because the status of soldier was valued by their own cultural tradition, and because the role symbolized to them the brief but satisfying status of near-equality with the whites. At first the Fox veterans chose the most direct way to maintain this status; they joined the white Legion Post in Tama. However, it soon became evident that the war-ongendered acceptance of the Indians as equals was untenable for the post-war period. Communal drinking is an important activity for veterans' organizations; American Indians are forbidden by Federal law to be served alcoholic beverages. The enforcement of this rule—temporarily suspended while the Indians were in service—highlighted the fact that the Indian and white veterans were not in fact, equal before the law. When the Tama Post refused to serve drinks to the Indian veterans, the resigned in a body. However, the veterans were still motivated to preserve their valued identity as soldiers, and decided to form a Legion Post of their own. In doing so they were guided and directed by a local white legionnaire who was experienced in the organization of Legion Posts. Fox American Legion Post 701 was officially inaugurated in 1947, with most of the settlements' 50 veterans as members.

During its first year the Legion was quite active. The first commander was a man who did his job quite effectively, acting in line with the traditional Fox idea that he leads best who leads least. He would not consider undertaking any Legion activity without first consulting the entire Legion membership, nor was any small detail involved in these activities decided without similar full-membership participation. He took the very minimal amount of initiative necessary to conduct the organization's activities, and was clearly uncomfortable in the exercise of even that small authority that was inevitably necessary. Under this sort of authority the Legion functioned effectively; during their first year they obtained and equipped a meeting hall; held regular meetings; participated in local parades; ran a booth at the Pow-wow to raise funds, and sent a delegation to the state Legion Convention at Des Moines.

The second commander felt that prior Legion leadership had not been sufficiently active, and attempted to conduct Legion affairs with the active authority that seemed appropriate for a well-run Legion Post. This policy very nearly resulted in the break-up of the Legion. The new commander encountered so much resentment and resistance to his attempts at "effective" authority that he prepared to leave the settlement, complaining
bitterly that no one would co-operate in anything. However, the potentially disruptive effects of this "active" leadership policy were more than counteracted by the presence on the settlement that year of a young white veteran who was interested in the Legion, and took an active part in the initiation, planning and execution of Legion activities. Buttressed by this immediate and active white support, the Legion was fairly active during its second year. With the departure from the settlement of the white veteran and the election of a new commander, the Legion ran into difficulties. Their meeting hall was a building owned by the U.S. Government, and when a white government employee discovered that beer was being kept in the cooler at the hall, he denied the legionnaires the use of the building. The loss of their meeting place broke the back of the Legion; the veterans lacked the motivation to find a new meeting place, and after its brief existence of about three years Fox Legion Post 701 became defunct. In 1951, under the sponsorship of the white who was originally instrumental in its organization, an attempt was made to re-institute the Legion Post. This drive resulted in securing the nominal membership of a few men, but most of the veterans remained aloof, and the Fox Legion Post remained in the ranks of defunct Fox organizations.

The Fox Tribal Court.—Aboriginally the Fox had no specific, formal agency to deal with what we call "legal" matters. Most of the matters that dealt with in our courts were handled directly by the parties concerned or by their families. Less frequently, when disputes or claims could not be settled "privately" in this way, or when an infraction was felt to involve the interests of the entire community, the council was called upon, or assumed the right, to exercise the necessary juridical functions. There was no written code of laws, but there was a large body of tribal tradition that dealt quite specifically and precisely with different sorts of infractions and the penalties or punishments appropriate thereto. Major crimes were rare, and even minor violations of tribal rules were infrequent—primarily because the people felt that these rules of behavior had been laid down by powerful supernatural forces, and that violators would incur the displeasure of these forces and would be deprived of their own power and effectiveness thereby, as well as greatly lowering themselves in the esteem of their community. This "sense of guilt" over a crime almost always impelled someone who had stolen from or harmed a fellow tribesman to give himself up to the relatives of the offended person, and admit the right of these relatives to impose retribution as they saw fit. Tribal tradition also commended the quality of mercy in these cases; the judges were not vindictive, and frequently omitted punishment entirely, or demanded some small retribution in the form of property or personal belongings. Physical punishment was rare, and incarceration was not used; it is only in Fox myths that we find examples of violent punishments in the form of clubbing, burning, or reciprocal murder. In practice retribution was highly lenient.

In 1803 the Government of the United States assumed jurisdiction over the Fox, and from that time on the question of what agency had the authority to perform legal functions for the Fox became extremely complicated. Competing for the power to exercise judicial authority were the United States Government, the State of Iowa, and the Fox Tribe. Which of these agencies had the authority to perform which legal functions became a problem that involved years of wrangling, legislation, and litigation. The Fox purchased land in Iowa in 1856, and the state considered their status as landowning, taxpaying residents of Iowa as sufficient basis for considering them subject to the laws of that state. However, the United States Government also claimed jurisdiction over the Fox on the grounds that they were "tribal Indians," and thus subject to Federal rather than State authority.
This conflict came to a head in 1901, following the transfer of the legal title to Fox lands from the State of Iowa to the Federal Department of Interior. In transferring the lands the state tried to reserve for itself exclusive legal jurisdiction over the Fox settlement. However, in 1901 a Federal Court ruled that matters of land ownership or tax payment were irrelevant to the question of jurisdiction; that the Federal claim to jurisdiction was based on the ethnic status and not the landholding status of the Indians; that the state had tried to reserve to itself rights it had never possessed, and that legal jurisdiction over the Fox fell rightfully to the Federal Government and its duly constituted legal agencies.

In the years following this decision the area of law enforcement for the Fox community was confused and conflict-ridden. The Federal Government exercised authority over eight specified major crimes; county officials stepped in when a non-Indian was involved; in 1918 the Fox Agent tried unsuccessfully to obtain judicial powers and to set up a Fox court with himself as judge; the Fox continued to deal with infractions of tribal rules in their own way. In general, matters involving civil jurisdiction were either handled by the department of the Interior or fell outside of any formal legal set-up, and major criminal offenses were handled by special Government agents—but in the area of petty crimes a jurisdictional gap existed where neither Federal, State, County, nor Tribal agencies exercised legitimate authority, and this gap became the focal point of increasing dissension and dissatisfaction.

In 1940, following a growing volume of complaints by local whites and some Indians about alleged "lawlessness" on the Fox settlement, the United States Department of the Interior created the positions of Tribal Court Judge and Tribal Policeman for the Fox tribe, and sent a special agent to the community to instruct the Fox in the modes and mechanisms of instituting and operating a Tribal Court. The Court, staffed by Indian personnel, was officially entitled the "Court of Indian Offenses," and was given the power to arrest, try, and sentence violators of a special code furnished by the Office of Indian Affairs. This code, called the "Code of Indian Tribal Offenses," dealt with such petty criminal offenses as disorderly conduct, drunkenness, possession of liquor, and malicious mischief, and such domestic offenses as desertion, non-support, and adultery. A Tribal Court Judge, two assistant judges, and a policeman were appointed by the Government, and the court held its first session in March, 1941. White officials were present to supervise the first few sessions, and then left the Fox to their own devises. The court functioned sporadically for five or six months—its operation marked by dissension, disorganization, and uncertainty as to procedures. In July, 1942, the Office of Indian Affairs officially abolished the office of judge and policeman, but the effective functioning of the court had ceased almost a year before.

From the very beginning the Tribal Court was regarded with intense satisfaction by many Fox. In June, 1941, only three months after the court's first session, a petition asking for the abolition of the Tribal Court and signed by 101 adult Fox was forwarded to the United States Congress. The reason for their opposition given by the signers of this petition, and still given by many Fox today, was that the Court Judge was "unfair"; that he penalized members of the political faction opposed to his own and favored members of his own group. The Iowa State assemblyman who forwarded the petition to Congress (and who had reasons of his own for desiring the abolition of the court), claimed that the large majority of the petitioners belonged to the political faction opposing the judge, and that the court should be abolished "in the interest of uniting the factions." Although the factor of factional enmity undoubtedly con-
tributed to some extent to the dissatisfaction over the court, it was not
nearly as important a factor as others we shall examine later, and served
in this case, as in many others, as a convenient excuse for ineffective
functioning, and as an easily conceptualized explanation for the difficul-
ties encountered in running the court. An examination of the list of
petitioners shows that the signers belonged to both factions, with almost
equal numbers from each, and that only .47 of the signers were known defi-
nitely to be affiliated with the faction opposing the judge. As to the
claim that "the judge fined and imprisoned members of the opposite faction
and let members of his own go free," available records of the court fail
to support this allegation. These records show that about equal numbers
of both factions were found guilty and sentenced.

The circumstances accompanying the official abolition of the Tribal
Court point to reasons for its failure that are closer to the heart of the
matter. After the first few months of the court's operation the court
officials, subject to bitter censure and criticism by their fellow tribes-
men, became increasingly reluctant to perform their designated duties, es-
pecially the police duties necessary to apprehend violators. Only four
months after the establishment of the court it became necessary for federal
agents to take over the job of apprehending and bringing to trial liquor-
law violators, and the agents secured their search-warrants and obtained
their convictions only with the highly reluctant co-operation of the Fox
judge. The appointed Fox policeman was unable to withstand the pressure of
resentment against him, and quit his job. In June, 1941, a government law
officer went to the settlement to get someone to take the job of policeman,
since the court was obviously unable to function without police. After an
assiduous search he was unable to find anyone willing to accept the job.
A few weeks later the County Sheriff was given a temporary commission to
perform police functions for the Fox settlement, and the Office of Indian
Affairs officially abolished the offices of Fox Judge and Policeman, saying
that there was no purpose in having a judge without a policeman. After a
fretful existence of about 5 months and about 10 months more in a state
of coma, the Fox Tribal Court was dead.

Other defunct organizations.—The Fox Band, Legion Post and Tribal
Court are only three of a large number of organized groups that were
started, functioned for a while, and then went out of existence. Almost
all of these were started under the sponsorship of whites, were modelled
after white organizations, and failed as soon as active white support and
guidance ceased. Quite a few of these groups were connected with the
attempt by outside agencies to get the Fox to accept agriculture as their
basis of subsistence. In 1938 the Indian Rehabilitation branch of the
WPA set up a subsistence program based on small vegetable gardens and a
small tribal cannery. The project was instituted and administered by WPA
personnel, with Fox officers in local positions of authority. This pro-
gram was taken over, in 1942, by an Indian Service Farmer, who expanded
the project to include livestock and poultry raising, field crops, and an
arts and crafts program. This whole subsistence program and its accom-
ppanying organization folded when the Agency Farmer left the settlement.
The Indians have also been encouraged to form small co-operative groups
for the purchase and use of agricultural equipment. At least four of
these were started between 1940 and 1950, and fell apart after a short
period of operation. A 4-H Club was set up in 1936 by the school prin-
cipal to interest young boys in agricultural practices, especially pig-rais-
ing. This club, along with a Boy Scout Troop set up by the same man, went
out of existence when the principal left. In 1934 the parents of children
attending the white grade school in nearby Montour were encouraged by
officials there to set up a Students' Parents Association. This association was organized with a full roster of officers, and with about 25 families participating. After a few meetings the Parents Association faded away.

The Fox have had considerable difficulty not only in maintaining organized groups once started, but also in getting them started in the first place. In some cases this failure to initiate collective action has involved conflicts over the ends of action either between a white instituting agency and the Indians, or among the Indians themselves. In other cases there has been substantial agreement as to the desirability of the projected action, but an inability to set up the organizational machinery necessary to follow it through.

In 1944 the local Indian Office Agent formulated an extensive program for the over-all improvement of the settlement. It was a well-planned and comprehensive project, involving the expenditure of up to a million dollars in Government funds for such enterprises as the construction of new houses, a large community center, extension of landholdings, and a tribal co-operative farm. The councilmen favored the idea of community improvement and Government financial aid, but refused to approve the specific projects of the Agent's program, substituting instead projects of their own. As a result of these conflicts the projected enterprise was never started. We have already cited the case of the Stone House. In this instance the Indians are agreed on the desirability of collective action to utilize the Stone House but have been unable, even with some white guidance, to set up the necessary organizational machinery.

Current Organized Groups

Let us now turn to the other side of the picture and look at the organized groups currently functioning in Fox society. During the summer of 1951 there were 16 organized groups carrying out their activities under native direction. Of these 16, 7 were engaged in ceremonial activities; 8 were involved with entertainment or sports, and one was an administrative body.

Ceremonial groups.—Of the seven groups with specifically religious functions, four are connected with the major Fox clan groups—Bear, Fox, Wolk and Thunder. The Headman of the clan acts as the head of the ceremonial organization, and he exercises his authority to stage religious ceremonies, or "feasts," which are held periodically. These ceremonies are conducted according to traditional procedures that are many centuries old, having their roots in the mythology and religious beliefs of the Fox. The feasts are composed of a series of episodes of singing, dancing, and prayer, arranged in traditionally prescribed order, and passed from generation by oral tradition. These clan feasts are staged frequently and are well attended; they are initiated and conducted efficiently under the direction of the clan headmen, who operate through the authority channels within their clans, according to traditional Fox organizational practices. Selection of clan headmen is determined primarily by hereditary factors, and

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1In the past the Fox had quite a few more than four clan groups, and currently there are still a few others with limited functions. However, only the four major surviving groups carry on active ritual activity. For a discussion of Fox Clans see Sol Tax—"The Social Org. of the Fox Indians," in Eggan, 1937, and Jones, Ethnography of the Fox Indians; 1939.
their authority to perform their designated functions is accepted without question.

Three other native ceremonial groups—the Drum Society, Medicine Society and Peyote Society have been introduced to the Fox from other tribes, but the basic elements of their ritual activity and their authority organization are very similar to those of the native clan groups. The main authority-role holder is also called a "headman"; their rituals are composed of similar episodes of singing, dancing, feasts and prayer; and the mode of organizing and conducting ceremonies is essentially the same as for the clan feasts. For these ceremonial organizations, then, which constitute almost half of currently functioning native-directed groups, activity is co-ordinated according to the traditional Fox procedures described in "Features of the Aboriginal Authority System," p. 129.

The Pow-wow.—The Pow-wow is the outstanding example of successfully co-ordinated group action, and thus of effective co-ordinative authority, in Fox society today. By Fox standards it is a large-scale enterprise—semi-commercial, semi-ritualized in nature—that involves the participation of almost every member of the tribe. The Pow-wow has been functioning, in some form or other, for at least seventy-five years; it has maintained a formal administrative organization for 39 years. It is evident that in the reasons for the success of this enterprise we can find important clues to the problem of effective authority in Fox society.

The Pow-wow was a natural and gradual outgrowth of the traditional Fox religious rituals described in the preceding paragraphs. Shortly after the arrival in Iowa of the Tama Fox, newspapers reported that local whites had been invited to witness the songs and dances that made up the traditional Fox four-day harvest ceremonies—held each year during the latter part of August. An 1879 account states that "quite a number of people of Tama were present to witness the ceremonies . . . of the annual Pow-wow." In these early days a fewales of hay were set up as seats for whites to witness what was essentially a secularized religious ceremony. As the years passed increasing white attendance prompted the addition of non-religious events such as horse-racing and games to what were then called the annual "field days," but the administration of the event was essentially that of the religious ceremonial.

In 1913, under the guidance of local whites, the Indians instituted a formally organized body intended specifically to administer the Pow-wow. The organizational structure of this first Pow-wow "committee" was modelled almost exactly after that of the traditional tribal council. Like the council, it was composed of 15 men who were selected by the Chief, and who represented all the important family groups in the tribe.*

It is highly significant that the first Pow-wow committee was set up just at that time when the Government Agent first began to exert a strong and persistent pressure on the Chief's council—attempting both to influence its policy making, and to dictate the selection of its members so as to include only those men sympathetic to the "progressive" policies of the Government. This pressure tended to make impossible two of the most important traditional requirements of the council; first that its membership include representatives from all parts of the tribe, and not only from one faction, and second, that it be able to arrive at its decisions in its own way—by gradual deliberation, and free from external pressures. By instituting the Pow-wow committee at this time, the Fox in a sense transferred from the council to the Pow-wow committee the characteristics felt to be essential to a governing organ, when government pressures prevented the council from operating
As the years passed the Pow-wow became more and more of a professed commercial enterprise; events of a specifically secular character were added to the program; booths for the sale of refreshments and souvenirs as well as other concessions were added; Indians from other tribes were invited to participate in the activities; and many elements of American commercial procedure were incorporated into Pow-wow administration. In 1922, at the same time that the Band administration was formally organized, and under the impetus of the same young, progressive, white-supported group, the Pow-wow committee was reorganized along the lines of an American association. A constitution was drawn up which provided for a staff of four officers, and a "line" group of twelve men, each with formally designated functions. Significantly, during this first year of the re-organized committee and frequently thereafter, the four staff offices were occupied by six men—two each in the offices of secretary and treasurer, although this doubling up was not provided for in the constitution. This was in line with the traditional Fox prejudice against the concentration of authority, as well as for other reasons that we will look into later. In each case, the incorporation into Pow-wow administration or programming of these elements of white practice was accomplished under the guidance or direct supervision of locally interested whites; a Tama businessman guided the Indians in the area of business practice; a Des Moines museum curator assisted with programming and promotion.

Today the Pow-wow is under the direction of the all-Indian Pow-wow committee. The committee consists of 16 positions—four staff and twelve line. Elections for committee membership are held every two years with the total tribal electorate taking part in the voting. Theoretically all positions are open at each election, but in practice there is a remarkable degree of overlap from year to year. Four of the 1951 committee members were also on the 1925 committee—some having served continuously. Committee membership lists show that there is, in effect, a "spot" on the committee for a representative of each important family group, and the selection of committee members from year to year tends to follow the pattern of having each family group represented on each committee. Thus, while recruitment of committee members is theoretically by "free" popular election, in actuality the traditional Fox pattern of all-family-group representation in authority organs strongly influences the choice of members.

The four "line" offices are President, Vice-president, Secretary, and Treasurer. Of these, the nominally paramount authority-role, that of President, carries with it virtually no real authority. The president is almost always either an elderly man, or someone who maintains a high degree of interest in the old traditions and dances. He has very little to do either with the actual direction of the Pow-wow, or with technical arrangements. The most "important" of the staff positions is that of Secretary. Most of the authority functions of the secretary involve contacts with whites in the traditional manner. The Pow-wow committee functioned in a specifically internal and native activity, and in a self-chosen area beyond government jurisdiction, so that traditional practice, prevented in one area, could spring up outside the sphere of that

1Not quite all of the important family groups have been represented, customarily, on the Pow-wow committees. The names of about three families belonging to the tribes' conservative faction have generally been absent from the lists of "line" committee members. However, men from these families have frequently held staff positions on the committee.
outside the settlement—arrangements as to publicity, procurement, transportation, special events, and the like—so the person selected for this role is almost always a young man, educated and reasonably competent in the ways of the whites. He must be acquainted with white business and commercial practices, and be able to "deal with the whites." However, his authority functions are almost purely "liaison" functions, and he has very little to say about the direction and co-ordination of the tribal participants in the Pow-wow itself.

Now, then, is this enterprise co-ordinated? Co-ordination is effected very largely by the adherence of participants to traditionally established and well known procedures. It is remarkable to observe how an enterprise the size of the Pow-wow, with a fairly complex and ramified division of labor, is co-ordinated with so small an amount of overt authority exercise. People know their jobs and do them. If you ask someone how he knows what to do without having someone tell him, he will say, "I just do the same thing as I did last year." This is possible because there are few changes from year to year. There is very little centralization of or control over concessions. At the 1951 Pow-wow there were 24 separate souvenir stands, each run by a different family group. No attempt is made to consolidate these in the interests of increased "efficiency." Anyone who wishes can set up a stand or booth without the necessity of committee approval.

Thus the Pow-wow committee, as an authority organ, exercises few directive functions. It has two main functions. First, it is a "consensus group"; a representative body that handles whatever decision-making is necessary by the traditional process of long discussion and unanimous consent. Its meetings are open to all the tribe, and the majority of its decisions are unanimous. It is not an "innovating" body; most of its decisions deal with relatively minor aspects of established practices, and there is a decided resistance to the acceptance of "new" practices. Being quite large in proportion to the size of the total enterprise, and broadly representative, the committee is very sensitive and responsive to the wishes of all the people in the matters it deals with.

Secondly, the committee is a work-gang; staff members are a reasonably dependable agency for the performance of the manual labor involved in staging the Pow-wow—erecting tents and tipis; putting up the benches; filling in ruts and hollows; cleaning the area. Very little of this work is delegated. Committeemen, along with all tribal participants, are paid for their services according to the number of work-hours they put in, with the same hourly rate prevailing for all tribal members. Service on the committee carries with it the prestige of community service; "It takes up a lot of time," says one committeeman, "but it's fun, working for the good of the people."

It is important to note at this point the extent to which the conduct of the Pow-wow follows traditional Fox practice, while maintaining the formal organization of the American association.

The Fox Council

Entertainment units.—Another kind of co-ordinated enterprise that has been functioning in Fox Society for at least as long as the Pow-wow is the entertainment unit. Organized groups ranging in size from three or four to forty or fifty leave the settlement periodically to present programs of Indian entertainment in surrounding areas. Almost everyone in the settlement has participated in one or more of these units at some time. An 1869 newspaper story from nearby Montour reports that a paid group of Fox dancers was the feature attraction at their July 4th celebration. In 1897 an enter-
tainment unit performed at the Iowa State Fair in Des Moines; in 1923 an entertainment unit spent the summer in Chicago as regular performers in an exhibition there. For many years such units have performed in all parts of the Middle West—sometimes attached to a fair, an exhibition, or a travelling rodeo—but more frequently as independent units, "booked" into separate engagements at fairs, celebrations, pageants, and the like. In some cases an entertainment unit appears regularly at annual celebrations.

In the summer of 1951 there were four active entertainment units. Each unit is under the direction of a native manager who is contacted by the agency staging a celebration.

In effect, the "show" put on by these entertainment units is simply the Pow-wow on a reduced scale. It contains almost exactly the same elements; a "static" display of a model Indian village, a campfire with food preparation visible to the public, souvenir stands selling Indian handiwork, and a series of performances consisting of traditional songs and dances by performers in native costumes.

The native manager of each unit fills a role which resembles that of the Pow-wow committee secretary. He takes care of liaison with the white contacting agency, selects and notifies the required number of performers, and arranges transportation. Here again there is very little over direction of the group itself. All participants are familiar from early childhood with the procedures of the Pow-wow entertainment unit, and each does his particular job with a minimum of overt direction. Generally both the technical arrangements and the actual staging of the performances are carried through smoothly and efficiently and relations with the white hiring agency are excellent.

The Fox Council.—On cursory inspection the present-day Fox Council appears to be a recently formed body, modelled after a prevalent type of American small decision-making unit, but in reality it is the direct descendant of the traditional Fox Tribal Council, whose roots stretch back to remote antiquity. The line of descent from that ancestor has remained unbroken for many centuries; it has become attenuated but never obliterated, and today's constitution-based council retains many of the features of its lineal progenitor. At the same time today's council differs significantly from its traditional predecessors; the history of the council over the past 100 years is a story of the progressive encroachment on its rightful domain by outside agencies—until at one time its traditional prerogatives were almost entirely stripped away.

When the Fox first came to Iowa the paramount authority organ for the tribe was its twelve-man tribal council, headed by the Village Chief—a position that fell traditionally to the head of the Black Bear division of the Bear clan. Recruitment of both the council chief and council members showed an extremely interesting discrepancy between the formal, religiously-sanctioned rules for their selection and actual practice. In theory, the chieftainship fell automatically to the eldest son of the former chief—a man who was believed to have inherited his right to office as the direct descendant of the powerful bear totemic ancestor—and who, with the aid and sanction of these powerful supernatural ancestors, "chose" his councilmen at his own discretion. In practice, it was the council itself—a council composed of at least one representative of each important family group in the tribe—that controlled the selection both of the chief and of new councilmen. When faced with the problem of selecting a new chief or councilman the council was guided by traditional rules of selection, and tried to choose a man who conformed as closely as possible to the traditional requirements that he be the direct lineal descendant of his predecessor, and thus the head of the
appropriate clan group. However, expediency and common sense as often as not has not called for modification of these rules, and new authority-role holders were actually selected on the basis of their competence to do the job. Frequently the Black-bear chief's eldest son would be unsuitable for some reason, and the councilmen would decide that it was really his second son, or his brother's son, who was meant by the manitous to be chief. Thus, while recruitment methods appeared, on the surface, to reflect quite a rigid, autocratic "divine-right" monarchy, actual practice showed the system to be extremely flexible and adaptive, and highly sensitive to the wishes of the people. We shall see in later sections how this discrepancy between theoretical and actual practice crops up in other areas, and that it is an important key to the understanding of Fox collective action.

Before the coming of the Whites the Fox Council maintained undisturbed and undisputed its position as the paramount authority organ in Fox society. However, even when the council was able to exercise the full range of its validated authority functions, both the scope and intensity of that authority were highly limited. This was due, as we have seen, to the essentially "self-directing" nature of Fox collective action; individuals were guided, in areas where our society maintains governing agencies, by well-known traditional patterns of behavior, or the family group itself performed the necessary authority functions. But within the restricted range of authority permitted it, the council exercised administrative, juridical, and decision-making functions for the tribe. Administrative duties were few—first because the Fox had no writing, so clerical and record-keeping tasks were absent—but also because the concept of a central agency accepting the responsibility for performing community-wide services was foreign to Fox thinking. Such services as were necessary—and these were few, since roads, hospitals, schools were not used—were performed by family groups. However, on those rare occasions when it became necessary, the council did assume the right to administer certain services that were community wide in scope, as when the council appointed temporary march policemen to maintain order and safeguard stragglers during the once-a-year return by the tribe to their village after the winter hunt. The council also exercised limited juridical functions, as we saw in the discussion of the Tribal Court. The council's primary function, however, was to serve as the central decision-making agency for the tribe; in matters involving collective action by the entire tribe, such as its seasonal movements, the council acted to formulate plans and decide details. Functions involving relations with outside groups were weakly developed or absent—primarily because such inter-tribal contact as took place did not involve the whole tribe, but was effected by leaders of small hunting groups or war-parties. Thus the council did not exercise the authority to "represent" the tribe in its relations with other groups, and when the coming of the whites vastly increased activity in this area, this gap in the range of authority functions became a source of ever-increasing difficulty.

In 1803 the Government of the newly-formed United States of America, following a treaty with France, officially assumed jurisdiction over the lands then occupied by the Fox. The Fox council refused to recognize either the validity of this claimed ownership of their traditional territories, or the right of these recently-arrived immigrants to exercise authority over them. The history of the Fox council from this time on centers around a series of attempts by the United States Government to change, influence, and control both the personnel and the policies of the council so as to force action favorable to the aims and purposes of the United States. Despite the tremendous disparity in size and power between the Fox and the Americans, the twelve-man Fox council resisted these attempts with a stubbornness and a tenacity of purpose that was truly remarkable. But the odds
against it were too one-sided; time and again the Fox were forced to yield their lands and their privileges in the face of insistent threats, manipulation, bribery, and armed coercion by the vastly stronger United States.

Finally, in 1857, the Fox council slipped out from under the direct impact of this unrelenting pressure against it by a highly ingenious ruse. Under the terms of a treaty made in 1842 the Fox had been forced to accept a 440,000-acre reservation in Kansas, along with their quondam military allies, the Sauk. The traditional Bear-clan chief died just at the time when the U.S. Government was trying to persuade the unwilling Fox to cede back 290,000 of their newly-acquired reservation in order to "pay their debts," and to divide the remaining 150,000 acres into individual-owned, land allotments—a policy bitterly opposed by the Fox. The government took advantage of this break in succession by importing from Nebraska renegade Fox who was not a member of the Bear clan but who was "co-operative," and appointing him council chief—thus deposing the Bear chief already chosen by the council. Outraged by this latest assault on the independence and integrity of their tribal authority, the council secretly dispatched a five-man committee to Iowa, whence the Fox had come to Kansas. Here the committee purchased, with American cash dollars, 80 acres of land along the Iowa river from a settler who had but recently acquired the land from the U.S. Fortunately for the Fox, the seller did not realize that the Fox were not American citizens, and thus legally unable to conclude a contract, nor that they had been forbidden, under the terms of the 1842 treaty, to return to Iowa. Despite these illegalities, the Fox now owned land of their own, and the tribal members returned, in a series of successive migrations, to the Iowa River settlement, where they resumed their tribal life under the authority of their council and its Bear-clan chief. The government-appointed chief was left in Kansas with governmental authority, but no tribe.

The self-decided return of the Fox to Iowa put the tribe in an extremely ambiguous position from the point of view of jurisdiction. By their "escape" from Kansas they removed themselves from the direct authority of the U.S. Government, but as landholders in the State of Iowa they fell under state laws. However, despite the fact that the potentially superordinate authority both of the United States and of Iowa was looming ominously over its head, the ox council in 1857 reinstated itself as the paramount authority organ of the temporarily autonomous Fox tribe. For ten years the Fox were essentially an autonomous, self-governing, non-"American" unit located in the center of the sovereign state of Iowa. Then, in 1866 the U.S. Government, which had refused to accord these escapees any legal status, "recognized" the Fox by appointing a part-time agent to pay the tribe previously-withheld funds owing it for various land "cessions." For the next seventy years, until the final demise of the Chief's council in 1938, the various authority functions of the council were progressively taken over by outside agencies. On the national level, a federal law in 1865 claimed for the U.S. exclusive jurisdiction in the case of any of eight specified criminal offenses committed by Indians. On the county level, a county court in 1896 assumed the right to exercise civil jurisdiction for the Fox community; when this right was challenged it was denied the county, and granted not to the Fox, but to the Federal Government. On the local level, the Government Agents attempted more and more to usurp the traditional authority prerogatives of the council.

In 1881 the Council Chief who had held this position since the return to Iowa died, and the council, following established practice, chose as his successor a man from the Bear clan. Although the new chief was still devoted to maintaining the traditional ways of the Fox, he was somewhat more sympathetic to the acculturative policies of the U.S. Government than his predecessor, and in 1900 his obligations to the United States were increased when he was "recognized" as the "official" council head, and granted a yearly
salary of $500. Fourteen years later the fast diminishing autonomy of the council received a much severer blow when the local Agent, dissatisfied with the "non-cooperative" attitude of some council members, applied for and was granted the authority to appoint council members. Five years later, in 1919, the government-recognized chief died; the Agent, already empowered to select and appoint council members, took this opportunity to make the most drastic changes in its history in the form of the council. He reduced its size from twelve to five men; assumed completely the right to appoint councilmen, and eliminated the official position of Chief. In the sad words of an old man who was a member of this five-man council—"The the agent appointed a new council—only this time, the agent was the head of the council," and not the chief."

The back of the council seemed broken. The Government, after a long and bitterly opposed campaign to obtain complete control over the personnel and policies of the council, had apparently achieved its objectives. But only apparently. Despite the fact that this agent-dominated council would seem able to function only as a puppet parliament—a rubber-stamp agency for the policies of the Agent—it still had one remaining power: the power of resistance. And this power the council used as continually and effectively as its position permitted.

In pre-white times, as we have seen, situations requiring that the tribe relate itself as a unit to outside groups arose only rarely, and established modes for dealing with inter-group relations were weakly developed. When increased white immigration caused intensified contact between the Fox and both white and Indian groups, the council was subject to considerable pressure to develop some means for dealing with inter-group affairs. The Government fostered and encouraged such a development, since it wanted a "duly-accredited" authority-organ to deal with in its efforts to acquire the lands occupied by the Indians. Despite such encouragement, the Fox failed to develop adequate means for treating with outside groups, and they continued to follow their traditional policy of refusing to accept as binding agreements made on their behalf by an "representative" group.

In 1871 the U.S. Government abandoned the previously-maintained fiction that Indian tribes were sovereign national units with which treaties could be made, and recognized that they were, in fact, subordinate units within the U.S. governmental system. This change in the legal status of the Fox did not, however, diminish attempts by their local agents to alter the Fox council so as to strengthen its utility as a channel for the direct transmission of Governmental authority. The Government felt morally bound to impose on the Fox numerous plans and policies—most of them aimed at changing their traditional way of life so as to "civilize and christianize" the savage and pagan Indians. In the implementation of this program the Government planned to use the council as an agency to receive its directives, validate them, and see that they were carried out. It conceived of the role of the council as a sort of passageway through which Governmental directives could be transmitted to the people. But it was soon discovered that the Fox simply reflected and intensified the extreme resistance of nearly all of the people to these Governmental policies. The council, instead of providing the sought-for passageway, turned out to be a virtually impenetrable buffer. This buffer again and again frustrated the attempts to influence and alter the attempts to institute and carry out "progressive" policies, and this fact lay at the base of governmental attempts to influence and alter personnel and policies of the council. The forced abolition of the Chief's council represented the last step in a long series of attempts by the Government to obtain a more "co-operative" council. But even the setting up of the Agent's council—a council hand-picked to include the most "progressive" men in the tribe—failed to achieve the desired end. Once more, instead of a
passageway, the council remained a buffer. These councilmen very strongly felt themselves to be the protectors of the people against the harmful and destructive policies of the agent, and manifested their opposition repeatedly and in many ways.

In 1934, as part of the "progressive" program of the New Deal administration, the U.S. Congress passed an act providing for limited local "self-government" for Indian tribes, with a popularly-selected tribal council as the primary authority organ. For the Fox this did not mean the establishment of a new organ, but rather the "reorganization" of its existing council so as to bring its operation in line with current American practice. Election methods and the legitimate functions of the council were to be specified, for the first time, in a written constitution, instead of relying as in the past, on tradition. The net result of the proposed reorganization would be to restore to the depleted and agent-dominated council some of its former power, and to increase its size. Despite the prospect of regaining some of the functions of which it had been deprived, the council, along with many of the Fox, strenuously opposed to accepting the changes involved in reorganization. It took four years of campaigning by government officials, along with an extended program of planning and preparation before the issue was submitted to a tribal referendum. The tribe's first popular election was bitterly contested, but the studied and determined efforts of a group of educated, "progressive," younger men swung the balance in favor of reorganization, and acceptance of the new tribal constitution squeaked through by a scant one vote majority.

The first council elected under the new constitution was composed of seven men, none of them members of the superseded five-man council. However, the Council Chief, chosen as of old by the councilmen, was a member of the Bear clan, and a direct descendant of a former Bear clan chief. And despite the fact that continuity of membership had been broken for the first time in the council's history, two of the new councilmen were sons of the old. Resistance to the new council continued for some time, and shortly after its members took office the two members of the former council whose sons were on the new council petitioned the governor of Iowa to declare the new constitution illegal. This move failed, and the following year one of these men was himself elected to the constitutional council.

The operation of today's seven-man council is supposedly based on its constitution—drawn up with white aid and incorporating prevalent white organizational practices. Members are elected at bi-annual, tribal-wide elections; the council is divided into "committees," each intended to handle a specified area; standard "rules of order" supposedly govern meeting procedures; a majority vote following free debate is expected to decide issues; minutes are recorded; records are kept in triplicate and quadruplicate; formal meetings are held periodically. But in actual practice these constitutional procedures are greatly diluted by, and often superseded by traditional Fox practice. The Council Chief, with some exceptions, is usually a mild-mannered, non-aggressive person, acting much in the manner of the traditional Peach Chief. The conduct of meetings adheres closely to traditional patterns; individuals rise to make long, deliberate speeches while their fellows listen attentively and without interrupting; "debate" or direct argument is virtually unheard of. The idea of "majority rule" has penetrated Fox legislative consciousness only very slightly; the old rule that only a unanimous agreement is valid is reflected by the fact that put of 51 items voted on by the 1944 council, 46, or .90, were acted on by unanimous vote. The old predication for maximum diffuseness of authority is still highly prevalent; council meetings are open to all tribesmen, and all are free to participate. The council is extremely reluctant to accept decision-making responsibility for
any issue that involves group welfare, when such issues arise the council almost always responds by calling a tribal-wide election so that all the people may have a hand in the decision.

The power of today's council is limited from two directions. As we have just seen, the council maintains its traditional reluctance to assume authority functions felt rightfully to belong to "the people." But a much more important limitation derives from the fact that the council is no longer the tribe's paramount authority organ. It is a subordinate agency, and most of the important policies affecting the tribe are formulated, initiated and frequently executed by the external and superordinate agencies of the U.S. Government. Thus the council continues to function as a "validation" agency—an agency for the transmission to the people of government plants and directives. Although it can function both as a passageway and as a buffer for these externally-formulated directives, it continues to evidence marked and persistent resistance to most of these policies. Of six major proposals introduced by the agent or other government officials to the 1944 council, the council voted to reject one, and tabled the other five. Not one was accepted. This "power to reject" represents a council power of considerable importance. Although local agents have frequently used every means at their command to impose on the tribe policies they felt to be beneficial, the Indian Office has rarely attempted to override evident resistance by the council, or to push through its policies in the face of manifest council opposition.

Outside of this "negative" function of the council, what function does it actually perform? Tribal members as well as local white officials tend to belittle or underrate the functioning of the council, saying that it "has no power, and doesn't use the power it does have...." Actually the council exercises a fairly wide range of functions, most of them involving unspectacular but nonetheless important administrative matters. Most of these administrative functions center around questions of land, finances, and tribal membership. Since the Fox Tribe owns and pays taxes on its land, it functions somewhat as a corporation, with the council acting as the board of directors. The council has the responsibility for raising and paying state and local taxes. Some tribal members receive very small annuities from the Government, and the council has the job of determining who rightfully belongs on the tribal roll, who is eligible for government funds, and how much each is entitled to. The council also requests appropriations from tribal funds held by the government to maintain certain community services, such as the upkeep and care of tribal lands and property. The tribe owns its land as a collective entity, and according to the constitution the council has the power both to assign land to individuals and families, and to adjudicate land disputes. In practice, however, land assignments have become hereditary, and arrangements for the use and occupancy of lands are taken care of directly by the parties concerned, without council participation.

In the area of criminal jurisdiction, the council's former functions have been taken over by county, state, and federal agencies as we saw in our discussion of the tribal court. The council is constitutionally empowered to exercise legal jurisdiction in the case of interpersonal disputes and in matters of "civil" law—when such action is "supplementary to and not in conflict with the activities of federal and state authorities"—but it virtually never exercises these prerogatives. As in the past, the settlement of such matters is felt to be the business of the parties concerned, and council interference would seem definitely uncalled for. In this area, as in many others, the council continued to be the representative and not the regulator of the tribe.
Baseball teams.—During the period when various kinds of "white" activities were being added to the program of the Pow-wow, the American game of baseball was given a place on the program alongside the traditional game of La Crosse. Today baseball is featured at the Pow-wow, while La Crosse is no longer played. Baseball was first taught to the Fox around the turn of the century. They took to it enthusiastically; it fitted in well with their own long tradition of competitive team sports, resembling La Crosse, which is also played with a bat and ball, and two competing teams. By 1910 the Government Agent was complaining that the Fox spent more time at baseball than in farming. Since that time there has always been at least one team, and usually several, on the settlement. In the middle thirties an attempt was made to organize a semi-professional team under native management, but with a white booking agent.

Today baseball contests play a role in Fox life somewhat similar to that played by the War Party in pre-white times. They provide a proving-ground for men of fighting age—a means whereby they gain honor and prestige by competitive activity against neighboring groups. Winning baseball games has come to have much the same meaning as a successful War Party, and the Fox have frequently produced winning teams as well as some very good players.

During recent years there have generally been three teams—two men's teams and a woman's team. At present the main men's team is sponsored and supported financially by local merchants, and plays in a league of similarly sponsored local teams. The Indian teams participate in this league on approximately equal status. During the baseball season Indians are called on to act as minor officials, such as umpire, scorekeeper, and announcer. In this way baseball provides a means whereby men can participate on equal terms with neighboring whites, while at the same time they are protected from direct competitive contact as individuals by the fact that they are performing as part of a team made up of their fellow tribesmen.

The baseball teams have a native manager who has liaison functions, and who supervises practice. He is usually "elected" by team members, although the same person will remain manager for many years if he acts in accordance with traditional Fox conceptions of authority. Considerable resentment will arise against a manager whom the people feel is trying too much to run things his own way. Since the game of baseball is conducted much like a religious ceremonial, with all the procedures well known to all participants, the role of team manager involves only very limited authority, and the role-holder is expected to act accordingly.

White-directed organized groups.—In addition to these organized groups operating under native direction there exists on the settlement three organized groups directed by whites, but with native participants. These are the Sao and Fox Day School—a grade school directed by a principal employed by the Indian Service, and two Christian Missions—the United Presbyterian Mission and the Open Bible Gospel Mission. Co-ordinative authority for these groups is provided for and supported by white agencies outside Fox society, and the operation of this authority is relatively independent. Indian participation in the activities of these groups is modeled on the American associational pattern. Although the officers and personnel of the club are native, the real direction is that of the white sponsoring agency, and at times the officer group has included white women in important
positions. Very recently the local direction of the Presbyterian Mission has been taken over by a white-trained Fox man, and the Women's Club members complain that he does not furnish the support and guidance provided by his white predecessor.

Emergent groups.—In all of the above cases, group action was co-ordinated by means of a formally organized and relatively persistent organizational set-up. We should cite also instances where group action is mobilised around emergent issues or for some specific occasion.

The Fox conduct a series of religious ceremonials which are carried on outside the directional framework of any of the formally organized religious groups. These ceremonials—such as the Ghost Feast, the Adoption Feast, and Funeral Rites, are staged by individuals and family groups on the appropriate occasions. The authority necessary to co-ordinate these ventures—which are often quite large—is exercised smoothly and efficiently, and operates, usually through the channels of family organization, according to the traditional Fox modes for co-ordinating group action.

Organized activity is also initiated periodically in response to some emergent issue that importantly affects tribal welfare. In recent times co-ordinated action has been mobilised around such issues as claims against the Government, compulsory school attendance, the status of "half-breeds", the allotment and use of tribal land, and most frequently over disputes as to the proper authority and jurisdiction of the hereditary chief, the tribal council, and U.S. Government judicial and administrative agencies. Action in response to these issues usually results in the formation of temporary Delegation Groups, or Petition Groups.

The use of the Delegation as an instrument of organized tribal protest dates back many years; its use is recorded in 1804, and it has been employed many times subsequently. The "Delegation to Washington," or to the state government is well-established tradition.

More recent is the use of the petition as an instrument of protest. Interested individuals collect names in support of or in opposition to a given issue, and dispatch these to the appropriate authorities. The "effectiveness" of the authority exercised to set up and co-ordinate these Delegation or Petition groups depends largely on the particular issue involved, but, in general, the initiators and leaders of such groups have little trouble in mobilising a substantial number of individuals behind almost any vital issue.

Generalizations about Organized Groups

We have thus far examined briefly some twenty-five enterprises or organized groups whose functioning involves co-ordinative authority. About half of these have gone out of existence, while the other half are functioning today. Can we find any significant similarities within each of these two groups, or any significant differences between them that will help us answer the question of why some enterprises have failed while others persist? We will try to sum up the salient characteristics of these sets of activities in four statements describing general tendencies that seem to characterize Fox co-ordinated groups. We will pay particular attention to three factors: whether the model for the group activity is white or native; the presence and extent of white support; and the extent to which the purpose of group activity conforms to the values of traditional Fox culture. Our four generalizations are:

1. Organized groups whose basic organization model is native, and whose basic activities are native, tend to persist.
The characteristics of the "native organizational model" are generally those cited above. These are, very briefly:

a. The locus of authority lies in a broadly representational "consensus-group," rather than in one official, or a small staff of officials. This group arrives at most of its decisions by unanimous agreement, and exercises very little directive or innovating authority.

b. The nominally paramount authority-role holder does not exercise directive or decision-making functions, but serves primarily as an example to the group, and as a symbol of tribal tradition and group identity.

c. Nominally subordinate role-holders also lack directive functions, but have important duties involving relations with outside groups.

d. Activity is co-ordinated primarily by people following well-known traditional procedures rather than the directives of an authority-role holder or authority organ.

2. Enterprises that involve the setting up of an organizational system which differs to any important degree from the native model, and/or where the activity is not locally in line with native values, will not be undertaken unless initiated and actively supported by whites.

3. Organized groups whose basic organizational model is white, and which have been set up with active white support, tend to collapse when that support is withdrawn.

4. Groups whose formal organization is patterned after the white model, and whose basic activities or purposes are consonant with native values, tend to persist as long as active white participation or evident white approval remain at a sufficiently high level. Such groups, however, tend to be somewhat unstable; their operation is characterized by a considerable degree of friction, and they may collapse when white participation or active support is reduced to a sufficient extent.

Authority and the Co-Ordination of Action

Having formulated these general statements about Fox organized groups from our examination of a number of specific cases, we can turn again to our main problem—"What are the basic components of effective co-ordinative authority in Fox society?" If we take "persistence" as a rough index of successfully exercised authority, and "failure" as an indication of effective authority, and if we can then point out some of the reasons why some groups failed while others persist, we should be able to consider light on our problem, and thus "explain" the general tendencies we have observed.

In the third section of this paper we cited four elements necessary to the effective exercise of authority; certain functions must be performed; there must be constituted agencies—role-holders and authority

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1 The rather difficult question of what constitutes "native" as vs. "white" values will be touched upon briefly in later sections, but we cannot include a fuller discussion here. An example of the kind of difference in values involved here is the fact that agricultural activity by males, or even collective economic activity by males, was not "valued" in Fox society while it is quite acceptable in American society. For a discussion of the concept "value," see Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-orientations," in Towards a General Theory of Action, Parsons and Shils, Eds., 1951.
organs—to perform these functions; role-holders and group members must have access to a body of rules to guide their actions; and the exercise of authority must be backed up or validated by sanctions of some kind. It would be possible to discuss how each of these elements has operated to effect the success or failure of each of the groups we have cited, but we will find it more convenient to consider our cases under three categories—categories suggested by the above generalizations—and then look into the reasons behind the successes or failures in each category.

Our first category will include cases where the "model" for the organization is essentially native, and the basic group activity is traditional; our second will deal with cases where the organizational model is white, and the group activity is essentially American; our third, will cover groups where the organizational model is "mixed"; that is where elements of both native and white practice figure importantly in the organizational set-up.

For our problem here we will concern ourselves with those aspects of the above four elements that most directly influence the functioning of Fox organized groups: for the Fox the area of functions and roles involves the problem of reconciling the traditional system with the demands of the current situation; the area of rules involves the matter of instruction and support by whites in "new" activities, and also the feelings of native role-holders about their competence in these procedures; and the area of validation involves the attitudes of the people towards the values of both Fox and American society. In order to help ascertain these attitudes and feelings, a multiple-choice attitude questionnaire was administered to a sample of fifty adult Foxes; it was designed to ascertain overtly expressed attitudes to authority and collective action, and some of the results obtained will be used in this analysis.

The co-ordination of traditional activities.  We have seen that native ceremonials, which play a very important part in present-day Fox life, are conducted smoothly and efficiently, and command a high degree of interest and participation. On one Sunday in summer, 1951, three separate ceremonials were held—a Medicine Dance, a Clan Ceremony, and a Ghost Feast—with a total participation of approximately 175 people. A ceremonial such as the Adoption Feast or a Clan Ceremony involves coordinated action by at least 100 people, of whom 30 to 40 participate actively in an intricate and involved sequence of events. Why do these religious groups continue to function actively, and maintain such a level of interest and participation?

There are three important reasons; for these traditional religious activities the Fox accept as valid the ends of activity; they are familiar with the procedures involved in attaining these ends; and they accept as valid the kind of authority exercise associated with these procedures. The effective functioning of traditional activities does not depend on white support and approval; on the contrary—they are carried on in the face of persistent and often severe white opposition to what most neighboring whites regard as "pagan" practices, and white participation is generally discouraged. Whereas the absence of active white support seems to doom to failure the white-modelled activities, it appears likely that white opposition actually serves to spur on the persistence of traditional activities. These native ceremonials symbolize to the Fox the most sacred values of their own native culture; they represent the integrity and distinctiveness of their own society, and their refusal to capitulate in this area at least, to the insistent demands of the superordinate power. For enterprises that are felt by the Fox to lie within the proper province of native, indigenous activity and for which traditional modes of procedure are known, white participation is not
invited, and it is frequently resented. The questionnaire showed that .77 of the Fox were opposed to white participation in a situation felt to lie within the domain of traditional native practice. And as white support is not wanted in the conduct of these activities, neither is it needed to insure their successful operation. The procedures necessary to conduct these activities are well known to the Fox, and people feel secure in their ability to perform the requisite tasks. Both the roles and functions involved have been defined and handed down by tradition; they are known and accepted. This acceptance is assured because the role definitions are strictly in line with the basic Fox dictum prevailing for traditional native activities; centralized or concentrated authority cannot be sanctioned. The role of Ceremony-leader carries with it limited, circumscribed, low-intensity authority. Questionnaire responses showed that .76 of the Fox opposed concentrated decision-making authority in a matter relating to internal community welfare. This devaluation by the people of formal authority is shared also by prospective role-holders. The traditional response of the Fox nominee is, "I really don't want the job, but if the people really want me, it's my duty to accept," and this attitude to office is considered fitting and proper by .62 of the people.

The co-ordination of the white-modelled activities.—The situation is very different in the case of organized groups patterned after the white associational model. We have seen that the Fox have great difficulty in instituting enterprises that require this type of organization, and also in maintaining them, once instituted, unless white guidance and support is maintained at a high level. In cases where the purposes or ends of such enterprises are definitely at variance with the traditional values of the Fox, the reasons for such failure are not far to seek. The formation of man's agricultural groups, for example, runs counter to two traditional values of the Fox—first, a belief that farming is woman's work, and second, a prejudice against the formation of groups to pursue some special economic interest. To get such groups instituted at all requires constant and vigorous pressure by the white sponsors to overcome powerful resistance to these practices, and if this support is lessened or withdrawn, the Fox lack the motivation to continue practices that have been imposed in opposition to their traditional values. Enterprises initially undertaken only as a result of strong white pressure are abandoned as soon as that pressure is released.

But the fact that the ends of these activities might run counter to traditional Fox values is not the only reason for the failure or inefficient functioning of white-modelled groupings. This becomes evident where, as in the case of the American Legion or Band, the ends or purposes of the organization are accepted by the majority of people involved. The basic idea of an organization of males as musicians or warriors is sufficiently in line with traditional practice to be quite acceptable. To find the reasons for failure in these instances we must try to understand the way the Fox themselves feel about enterprises and activities conducted in the "white-man's way."

First and most important, they are troubled by a profound sense of inadequacy as to their competence to initiate or conduct such activities. This feeling contrasts sharply with their feelings of security and competence in the area of traditional activities. The first reason for this feeling of inadequacy is based on a very realistic consideration—an actual lack of knowledge of the procedures involved in white-modelled enterprises. The Fox have been exposed to formal education in the language and modes of life of the white man for only fifty years; there is still a generation which is ill at ease with the English language; their sons, the first generation "educated" in the white man's way, frequently received training that was hardly adequate to acquaint them with the
procedural details of white enterprises. A white engaged with the Fox in a white-modelled enterprise is constantly confronted with the question: "Now what should we do?"

But it is impossible, in considering this feeling of inadequacy, to separate the actual, realistic lack of procedural knowledge from the fear of ignorance and incompetence experienced by virtually every Fox authority-role holder. There are some men among the Fox who have attained considerable competence in the procedures of the white-modelled activity. But their potential level of competence is vastly reduced by a basic, overriding fear of inadequacy that greatly reduces the possibility of effective action. This fear is tied in with a tradition that has become an implicit and deeply-held conviction—a conviction that the white man's way is something mysterious and apart—something possessed of mysterious power and magic potency, a power which the Indian is essentially and inevitably prevented from understanding or sharing. A young woman with post-high-school training still believes that "they [the whites] are too smart for us. The Indians can't talk like the whites; they know how to say anything—they can talk straight or crooked..."

The feeling of inadequacy is reinforced by the attitudes of the local whites, who, in general, choose to regard the Indians as inferior and incompetent, or as "irresponsible." The Indians accept this characterization of themselves by people whose judgment they respect, and such acceptance tends to accentuate their own inner convictions.

This fear of inadequacy is but the other face of a powerful "built-in" dependency on the whites for guidance and support in white-modelled enterprises. This deeply rooted dependency feeling is in part a legacy from the days when the U.S. Government followed a conscious policy of enfeebling the Indians and the basis of their economic and social order that they would be forced to become completely and unquestionably dependent on the support of the whites for their very survival. The Government—and all whites as they represent the government—is truly the "Great White Father" the Indians were forced to become, and now respond as, incompetent minors, as children who must depend on a powerful father for the satisfaction of their most important needs, and who feel insecure and fearful without that support.

Responses to the Questionnaire clearly document this powerful feeling of dependency. Although there has been no Government Agent resident on the Fox settlement for some years, the Fox declare themselves 73 in favor of the return of a full-time resident Government Agent. One very capable woman added, in answering this question: "I like people to run my affairs!" An even higher percentage favored the continuance of direct government administrative supervision. Seventy-eight per cent favored the continuance of their dependent "wardship" position, and opposed the idea of current measures to reduce the extent of that control.

In the conduct of white-modelled enterprises Fox role-holders—independent of their actual degree of competence—feel insecure and fearful unless they are sure that white aid, guidance, support, is close or quickly available. One of the best trained and most competent councilmen referred to a situation well within his grasp in these terms: "They (the Government) should handle this! We're wards of the Government. This is a legal matter—we need lawyers... the Government knows how to go about that. We can't handle this!"

Corresponding to the feelings of inadequacy and fear of responsibility on the part of authority-role holders is a lack of trust in their competence by the people. This is expressed both as a lack of confidence in their ability, and as doubts as to their honesty. A college-trained
woman points out the need of continued white support in these terms: "There's no one here smart enough to know what was happening if someone [from outside the settlement] tried to put something over on us. . . ."

A Council Head replied to a question as to an appropriate person to disburse some funds: "I'm afraid there's no one here like that. I'm afraid no one could be trusted with that money. . . ."

To "conflicts over ends" and "fear of inadequacy" we must add a third very important reason for the difficulties that beset white-modelled organizations. This is a conflict over the amount and kinds of authority to be exercised by those who occupy authority-roles in those groupings. For an organization based on the American associational model to function successfully, it is usually necessary that officers be invested with considerable authority. The Fox recognize this, and willingly accept this authority, so long as it is a white man who exercises it. Not only is the authority of a white farm agent, agency superintendent, police officer or school principal accepted in most cases, but it is welcomed, and frequently solicited. This is in line with the observed tendency of the Fox to become very dependent on white direction and support in white-modelled enterprises. But concurrent with this idea that it is perfectly acceptable for white officials to exercise considerable authority there is the powerful conviction by the Fox that the authority of an Indian in a native authority role must be highly limited and circumscribed. The concurrent ideas about authority cause considerable conflict in those instances where an attempt is made to turn over to natives the direction of a white-initiated, white-modelled enterprise. Having definite ideas about the behavior of a white in a white authority role, and the behavior of an Indian in a native authority role, the Fox experience considerable conflict over the idea of an Indian in a white authority role.

What happens almost always is that the Fox respond to the role-holder not as the occupant of a white-defined authority role, but as an Indian who is bound by the native code of behavior. They refuse to accept the amount of authority exercised without which a white-modelled organization cannot function, and in consequence the organization flounders badly, or folds entirely, unless whites continue to back up and visibly support the native role-holder. An outstanding example of this sort of failure was the Tribal Court— instituted under white direction. The idea of a member of their own tribe having the power—essential, of course, to the functioning of a white judicial system—to pass judgments and impose sentences was absolutely intolerable to the great majority of Fox. The court was dissolved after a few months of ineffective operation, and resentment against the judge—one of the tribe's most capable men, was so strong that he was excluded from any tribal position of authority for ten years. The case of the Band illustrates the same principle. Although based on the white model, the band was administered effectively for some years, due largely to the fact that decision making was in the hands of a group that included council members, and that the role of band leader involved only the limited authority connected with musical direction. However, in 1942 the band leader tried to expand the authority of his role, and assume decision-making and administrative functions in addition to his validated function of musical direction. A group of band members refused to accept this augmented authority, failed to appear at performances, and the band broke up. Resentment against the band leader was bitter and prolonged. Subsequent attempts to revive the band were unsuccessful, even with the promise of white aid. The white-modelled American Legion is another case in point. Set up with active white support, the first commander acted in accordance with traditional Fox practice; the highly limited authority thus exercised prevented the organization from functioning very "effectively," in white terms, but it permitted it to keep going. The second commander
determined to change this situation, and exercise sufficient authority to enable the organization to function "effectively." Resentment against this policy was so great that the Legion probably would have broken up, had it not been for the presence on the settlement of the active and interested white veteran, who furnished the degree of white support necessary to keep the organization going. The ambitious commander was so distressed by the resistance he had encountered that he prepared to leave the community.

Although an apparent impasse is created for native-run, white-modelled activities by the fact that the amount of authority necessary to effective functioning is not acceptable to the Fox, we have seen that if white support behind the nominal native authority-role holder remains at a high enough level the organization can keep going. Another possible solution to this apparent impasse is achieved by adopting the external form of the white-modelled association, but modifying the actual practices involved in its operation to conform more closely to native standards. We shall see how this has happened in the case of what we shall call "mixed-model" activities.

The baseball team is the one example we have of a white-modelled group that has continued to function successfully. However, the organizational set-up of an American baseball team is not very different from that of similar traditional Fox games, nor is it necessary that particularly complicated or unfamiliar practices be learned by the participants. Thus role-holders do not experience much insecurity as to their ability to execute the procedures involved. In addition, the game of baseball is conducted much as a religious ritual—with all participants familiar with a set of traditionally-established rules of procedure. Thus very little directive authority is needed to co-ordinate action, which is in line with Fox practice. The degree of white support we have seen to be necessary to the continuance of white-modelled groups is also present here; although whites do not participate in the actual administration of Fox baseball teams, the team itself is part of a league for which the necessary administrative functions are provided by white officials, and the Fox team need only fit into its established position within this administrative set-up. Add to this the fact that baseball is well supported by motives eminently acceptable to the Fox; we have seen how baseball furnishes an arena for the earning of prestige by young men, and gives the Fox a chance to interact with neighboring whites in an area where not only can they participate on equal terms but are also able frequently to demonstrate equal or superior ability.

It is evident that the failure of any given enterprise cannot be simply attributed to any single factor of those we have cited; more generally all of them are operative in each case, and it is usually a combination of conflict over ends, insecurity of native role holders, lack of trust in them by the people, withdrawn or insufficient white support, and non-acceptance of the necessary authority that leads to the failure of white-modelled activities. The influence of all these deterrent factors can be seen most clearly, perhaps, in cases where enterprises have been proposed or projected, but never got started. We have cited the Stone House crafts project; the Government-sponsored improvement project; these are only two of a large number of ventures that have been suggested or planned, either by interested whites or the Fox themselves. There are almost always conflicts about the desirability of the project; for the government project the Fox were torn between their desires for a "better" community, and fears that substantial changes might lead to a serious disturbance of the status quo. Despite the fact that the Fox rejected the community improvement project when it was presented, their attitude toward a similar project suggested in the questionnaire was favorable; .76 favored Fox participation in a large-
scale, white-administered project. It would seem that the Fox are willing, abstractly and in advance prospect, to go along with a white-modelled venture, for which adequate and dependable white direction is secured—but when faced with the immediate prospect of such an enterprise, they are beset with the feelings of fear and insecurity about new and unfamiliar practices and their adequacy to perform them that we have already cited.

Dealing with a similar situation, the questionnaire inquired into attitudes towards a native-managed collective crafts project, resembling the proposed Stone House project. Eighty per cent felt that it was a desirable thing, and only .12 felt that it was definitely wrong. Why, then, has nothing been done to initiate such a venture? In the first place, the apparent high approval of the end in this case is somewhat deceptive. The practice of collective economic action was virtually absent in aboriginal Fox society; craft work was and still is an individual or small family undertaking, and consequently there exists the fears and uncertainties that always accompany a venture for which no adequate aboriginal precedent exists. Potential leaders in such a venture are hampered both by actual ignorance of the requisite commercial and organizational practices, and by the ever-present fear of assuming independent, "responsible" authority. The Fox agree that it would be nice to "bell the cat," but no one will step out and volunteer to try. If active and persistent white support in both organization and administration became available, there is little doubt that such a venture could be initiated, and would function so long as the white support remained at a high level.

The co-ordination of mixed-model activities.—We have seen that organizations such as the present-day Council and Pow-wow are modified outgrowths of groupings existing in native Fox society. Unlike groups such as the American Legion and 4-H Club, which were introduced directly from the outside and had no precedent in Fox culture, the Council and Pow-wow developed gradually—little by little incorporating elements of white practice into already existing native groupings, and assuming, by slow accretion, the appearance of the white-modelled association. Both of these groups passed through a "re-organization" phase—the Council in 1938, the Pow-wow in 1924—during which the white concept of "organization"—the formal elements of the white associational pattern—was "added in" to these already existing groups. Thus in their present form elements of both native and white practice are importantly represented, and we shall call such groups "mixed" model groupings. We have seen that such mixed-model groups as the Council, Pow-wow, Entertainment units, have persisted and continue to function vigorously. That they do not function with the "efficiency" expected of an ideal white-model association is less important than the fact that they are functioning, and achieving the ends towards which they operate. Both local whites and Indians complain about inefficiency and inadequacies in the operation of the Pow-wow and Council; in so doing they are comparing their operation with that of an equivalent white venture, and fail to realize that each represents a very successful compromise between the demands of two systems—demands in many ways antithetical. In many ways the operation and characteristics of these mixed-model groups lie somewhere in between those of the well-run native ceremonial activities, and the white-model groups, so dependent on white support.

In general, the ends or purposes of the mixed-model groups are supported by the values of both American and Fox society. A council of men as the basic administrative body of a small social unit is consonant with the democratic values of both the Americans and the Fox. The pow-wow is important in many ways to the Fox (see Lisa Peattie's paper, above, for a discussion of what the Pow-wow means to the Fox), and the Americans approve it because they respect any successful commercial venture, because it provides
both prestige and commercial advantage for the local community, and because they enjoy the pageantry and "exotic primitive" quality of the performances.

Role-holders in these organizations are not immobilized by the fears of inadequacy and paralyzing dependency that characterize role-holders in white-model groupings. This is because the basic core of the mixed-model groupings consists of traditional practices which the role-holders feel secure in their competence to perform. White procedures have been incorporated slowly and gradually, generally with competent white guidance, so that the native role-holders have had a chance to learn them within a context whose basic elements were already familiar to them. This is not to say that officers in these organizations do not frequently display a considerable lack of confidence in their own abilities—but it is notable that the greatest amount of insecurity is found in connection with those roles which are most clearly white in definition—such as secretary or treasurer. Both money and writing were absent in aboriginal Fox society. It has frequently happened that when the table of organization for a group has called for a secretary and treasurer that the Fox will put two men in either or both of these spots—each to support the wavering self-confidence of the other and to reassure the group itself. The fear of "going too fast" in the adoption of white practices is especially noticeable; most proposals that involve new, more "efficient" operating procedures or American-type practices are met with a high degree of caution and resistance. Even those practices taken over from the American model have assumed a traditionalized cast; role-holders have come to feel quite secure about them, and resent proposed changes or additions.

Attitudes towards white support for these activities lie somewhere in between the enervating dependency feelings seen in the case of white-modelled organizations, and the hands-off attitude that prevails for traditional activities. White participation in the actual administration of mixed-model activities is usually neither wanted nor needed; but white support—both in the form of evident approbation of the purposes of the activity and financial aid in their operation—is wanted and needed. The general feeling is: "If you approve of this activity and will help us with money, we can run it ourselves." The Fox prefer to conduct their ordinary council meetings without white participation and are extremely proud of the fact that the Pow-wow administration is all native; Pow-wow Committee stationery proudly bears the legend: "Under All-Indian Management." The Fox are well aware of their past failures in white-modelled activities, and the Pow-wow serves to demonstrate, both to themselves and to neighboring whites, that they can succeed in conducting a commercial enterprise that has the external form, at least, of the white association.

This pride in independent indigenous administration does not mean, however, that Fox authority-role holders are unwilling to seek out white aid or assistance in difficult or unfamiliar procedural matters. It must be remembered that their original knowledge of the white aspects of mixed-model activities was acquired under white tutelage, and the Fox like to feel that such assistance is never too far off. The people as a whole seem divided between the feeling of pride in independent administration and the desire for white advisory aid for mixed-model activities; the questionnaire showed that .46 favored the idea of a native role-holder asking white assistance on an unfamiliar procedural matter, while .56 opposed it. However, if these percentages are broken down to compare the responses of those actually involved in administration with those who are not, we find that only .43 of role-holders as against .64 non-role-holders oppose seeking white aid. Also, in cases where the matter involved is admittedly difficult, only .28 of the sample, and .19 of the role-holders oppose seeking white aid.
To understand the way in which mixed-model groups operate, as well as the way people feel about them, we will find it useful to make a distinction between the external, close-to-the-surface picture that people have of such organizations, and the way in which they actually operate. Much of what goes on in this area becomes clearer if we recognize that there is frequently a considerable difference between what is "explicit"—what people say, does or should happen—and what is "implicit"—what actually does happen.1

We have seen that both the Council and the Pow-wow Committee went through a phase of "re-organization," during which the organizational set-up of these authority organs was brought in line with the form of the white associational model. There is a constitution, the usual staff of officers, periodic "free elections," designated committees, regular meetings, minutes, and so on. On the face of it, these groups seem like any white association. But the external appearance is deceptive; an examination of the way these groups actually function reveals that their operation conforms far more closely to the traditional Fox Chief-council pattern than to the white associational model. What the Fox have done is to change the definition of the white-defined authority roles, such as president and secretary, so as to permit the groups to function along traditional lines, while retaining the names and forms of the white system. This "neo-Fox" organizational set-up has the same named roles as its white counterpart, only the role-holders act differently, and mean different things to the people.

The nominally paramount authority-role, that of "president," or "head," is usually occupied by a man who appears very ineffectual, in white terms. He displays virtually no initiative, and exercises little or no directive authority. His role resembles that of the traditional Peace Chief—in that he represents the traditional values of the society, symbolizes the unity of the group, and acts to secure consensus and agreement in group activities. It is the man acting in the role of "secretary" who is actually the most influential or "effective" role-holder, in white terms. People frequently say of the Pow-wow Committee president: "Oh, he's just a figurehead; the secretary does all the work." The Fox have redefined the role of "secretary" to include a special set of authority functions; functions which the interdependent position of the Fox in their relation to white society has made necessary. The secretary performs what are essentially "liaison" functions; it is important that he be someone who is competent in white ways, and not afraid to deal with and "talk up to" the whites. He serves as the contact link between the local authority organ and outside agencies, and acts in situations which require literacy, and competence in white procedural matters.

It is important to note that this new, "important" Fox authority-role does not include directive or decision-making functions. In line with the traditional pattern, decision-making remains the prerogative of the authority organ as a whole, and in this process the secretary acts merely as another member of the group—albeit one who is considered especially informed in the area of white practice. Thus the role of secretary provides a place for the individual who is capable and competent; it does not provide a place for someone motivated to exercise directive authority.

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We have seen that aboriginally the Fox permitted only limited
tenure for a role-holder who got his position by personal achievement,
but approved of extended, lifelong tenure for someone in a hereditary
position. For hereditary-based positions in traditional groupings—such
as "clan-ceremony host"—this idea still prevails. But in the case of
mixed-model groupings we find differences both of conception and practice
in the area of "recruitment," or how people get into authority positions.
There are popular elections every two years for the Pow-wow committee,
but we have seen that beneath the external form of the white practice of
"election," membership on the committee is still determined largely by
hereditary considerations. Although this is not written down anywhere,
there seems to be a "spot" on the committee for at least one representa-
tive of most of the important families, and this spot is appropriately
filled each year. Of three "opposing" elate informally presented for
the 1952 elections, there was an overlap of .25 on the three lists; .63
of the candidates were common to lists 1 and 2; .18 to lists 1 and 3,
and .31 common to 2 and 3.

For the Council, however, a different situation exists. There
is a high rate of turnover for council positions. The 28 positions open
for election between 1938 and 1951 have been filled by 22 different men;
only 7 men were elected twice, and only one was elected three times. This
evident dissatisfaction with elected councilmen reflects the fact that
council positions, being under closer supervision of white authorities
than Pow-wow positions, involve considerably more directive authority,
and the Fox are able to evince their dissatisfaction with this "improper"
amount of authority exercise by regularly getting rid of their councilmen.
Again we find reluctance to accept the authority of an Indian acting in
a white-defined authority-role.

Decision-making, for these groups, remains the prerogative of a
representative "consensus-group"—in the case of the Pow-wow—the 12 to
15 man Pow-wow Committee. We have seen how the Pow-wow Committee took
over the functions of the Council as the primary authority organ for tra-
ditional activity at a time when the council was being forced to function
along lines highly divergent from traditional practice. These exists
presently some feeling that a 12-man administrative body is too large for
"efficient" functioning, and there are some plans to reduce its size to 5
or 6 members. In light of the Fox feeling that decision-making authority
should be maximally diffuse and maximally representative, it seems likely
that such a change would encounter considerable resistance.

There exist, at present, no formal agencies for the enforcement
of rules or the punishment of offenders for this 400-person community.
There is no policeman, no sheriff, no court of law. All of these agencies
for enforcing authority have been tried in the past, and all have failed—
victims to the Fox conviction that it is improper to invest coercive au-
thority so conspicuously in one individual or organ. Public opinion re-
mains the primary agency of social control. Despite the absence of formal
law-enforcement agencies, the crime rate is amazingly low. Common misde-
meanors such as petty larceny and vandalism are rare or absent; there is
really only one crime prevalent in the Fox community, and that is miscon-
duct while drunk. Such misconduct can range from minor automobile acci-
dents to assault, but drunkenness is almost always involved. The preval-
ence and effectiveness of informal mechanisms of social control—gossip,
fear of witchcraft, expressed public opinion—are enough to validate the
directives of Fox authority organs, and produce an unusually "law-abiding"
community.

When we look at the attitudes of the people towards mixed-model
activities we find the same discrepancy between the explicit and the actual
that we observed in the operation of these groups. Since these organiza-
tions maintain the form of white organizations, people tend to conceive of
them, on a surface level, as if they were, in reality, white modelled or-
ganizations. But since they function primarily along traditional lines,
people involved in the actual operation of the groups maintain the actions
and attitudes appropriate to traditional activities. Questionnaire re-
sponses showed that .66 of the sample approved the idea of active direc-
tive authority by a role-holder in a mixed-model grouping—such authority
being considered fitting and proper in a white-modelled organization. But
in reality we have observed case after case where any attempts by an au-
thority-role holder to exercise any real directive authority were promptly
and effectively squashed. We have cited here the case of the band leader,
the Legion Commander, the Tribal Court Judge. In advance prospect, and
in accordance with the external conception that these organizations are
white-modelled, such authority seems desirable. But in actual cases, and
faced with actual attempts to exercise such authority, response is quick
and definite. Such role-holders meet with powerful resistance and resent-
ment. The wife of an ousted Councilman says of her husband's experience—
"He was pushed out. They passed around a petition to get him off the
council. They said he was trying to run everything. . . ." Opinions of a
highly competent role-holder who tried to exercise authority the "white
way" are strong and widespread: "He wants to be top man of anything he's
in; he went down so low that nobody wanted anything to do with him"; "He's
a funny guy, you can't trust him; he wants to run everything himself. . . ."
In this case people equate the attempt to exercise authority with untrust-
worthiness. A third ex-councilman is spoken of with bitterness: "He's in
trouble with everybody; he wants to run everything." "He likes to think
he's powerful! He'll brag about anything!" "He wants to lead the people!
He's always going around, trying to tell people what to do. But nobody
listens to him. . . ."

These opinions about specific individuals in concrete situations
are quite different from attitudes expressed, in the abstract, about the
general idea of active authority exercise by a native. The questionnaire
showed also that .67 of the sample approved the idea of extended tenure by
a native in a white-defined authority role. But in practice, as we saw
in the case of the Council, people quickly become dissatisfied with indi-
viduals in these positions, and seldom permit extended tenure. People
also expressed explicit approval of a "capable" individual occupying au-
thority roles in a number of different organizations, both native and
white-modelled. Seventy-two per cent favored such multiple incumbency. In
practice, this is extremely rare.

It is significant that the Fox seem to be much more aware of their
failures to co-ordinate action than of their successes. They speak of
these failures frequently, and are ready with explanations for them, but
tend to take for granted the successful functioning of such groups as the
ceremonial societies, entertainment units, and baseball teams. Thus a
newcomer to the community gets an impression of far more friction, break-
down, and disorganization than actually exists. In fact, the Fox community
is a vital and a going concern; the visitor who accepts uncritically the
Foxes' own evaluation of themselves will get a distorted picture. It is
likely that the Fox tend to emphasize and accentuate the disruptive and
discordant aspects of community life because they have in their minds a
picture of what "ideal" community life should be like—a picture inherited
from those relatively tranquil and undisturbed days before the coming of
the whites. The Fox are a highly moral people; their idea of what consti-
tutes "correct" human relations involves a picture of group interaction
astonishingly free from dispute, discord, or disharmony of any sort. One
should treat all his fellow tribemen as if they were his brothers and
sisters, his fathers and mothers; and brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers, should be treated with utmost respect and affection. Thus the Fox are apt to be shocked and dismayed by what a white man would consider the ordinary disputes and frictions to be expected in any day to day enterprise. Harmonious and frictionless group functioning is only to be expected, and is "right"; what difficulties and disputes occur are not at all "right"; and thus occasion much discussion, comment and complaint. "They are not acting as Indians should."

It is hard for the Fox to realize that the difficulties that seem so apparent and so wrong to them are due primarily to stresses and strains that are inevitably present when a social system is changing from one mode of operation to another. In their bewilderment they search about for simple and obvious reasons for their difficulties—the oft repeated plaint—"It is all due to the factions; whatever one side is for the other is against..." furnishes a simple and easily understandable explanation for what we have seen to be a fairly complex and subtly interrelated combination of causes: conflicts over values; fears of inadequacy; enforced dependency; ideals of "proper" authority and "proper" group relations. But despite these fears and complaints that lie close to the surface, the Fox have created and are creating a workable synthesis; a mode of achieving collective action within their own community that reconciles the demands and ideals of a tiny band of primitive hunters and farmers with those of a gigantic industrialized bureaucracy.

"Action Anthropology" and acculturation theory

In April, 1952, America Indigena published Tax's "Action Anthropology," Exhibit 22. This work attempted to put into order a wide variety of fact and value questions and it foreshadowed a concept of culture which is unlike either the early evolutionists' concept of culture as a worldwide summation of traits or the later functionalist conception which sees the parts of the cultures of particular societies in very tight and precarious balance. Here, it is proposed that what needs to be done to help communities such as the Fox is to create the possibility of choice. The earlier concept of culture is perhaps irrelevant to this question, but the later, functionalist conception—at least in its more extreme forms—would seem to indicate far otherwise. If creating areas of choice in an Indian community is to contribute to the welfare of that community, then clearly a far "looser" conception of culture is implied. Clearly, members of a society cannot realistically decide to keep or reject the total way of life; they make decisions about parts of a way of life and, unless this is to be fatally disruptive, there must be a wide range of functional equivalences or cultures must have an unsuspected capacity to create new balances among old and new parts.

Another train of thought about culture was also taking form in Tax's mind, apparently at cross-purposes to the implications of his action ideas. In the spring of 1952, at approximately the same time as "Action Anthropology" was being published, Tax spoke to the Central States Anthropological Society at Columbus, Exhibit 23, and there attempted the first ordering of the new concept of acculturation. Earlier, in March of 1952, Tax had suggested to the gathered school boards of Tama and Toledo, Iowa, that it might be wrong to expect that the Fox will inevitably disappear—probably the first public utterance of the new hypothesis.

That new hypothesis was in part a generalization from a wide variety of impressionistic experiences in sundry American Indian communities and from Tax's studies in Middle America. Tax had visited the Pueblos
in 1950 and had been struck by similarities between these "conservative" societies and "aculturating" Fox society. Two of Tax's students, Edward Bruner and Leonard Borman, visited Ft. Berthold and the Penobscot of Maine respectively, and they reported similar common dimensions of Indian-ness.

Besides the various impressions of similarities between Indian groups and contrast between them all and white society, the new ideas about acculturation were probably importantly affected by the values decision that the activities in the Fox community should include interference. Once one sets out to do something he necessarily begins to ask the question: What is now being done wrongly? And asking that question leads to the questioning of the bases of those possibly wrong actions. In the case of American Indians it was very clear that government policy is in fact based on the idea of eventual, inevitable assimilation.

It does not seem that the new view developed out of the Fox project proper. Tax, from his early Fox studies on, had evidenced a tendency to give great weight to conservative elements in a total way of life. But, except for Leslie's passing remark in his journal in 1949, there was very little mention of conservatism and no suggestion that the Fox might not be undergoing some inevitable process of acculturation and assimilation. Rather, the results of the chance congruence of Tax's above-mentioned experiences and his apparent bias was a vision of the American Indian situation as presenting a characteristic syndrome overlying particular tribal differences and involving such elements as resistance to government and the development of factions. In all of the cases, the Indian groups presented strong contrasts to white society and the inference was made that these differences were old and basic in the Indian cultures. Furthermore, it seemed that the Indian communities were not diminishing in population.

The loose concept of culture implied by Tax's action suggestions and the apparently rigid conception implied by the acculturation hypothesis did not clearly fit together. Nonetheless, both sets of ideas pressed the thinking about activities in the Fox community away from economic programs and toward education. If the Fox are to have free choice, white men must see that that is necessary; if the Fox are not disappearing, white men should know that and quit acting according to the expectation.

Exhibit 22

Action Anthropology

Sol Tax

Some years ago in this journal I published a paper in which I argued that since the scientist is oriented toward solving problems of theory, while the administrator or consultant is directed toward solving practical problems, the applied anthropologist must sacrifice one or the other. The scientific researcher looks to the general, while the administrator needs to know the particular; to combine the two requires the sacrifice in some degree of one or the other or both. I am now in effect reversing that position, and arguing for an activity that pursues both ends equally. I call it "action anthropology" and it requires that the anthropologist move wholly into a problem situation—say an Indian tribe or

1Revision of paper read at 50th meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, 1951.

community which is in trouble—and work independently to diagnose and to treat the difficulty in all of its aspects, and to do so as a research anthropologist.

By definition, action anthropology is an activity in which an anthropologist has two coordinate goals, to neither one of which he will delegate an inferior position. He wants to help a group of people to solve a problem, and he wants to learn something in the process. He refuses ever to think or to say that the people involved are for him a means of advancing his knowledge; and he refuses to think or to say that he is simply applying science to the solution of those people's problems.

Whether action anthropology is a variety of applied anthropology, or something quite different, depends on one's conception of applied anthropology, which is itself changing rapidly. If applied anthropology presupposes a body of scientific knowledge—compendent empirical propositions—developed by theoretical anthropologists and awaiting application to particular situations when we are asked to do so by management, government, administrator, or organization, then action anthropology is far different. For one thing, the action anthropologist can have no master; he works as a member of the academic community. For another, the action anthropologist realizes that his problem is less the application of general propositions than the development and clarification of goals and the compromising of conflicting ends or values. In fact, the action anthropologist finds that the proportion of new knowledge which must be developed in the situation is very great in comparison to old knowledge which he can apply. He is and must be a theoretical anthropologist, not only in background but in practice.

But of course the action anthropologist eschews "pure science." For one thing his work requires that he not use people for an end not related to their own welfare; people are not rats and ought not to be treated like them. Not only should we not hurt people; we should not use them for our own ends. Community research is thus justifiable only to the degree that the results are imminently useful to the community and easily outweigh the disturbance to it. When the theoretical anthropologist publishes his report of a literate community, he changes the name and disguises it as well as he can—and perhaps keeps away from the place. The townspeople may resent his having used them for some purpose not their own. Sometimes they suppose he has made millions off them. The action anthropologist on the other hand characteristically would not only not publish anonymously but his report is likely to be part of the program itself, participated in by the community. In any case, he has moral justification for expecting the community which gains from his scholarship to help the development of new knowledge that may be used to help others. One may characterize action anthropology by saying that the community in which it works is not only its subject of study but also its object.

The action anthropologist disclaims pure science also because his method is what I call clinical, perhaps experimental, in the sense that a physician continually improves his diagnosis with tentative remedies. Theory in the field of socio-cultural dynamics requires that we understand not simply the culture and its personality characteristics, and the functional interrelations of institutions, but also the perceptions by people of the alternatives which face them in changing situations. Such perceptions critically influence the ultimate reaction of the society and culture to a change. The best if not only way to test a hypothesis concerning a group's perception of a situation is to change the situation in terms of the hypothesis. Indeed, one may say that description of the culture itself (in such terms) requires a program of action in the same way that diagnosis of a sickness often requires treatment. The interplay between understanding of the situation and doing something about it and then completely understand-
ing it better is so intimate in theory concerning the dynamics of accul-
turation that simple observation is a wholly inadequate tool.

Moreover, I must emphasize that in this work current theory is
never enough. The basic problem that the action anthropologist deals with
is community organization, and his chief tool is education. If a teacher
in a simple classroom situation must add art and experience to science,
and must forever try and change and try again, how much more so must this
be true of the action anthropologist who is intent on effecting a total
situation that includes perhaps a dependent people, itself plit into fac-
tions; a bureaucracy which represents power; and surrounding communities
of a different culture; each with its personalities and its history, its
expectations and its views of the others? In such a complex situation his
ever increasing storehouse of proved knowledge is useful but never suffi-
cient. He must guess and improvise, and in some degree always play by feel.
In order to learn, he must therefore teach; and thus deny himself the simple
role of observer, or even participant observer. He becomes in a sense a
more responsible scientist, playing "for keeps" in the development of his
theory; with the consequences of error a burden heavy upon his own work,
his future, and his conscience. Lost then is the comfortable familiarity
of objectivity, and the mantle of science as it is usually understood.

Not only is the action anthropologist faced with an array of
difficult problems in his work, but he may be suspected by colleagues of
deserting the common ideal of building an edifice of theory in terms of
tested general propositions of some kind. It is difficult to get funds
for work; familiar research patterns are violated. Perhaps it is also
difficult to get theses written and accepted.

To some people action anthropology may even be confused with so-
cial work. Indeed, we often find ourselves dealing with social agencies,
Rotary clubs, missionaries and the like. But it is not social work. This
brings me now to the other side of the coin. Just as action anthropology
cannot be pure science for reasons both ethical and academic, so also—
for reasons not dissimilar—it can never simply apply knowledge to a
practical social problem.

I have said that the corpus of knowledge that may be applied to a
situation always falls far short of the needs of effective action. Applica-
tion of what knowledge there is one takes for granted. Not to turn
about to replenish the common pot seems almost immoral. Every situation
has its unique elements, and should be reported. One at least hopes that
physicians report their cases, and we expect the same of applied anthro-
pologists of all kinds. But to report applications is only the least that
we expect. I have indicated that the action anthropologist works relative-
ly little in terms of applying knowledge. He improvises and creates; he
learns more from his trials than he puts into them in the way of knowledge.
He cannot do his practical work unless he can create new knowledge. There-
fore he must be primarily a scholar, oriented to academic ends, and part
of the tradition and of the community of scholars. In short, he must be a
researcher, with all that this implies.

These then are the reasons why action anthropology must share equally
the ends of science and of administration. It does so through community
action which educates all factors in a complex situation to their own and
each other's goals, to mediate them, clarify them, and eventually make them
effective. The method used is related to specific theory coming out of
anthropology, sociology, and social psychology. Suffice it to say now that the
theory and methods we have been using come from and are adapted to work
with small groups, even primary groups, rather than large classes of people.
I suggest that action anthropology should follow the most common tradition.
of anthropology and try mainly to understand small communities, and parti-
cularly small communities of culture alien to our own. If some division
of labor is justified, I would suggest that action anthropology is pecu-
liarily able to deal with such communities of alien cultures which are en-
cyted in large societies and in some way subordinated to people of a more
or less western industrial culture. This leaves out labor unions, depart-
ment stores, and so-called modern communities, giving them perhaps to
action sociologists or others. Perhaps I give us too little scope to
operate in, but it still includes most of the world.

It is at least with this kind of group that action anthropologists
at Chicago have had experience. The place where we began to learn was
among the Fox Indians, a community of four hundred-odd of the only Indians
in Iowa. We went there to study traditional anthropological problems. The
malaise of the community and sympathy with individual Indians; interest in
social and cultural dynamics; and the ethical considerations mentioned
earlier, conspired to turn us into actionists. With this experience we
undertook a program in the Fort Berthold reservation in northwestern North
Dakota, where 2,300 Indians of Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara origin are be-
ing flooded out by the building of the Garrison dam. As we looked into
the technical problems of relocation we quickly realized both that these
were incidental to problems of community consensus, which in turn depended
heavily on the social structure in relation to whites, and also that our
experience with the Fox was surprisingly easily transferable to Fort Ber-
thold. This meant both that the crisis occasioned by the coming of the
relocation was incidental, if not unimportant, and that the Fox situation
had some easily seen generic qualities. Since then we have noted the simi-
larities in so many American Indian tribes that it is tempting to develop a
general theory perhaps applicable also to similar communities all over the
world.

The results of these programs will take time to materialize; mean-
while, on the basis of experience thus far it seems useful to discuss sev-
eral problems in connection with our approach.

First are questions concerning the training of an action anthro-
pologist. I have said that he must be a scholar and researcher—an ac-
daemic person. In addition, he must have considerable social talents. He
must not only be able to get along with the various factions of his com-
muinity, with the variety of people of the surrounding society, and with gov-
ernment agents, but he must influence them all strongly. Probably we
cannot do much toward developing such abilities, and can only select for
them. Since persons so qualified are not commonly found among Ph.D. candi-
dates, our problem may be to seek out and develop more.

What training must we give them? The answer is that they are an-
thropologists, specifically social or cultural anthropologists, and hence
require the basic training in general anthropology and the special training

1 See particularly papers by Lloyd Fallers, "The Role of Factional-
ism in Fox Acculturation"; Lisa Peattie, "Being a Mesquakie Indian"; Robert
Rietz, "A Discussion of Contemporary Fox Social Organization, together with
a Proposal for a Combined Program of Social Engineering and Social Science
Research," all M.A. papers at the University of Chicago; and the forthcom-
ing paper of Walter Miller, "The Authority System of the Fox Indians."

2 See Robert Merrill, "Fort Berthold Relocation Problems," M.A. paper,
University of Chicago. Robert Rietz has been engaged in the program as a
community worker employed by the U.S. Indian Service.
in ethnology and cultural dynamics which all of us need. But action anthropologists need special understanding of the structure of society and the dynamics of social action, with the study in sociology and social psychology needed to achieve such understanding. In addition, they must study the experiences reported by action anthropologists, and as soon as possible gain their own field experience. Probably the field experience is an integral part of an emotional conversion to action anthropology, and probably such a conversion is necessary for success in action.

A second question emerges. If this level of training is necessary, and human material so scarce, how can we expect to solve problems in any proportion of the communities where there are problems? The picture comes to mind of training thousands of action anthropologists to work with Point-4 teams, the Indian Service, the Trust Territories, and other agencies. The answer seems to be a hope that a few action anthropologists in key spots will influence many others; since ours is a problem of education, and education has a way of spreading, the hope has some basis.

A very knotty problem which we are far from solving relates to the question of publication, which I passed over before. Publication is part of the developing situation and must go on; yet to communicate to colleagues what should be communicated may involve hurting the project in some manner. The solution may be to educate the people involved in the needs of scholarship and their duty to those needs.

The most difficult practical question is, however, how to relate the action anthropologist to the project. Since he has the problem of influencing not only the community, but whatever forces impinge on the community, it is clear that he must be strategically located. Take a small matter like living quarters, for example. When we determined to undertake an action program among the Fox Indians, we found that to avoid prejudicing our independence, we had to buy a farm in order to get a house to live in. More serious than physical relationship, however, is that of the role adopted. There are advantages to being independent; there are other advantages to being hired by the supervising agency as an anthropologist, or perhaps by the community itself. This has to be worked out in each case. Perhaps the ideal arrangement is for the action anthropologist to have a university connection on the one hand and to be hired by the agency or community on the other, with all parties aware that the anthropologist has the support of academic colleagues. Not only will this facilitate communication with colleagues, which is so essential to the action anthropologist as to any scholar and scientist, but it will offer him an alternative to continuing on his job, which may become untenable. The strength of action anthropology lies in our ability to educate people, including those in government; and we must develop in such a direction that our knowledge will be respected, a force to be reckoned with.

This last statement brings me to a final limitation of action anthropology. "Force" in a democratic society involves use of ballots—ultimately it is always persuasion. In a non-democratic society the action anthropologist cannot operate without being a conspirator and revolutionist—a role which contradicts the method. It is therefore probable that action anthropology is impossible in some colonial situations. I think we must accept that limitation as long as it exists.

Exhibit 23

Acculturation

Sol Tax

When Columbus discovered America there were a great variety of
cultures very different from the European by which the people of these continents lived. If we call to mind the way of life of the American Indian that Wissler, for example, describes, it would appear nonsense to ask whether acculturation has occurred. Do Incas still hold that tremendous empire together? Do the Mexicans cut out the hearts of prisoners atop the pyramids? Do the Sioux still count coup? Which tribes are chipping arrowheads now? To answer these questions is to say that of course Indian culture has at least lost a great deal of its roster of aboriginal traits. And if we ask if some Indians are Christians, or if they eat wheat bread or ride on horses, or if some speak Spanish or English, the answer tells us that in some degree the descendants of the aborigines have also adopted a great deal of European culture.

In any ordinary meaning of the term acculturation the American Indians have undergone a great deal of it. At a recent meeting of ethnologists who study in Mexico and Central America there was considerable discussion of this point, and a sharp difference of opinion arose. Dr. Paul Kirchhoff (whose specialty is the early culture) at one point asserted that some 95% of the aboriginal culture was lost. To those of us engaged in studying the culture of the present day village Indians, this seemed an outrageously high figure. Even the most acculturated groups in Guatemala, Chiapas, Yucatan, and Oaxaca seemed to us much more Indian than European. They speak Indian languages, have a system of beliefs, values, and motor habits different from those of the Ladinos, and every aspect of their culture—from technology to religion—is a liberal mixture of Indian and European elements, and of course many novelties that arose after the contact between the two. Elsie Clews Parsons' study of the mixture in Mitla of course illustrates how much of the Indian there still is even in that relatively acculturated town.

The discrepancy in point of view may be explained because different questions are involved: First of all there is the difference between asking how much of the aboriginal culture of the 16th century is to be found among the Indians today, and asking what part of present-day village culture is Indian. Second, there is the difference in the weight given to the great cultural works of a people, like the astronomical system of the Mayas, as compared with the ordinary culture of all the people. And third, is the difference between counting culture traits, or outward manifestations of culture, however they may be weighted, as contrasted with overriding patterns, or themes, or the basic ethos. If one therefore thinks first of the ancient Maya, and their theocracy and temple cities and astronomy and systems of mathematics and notation and the like, of course the Indians in the villages today seem quite de-culturalized and Kirchhoff is close to correct. It is quite different, however, to focus on the village today, and the ways of thinking and behaving of its people. There is still another difference in point of view that I must mention. One recalls the man who said that he has used the same razor for forty years; during that period he had replaced the blade five times and the handle twice—but it was still the same razor. In similar fashion, one may or may not choose to admit functional substitutions to the acculturation picture. For example, many of us see that, function for function, the Catholic saints are often simply substituted for the earlier gods. Perhaps there is only in fact a change of name, and the change ought not to be weighted heavily. Or the fact that Indians often substitute in their ceremonies the more recent distilled liquor for their old corn or fruit ferments does not seem too important. Yet by admitting such substitutions one can easily reduce the whole matter to utter absurdity. Rifles instead of bows and arrows, or steel machetes instead of stone axes, but the culture hasn't changed. Do we also want to substitute for some hunting complex the institution
of the butcher shop where cattle are slaughtered? Or for that matter, one can argue that the whole social system is still pre-Columbian, with the mere substitution of a Spanish ruling class and Roman Catholic hierarchy for the old upper class and theocracy.

In answering the question of how much acculturation has gone on, we have to recognize these choices. There is still another choice that is very relevant. There is a difference between asking how much acculturation has gone on over some long historic period, and asking how much is going on at any point in time. Oliver La Farge's study of cultural changes in Northwestern Guatemala which shows that short periods of rapid change alternate with longer periods of quiet consolidation and reintegration is applicable to very much wider areas. In Middle America as a whole, most of the loss of aboriginal traits appears to have occurred during the first years after the Conquest. Acculturation isn't a matter of either steady or of homogeneous erosion. It is obvious that I did not put the question of whether acculturation occurs with any intention of giving an answer.

To this point I have used Middle America to illustrate the difficulties we face in discussing problems of acculturation. The remainder of this article is concerned mainly with the Indians of North America. The same choices need to be made in this area; but in some ways the problem is simpler in North America than in Middle America. For one thing, the typical unit is the discrete tribe rather than the large complex society with its own sub-cultures. For another thing, history is shorter in most of North America; there was the first shock of pacification and loss of land, economic means, and freedom; and then came the reservation period.

This paper confines itself to the reservation period. The first major loss of aboriginal culture has already occurred; the buffalo are gone, it is not legal to collect scalps, children go to school. The white man is all around, buying furs or beadwork or oil, or hiring Indians to work in field or factory, or simply supplying money and services. The Indians have made adjustments to new conditions, and every accommodation they have made represents a change of some sort in their culture. In other words, a great deal of acculturation has occurred. The question that is being asked for North America is whether acculturation generally continues to occur.

I shall make a very bold statement to begin with, and then qualify it. My answer is that acculturation does not occur. Most of us assume that these small enclaves of American Indians must soon disappear. Perhaps there is a bias peculiar to United States sociology and anthropology that is connected with the American ideal of the melting pot. Immigrants from Italy, Poland, or Ireland come with their peculiar cultures, and in a generation or two were absorbed into the larger cultural stream. We tend to assume that the same must happen to the Navaho or the Fox or Iroquois. It is only a matter of time. The Indians have perhaps been a little slow to get into the game—that's because we've kept them on reservations. As soon as we turn them loose, like other citizens, they'll be quickly absorbed.

My thesis stated in its strongest terms is that there is no reason to expect now that the Navaho, the Fox, or the Iroquois won't be with us for a thousand years—or, as the treaties used to say, as long as grass grows and water runs.

Now to some qualifications: I am thinking primarily of the subtler or inner aspects of culture, as opposed to the more superficial characters. This distinction, long labored by anthropologists like Benedict, Linton, Mead, Kluckhohn, Opler and many others, is still not clear.
are there stated operations by which to recognize the differences. Nevertheless, we all agree that outward forms may change while inner meanings may remain the same and vice versa. And, I repeat, my hypothesis that acculturation does not occur is confined largely to the area of meanings.

I must qualify my proposition in still another way. This involves a couple of definitions. Take as a model a society which has a culture shared more or less by all of the individuals in it. Imagine Zuni, if you wish, or the Pine Ridge Sioux, or what have you. Imagine now that all of the Zuni stay right where they are, but their culture changes so that the norms of behavior are like those of the surrounding white society. I would call that acculturation, and say that the Zuni have acculturated. If they maintain a social cohesion—in the small-town American pattern, having lost all Indian form of social organization—and remain socially apart from the larger community, then they are completely acculturated but not at all assimilated. This of course is an unrealistic model, since acculturation could not occur without very significant social relations, hence considerable assimilation. But I set it up to define community acculturation.

Now look again at our ideal type of unacculturated Indian community. Suppose the population is one thousand. Now imagine that one by one or in small groups, individual Indians leave the community. Possibly they are forced to leave by economic circumstances, or whatever accident. As individuals suppose that they then change their norms of behavior completely from those of the Indian community to those of the white world into which they have moved. Perhaps we don't wish to call that acculturation; one of my students thinks the word should be confined to group situations. In this case, at any rate, the individual and his children surely become assimilated into the larger society:

If a hundred Indians leave the community in this manner, the remaining nine hundred are still an unacculturated community. If the whole thousand leave the Indian community, to be assimilated into the larger society, the Indian culture is of course dead.

There are thus two ways for a culture to become absorbed into another—by acculturation (meaning community acculturation) and by loss of individuals. Both processes always occur together, and are obviously related. (I have seen both in operation in Guatemala, where the situation is otherwise quite different from North America.)

My hypothesis is (1) that acculturation is not occurring in North America; (2) that Indian societies lose individuals, but the rate is so slow compared to the vegetative population increase that (3) there are as many or more Indians in communities with Indian culture than there were a generation ago. And for all we know, the number may increase rather than decrease.

Such a proposition obviously has very significant implications for government policy; these I shall not discuss. It is important, however, to establish the proposition, or discover the degree to which it fits the facts. The work that we have done among the Fox of Iowa, and at the Fort Berthold reservation in North Dakota, suggests very strongly that there is much in the proposition. Of course what we know about the Southwest supports it. But reports I have read about the Penobscot Indians of Maine, and the Iroquois of New York and Canada—which have had so long a history of contact—also seem to support it.

It is also necessary to fill in the hypothesis by describing the mechanisms by which American Indian cultures resist acculturation to our ways.
I would like now, however, to try to make sense out of the hypothesis in more general historical terms.

Let us return to our theory of the melting pot. Sociologists use the term acculturation in speaking of Italians, Poles, Irish and others; indeed, these days we talk of the middle and lower classes as if they were different cultures. It is a matter of degree. But I think we ought to emphasize what is so obvious that it is being forgotten: Western civilization is one culture, and the differences that subdivide us are utterly inessential compared to those between, say, Europe and the Far East, or between the aboriginal Americans and Africans or Australians. In the tree of culture even the Near and Middle East are so close to Europe that we can expect fewer problems of communication than with the American Indian. A globe of the earth and history will show in fact that western European culture and that of the American Indian are more separate than any other except perhaps those of Australia and Tasmania.

This is true for all American Indians in contrast with Europeans. Why should we expect easy transculturation?

But the difference is even greater between Europeans and North American Indians than between Europeans and the Indians of Mesoamerica and much of South America. In the latter places the Indians developed large societies and social classes and trade and the like, and hence there developed many parallels with Europe. But the North American Indians remained tribal.

This leads me to what I think is the most important difference. The fact is that the North American Indians are among the few people on earth who never became in any sense peasants.

I need not remind this group that some 7500 years ago there began to occur what Childe calls the Neolithic Revolution, and I think that most of us realize its tremendous effects on human social life and thought. The aspect of the change that I am emphasizing now can be dramatized as follows: you all recall the Book of Genesis, and the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. Paradise was of course the food-gathering stage of human culture. Whether the Biblical story represents a nostalgic folk memory—the change hadn't been so long before—or not, the fact is that Adam's punishment was that he would have to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow.

Indeed, Adam and other full agriculturalists did sweat for their bread. Peasant life is a kind of slavery to property and to time; this is particularly true in the full agricultural economy that developed in Asia and Europe, where domestic animals were tied into tillage. In parts of America, Oceania, and Africa both plants and animals were domesticated; but generally only in Asia and Europe did a system develop where the two became thoroughly intertwined. Maize in Mexico requires seasonal care; in irrigated field crops there is special urgency. But in the full neolithic of barns and hay and pulleys and plows with oxen, and dairy cows and all the rest—here indeed man becomes a slave to daily chores, to time. Make hay while the sun shines is a realistic adage, and leads directly enough to compulsions about time and about protecting and saving for a rainy day and for posterity. Thousands of years of development of these institutions and ideas have left a stamp on European man; our habits of work-and-save have made of them a virtue and one basis of a whole ethical system.

In all of this the North American Indian has not shared; indeed, it was with considerable shock that Europeans discovered noble red men whom they rightly saw to be free in some sense they were not, and who were rightly perceived to set a dangerous example.

I must emphasize the point that the difference was a difference in
the tradition of peasantry. The agricultural Indians with whom I have
lived in Guatemala are nearly as much peasants as are Europeans, and in
large part share the slavery to time and property, and the ethical values
which accompany it. The contrast with North American Indians is emphasized
by this comparison; here there was only the beginning of agriculture, and
except for the pueblos in the Southwest no great dependence on it. And
nowhere is saving more important than sharing; and where there is preoccupa-
tion with property it is rather with destruction of it than with its
private accumulation.

The grant changes which began in the commercial and industrial
revolutions of the past centuries may eventually end the slavery of the
peasant. Urban life is much more independent of property and the compuls-
sions of time and place. The mobility of the urbanite is somewhat compar-
able to that of the hunter. It may well be that Indians will communicate
much more easily with Greenwich Village than with Main Street.

Recall again the American theory of the melting pot. Sociologists
now see that even Europeans haven't melted together as it was once supposed
that they would. But the melting pot theory itself was only partial, and
took little account of genuine cultural differences. The fact that the
Chinese, for example, showed few signs of melting was probably put down to
the color bar, when indeed the cultural difference could well have been
more important. Surely the color factor in Negro-white relations has not
kept Negroes from a thoroughgoing acculturation to European ways and val-
ues! But the North American Indians are surely different enough culturally
to explain any lack of acculturation one finds—connected as they are to
Europeans only by the most remote fork in the historic tree of culture; and
divided from them all by all differences between a large society and a
small tribe, and by the habits of thought and principles of peasantry and
commerce as contrasted with the hunt.

More involvements

During the summer of 1952, Leonard Borman, who had earlier spent a
summer with the Penobscot in Maine, and who had participated in the developing ideas associated with the activities in the Fox community, took advan-
tage of an opportunity to go among a group of immigrant Mongolians set-
tied around Philadelphia, the Kalmuks. Borman's job there was not unlike
the activities soon to unfold in the Fox community—he was a mediator be-
tween the Kalmuks and the surrounding society, he was in a non-authorita-
tive position with respect to the group and attempted to maintain that
relationship, there were factional divisions within the group which com-
plicated the work, and there was an administrative organ, the Church World
Service, in a position over the Kalmuks analogous to the position of the
Indian Service over the Fox. Borman is still in Philadelphia and it is
hoped that when he is able to return to Chicago an analysis of his material
and a comparison with the Fox experience—which analysis and comparison is
extremely difficult when miles separate us and so long as Borman is inti-
mately involved in the press of day-to-day matters—will make it possible
to factor out some of the purely situational aspects of the Fox and the
Kalmuks from the aspects deriving from their contrasting non-Western cul-
turee. The two letters attached, Exhibits 24 and 25, reflect something of
the Kalmuk situation and Borman's position there.
Dear Kalmuk Friends:

We are sending you this personal message and report since we are now so near to the final completion of your resettlement in America.

Our sincere greetings and congratulations to you all—many of you we remember personally from Schleissheim, or the pier, or Vineland or New Windsor. Thank you for your friendship and your cooperation. There have been real problems and hardships from the beginning until now but you have helped overcome them.

We think back to the first meeting with you in Munich—only ten months ago. I still have the notes of what we said to each other at that time. You wanted to come to the U.S.A. to be good Americans, but you wanted to keep up your Kalmuk culture, your Buddhist religion, and your family solidarity in caring for your aged and dependents. We promised you then and have repeated that promise every time we have met any of you since then, that we would cooperate with you in achieving resettlement in the U.S.A. not simply as DP's, nor as Russian DP's, but as members of the Kalmuk nation. It has been hard sometimes, as you know, to do this in the face of all kinds of practical obstacles, but we have been steadfast in abiding by our promise.

In only ten months, you have been processed, you have crossed the Atlantic, you have endured the disappointment and the hardship of yet another camp, and now you are standing on your own feet as new Americans free to make your own way, free to make your own decisions, free to move about as you and your families desire.

We congratulate and thank you all. Many mistakes have been made. Even we admit we may have made some. We did not foresee that IRO would not be able to have you arrive in family groups; so that at the last minute we had to arrange the camp at Vineland. When we first met you there we apologized for giving you another Schleissheim. We meant it and worked with Mr. Mow and Mr. Bushong to close Vineland as quickly as possible. That we did without unnecessary delay.

By May 1st, 550 of you were settled. By June let all of you were in new homes and jobs. Some were homes and job in which you were happy; some with which you were unhappy. But that always is true of first resettlements. At least 15% of the DP's who have come have found their first jobs unsatisfactory to themselves or to their sponsors. I think your Kalmuk experience is somewhat less than that—which is a tribute to the Kalmuks as well as to those who made the first arrangements. The point is that you were resettled and that then you could make your own decision—in fairness to your sponsor and your own good faith oath—about your own future. The Chairman of the Displaced Persons Commission, the Honorable John W. Gibson, had said that he considers the Kalmuk Resettlement Project the most amazing accomplishment under the entire DP program.

Some of you may recall that when Mr. Elliott spoke to you in Schleissheim, he mentioned four hazards or problems you would need to overcome:

1. The "screenings" for health and security. Some of your friends were left behind. Some may yet be able to come. Mr. Mow, Miss Tolstoy, Mrs. Schauffuss and Mr. Elliott are working on this. A Bill now before Congress would help 100 or more to come to the USA.

2. Language. I told you you must learn English. Some of you did
but not all. Now your children are chattering in English like other American school children, but many of you would have better jobs if you had studied English harder before you came.

3. Your own economic support. You must work hard and prove you are reliable on the job and in taking care of your own old folks.

4. You must have unity and discipline. We have told you to leave your European divisions behind you and build a new Kalmuk unity in America. Most of you have done that, but some of you act as if you were still in Schlesheim and Inglostadt. This only makes it harder for you.

Now may we put down certain FACTS which each of you should know. There are many conflicting rumors started by unofficial and poorly informed persons, but we want you to have the facts.

1. Most of you are here on Church World Service Assurances. Some are on Tolstoy Foundation Assurances. This means that one of these Agencies took responsibility for you immigration with the US Government and are responsible for you under the DP Law. (Look at the card you received in Europe and you can tell whether you are "TF" or "CWS").

2. The financial help given by IRO was given jointly to the Tolstoy Foundation and Church World Service. As explained to you several times this financial grant was in three parts.
   a. $20,000 for the Administration of the Kalmuk Resettlement project.
   b. $200.00 per person for 571 individual Kalmuks—or $114,200.00—to these agencies for their expenses in working for your resettlement. This was not a grant to the Kalmuks either individually or as a group but was to the Agencies to cover their expenses in finding you homes and jobs in America.
   c. $47,800.00 to assist these same Agencies in helping to provide for the resettlement of your Kalmuk "hard-core" cases.

All this money (a total of $182,000.00) has been deposited with Church World Service in a separate account. All of it—every penny—is being used for the Kalmuks.

3. Tolstoy Foundation and Church World Service unitedly and officially appointed the Brethren Service Commission as their administrative agent. This is why Mr. Bushong and Mr. Mow, together with their Associates have been in charge of all the practical arrangements for your resettlement in the USA. The Brethren Service Commission has rendered regular monthly financial reports not only on funds spent for Administration but also for care and maintenance, transportation from pier and to sponsors, and for health, welfare, education and recreation. They have managed the work so economically that it now seems certain that as the Brethren present their final report on July 1st, and withdraw as administrators of the Kalmuk Resettlement Project, there is approximately $50,000.00 left in the fund for Kalmuk resettlement. This and all other funds are being held by Church World Service to be utilized for the Kalmuks on a budget plan to be worked out with the Kalmuks themselves—either with the united Kalmuk society if such is formed, or with the Kalmuks in each geographical area if that proves to be the best or necessary plan.

4. It should be noted that prior to the ruling which made it possible for the Kalmuks to migrate to America, there had been formed The Kalmuk Resettlement Committee. Several Agencies took an active part in this. Roland Elliott was elected Chairman; Msgr. E. E. Swanstrom as Vice-
Chairman, Dimitry Kapatzinsky and David Martin as Vice-Chairmen. On September 10, 1951, the Kalmuk Resettlement Committee adopted a resolution stating that "it regards it as most natural and practicable for the Kalmuk Resettlement Project to be handled through Church World Service with the collaboration of the Tolstoy Foundation and expresses its hope that additional resources can be found to enable Church World Service to undertake this responsibility. . . ." It was in response to this action that Church World Service "with collaboration of the Tolstoy Foundation" finally agreed to undertake this important mission, as already requested by the Kalmuks at Schlessheim a few days earlier. Thus the Kalmuk Resettlement Committee has never been an operating agency recognized by the US Government; consequently, the Kalmuk Resettlement had to be entrusted to agencies—Church World Service and Tolstoy Foundation—which are officially recognized.

5. The ruling of the US Attorney General under which Kalmuks were admitted to the USA was greatly influenced by the Appeal which Halina Korsak of Church World Service made in support of the Sohamiloğlu case, and by the persistent work of Mr. Oliver Stone of IRO in advocating this admittance of Kalmuks to USA citizenship. Many other representatives of Tolstoy Foundation and of Church World Service as well as of other agencies, lent their support in numerous helpful ways but the two official appeals mentioned above were the ones on which the Attorney General acted.

From the above you will see what the official channels for your resettlement are and how the funds received from IRO have been and are administered on your behalf. If any individual Kalmuk wishes to examine personally the official records mentioned above, or to examine the financial records in the office of Church World Service, they are free and welcome to do so.

There is much yet to be done. There must be temples for worship. There must be welfare activities and institutions, especially for the sick and aged. There must be cultural and educational activities. All these must be determined and leadership provided by the Kalmuks themselves. Church World Service with the collaboration of Tolstoy Foundation will continue to cooperate in every helpful way but will not seek to influence Kalmuk divisions. Many unauthorized persons and agents of various factions will seek to influence you—even to mislead you—so you must be on your guard against these "fake prophets" to be sure that you are acting on your own best judgment and in your own interests.

The funds will be kept as now in Trusteeship for these purposes as we all have agreed from the beginning. If before August 1, 1952 there is formed an all-Kalmuk Society representing all—or a substantial majority of the Kalmuks in all sections—we will propose that the elected officers of the Kalmuk organization serve as an Advisory Committee on Budget and Allocations. If such an inclusive organization of Kalmuks is not formed for any reason then we will propose that five Kalmuks (including two priests) all of whom can be trusted to act in the interest of the welfare of the entire Kalmuk group, will be selected to act as such an Advisory Committee in order that there may be no delay in starting these activities desired and so urgently needed. For membership on this Advisory Committee, or for projects which it should act upon, we shall be very glad indeed to have your suggestions.

As we look ahead the next decade and the generations to come, we are concerned that, as new Americans, the Kalmuks take constructive leadership to make sure that their contribution to America and to the World of free nations is not lost in a head-long process of assimilation into America life. This is a particular danger unless strong measures are taken
now to strengthen leadership in Kalmuk culture, education, welfare work and religion. We would like to point out the need soon for training a new generation of Kalmuk priests, of establishing scholarships on Kalmuk history and culture, on training leaders for Kalmuk education and welfare activities. We will do all we can to help in these directions. We believe it is not too soon to think of establishing a training plan for Priests and scholarships for advanced Kalmuk students. Your children are showing their ability in school; your young people are becoming new Americans almost over night. They and you who are older need to recognize that you came to America to live and to make your contribution in freedom—not to be lost under an overwhelming of Americanism.

We have written to you in much detail because we wish you to be fully informed and also to give you this further evidence of our deep concern for your future well-being both as individuals and families and as a united and loyal group of Kalmuk-Americans.

With all good wishes and personal greetings, we are

Cordially yours,

Roland Elliott
Director, Church World Service

Alexandra Tolstoy
President, Tolstoy Foundation

Exhibit 25

Dr. Sol Tax
Department of Anthropology
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

January 20, 1953

Dear Sol [Tax],

Naturally enough we're facing some unique problems with regard to my role with the [Friends Neighborhood] Guild and the Kalmuks. We know what we're striving at generally—I think—but it's the specific interpretations that I see to be important at the moment. To all of the Kalmuks that I'm able to talk with I'm giving the straight scoop: who's supporting me, and that I plan to continue my research and work closely with the Guild in their Kalmuk relations. I have described the latter as working with the Kalmuk welfare committee, helping with individual cases as they come up, and working with some of the Kalmuk youth activities. A suggestion was made last week to Bosworth from some of members [of the A faction] that the Kalmuks are interested in a newspaper. Bosworth feels this is a good idea, is willing to finance it so long as it's not an organ for any one of the three Kalmuk groups, but represents them all equally—including news, reporters and such from the [B] group in New Jersey, as well as the two groups in Philly. Of course the problem will be how to organize this as a neutral sheet, and one viewed in such a light by the divided groups. In addition to this problem will be the Kalmuk conception of a newspaper, since there are some sophisticated Kalmuk journalists at least in the two Philly groups.

But the delicate problem at the moment regarding my role is being raised by some leaders of the [A] group. This is the group close to Tolstoy Foundation and quite embittered toward Church World Service. It's
been obvious to them CWS—in my terms—has been "using" me. I've delivered messages and such, sat in one meeting at the invitation of Mow and Elliott, and through the request of the latter two as well as [C], I've aided [C] in forming his mutual aid society. [A] may have the idea that I'm a middleman for CWS, and in their definition of the situation, helping CWS keep the Kalmuks divided. Of course my assistance has been of no importance in bringing about the present state of affairs. And this will be an important misconception to dispel. But this will be complicated in at least one important way by the differences between [A] and myself in viewing the present Kalmuk divisions. Bosworth's main contact with the Kalmuks has been through [A] and some of the members of his group. Until I described the situation to Bosworth, he was unaware that another group existed in Philly. He has been dealing with [A] as if there were only one group and [A] had been the spokesman. This also is [A]'s attitude. He has chosen to ignore the other group, perhaps feels that this is a temporary division and that the strayed unnamed lambs will return to the flock. Anyone, then, who talks about the division as if it is at all serious becomes a threat to his conception.

Perhaps I have the anthropological bias that factional divisions are universal. But this doesn't mean I advocate or abet the divisive process. My conception of the present situation involves knowledge that the Don factions have a history, are not temporary figments of the imagination, and are important and real social entities that must be understood and dealt with in the solving of particular problems. I became most aware of the differences of our points of view just prior to the cavalcade of December 6 to New York. I felt that it was important to have [C] group represented in my meetings held; [A] felt it was not. It may be that [he] and I have completely different conceptions also of what the problem is regarding the factional divisions. This will also have a bearing on how each of us view my role in assisting the group.

Fortunately, [A] and some members of his group talk freely and frankly with Bosworth. And this is how I've learned about their latest fears concerning me. [We thought] that perhaps I show them some of what I'm writing, or even keep a summary of something-or-other available for all to see in the Kalmuk church. But we both understand that this will be impossible inasmuch as considerable amounts of my work are on individuals, social adjustment, problems of the factions themselves, etc. And it would be misleading of my interests merely to show them items on their history, customs, etc. Now it may be possible to work out more of my sociological statistics openly with them, share and discuss the results—about jobs, income, family size, living conditions, etc. This may prove to be a good way of getting another important view of the group. But I feel that it's important to explain as much of my research interests as possible, and gain their assistance, confidence, and support in what I'm doing.

The one heartening thing in all of this is that there are only a few people involved that I'm at all worried about. The number may increase, but I doubt it. Fortunately I feel very close to other important members of [A]'s group. ... Whether I shall strive to be an equal friend to all or let the chips fall where they may will depend on what activities I get involved in during the year. If you can recommend a good manual on the subject I'd be glad to read it. I found Ben Paul's article in Anthropology Today comforting on the subject.

I'll send some of my notes your way shortly, and keep you in touch with goings-on here.

With best regards,
Sincerely yours,
Len Borman
Rejection of the means–ends model

Diesing's study, Exhibit 26, draws only on data from the first phase of the Fox project. He worked only with materials from the Fox files and with the information he could gather in conversations with persons active during the first phase of the Fox program. Diesing attempted to derive a logically consistent model for the action which seemed, from that data and irrespective of what was being written, to be the real intentions of the early field parties. His model contrasts with the means–ends commonly and verbally used in the earlier Fox reports. This paper appeared in 1952 and its implications became integral to the Fox project in the formulation of the project which emerged in 1953. The ideas which Diesing was able to bring into focus had apparently remained latent from the earlier beginnings of the project. That fact reflects a lack of economy inherent in exploratory activities such as the Fox project. Conversely, that Diesing, with only data available in 1949, could derive this model argues for the utility of such philosophical ordering of ideas.

Exhibit 26

A Method of Social Problem Solving

by Paul Diesing

The present article is a general statement of a method of solving social problems. It is designed to be used by an anthropologist or some similar person or persons, living and working within a small community over an extended period of time, or by a regular member of such a community. To a large extent such a person does not need to consciously follow any particular method or do any planning. For the most part it is enough to follow general rules of conduct that are applicable to any social relations, rules such as honesty, tolerance, respect, and self-awareness. In addition a sensitive person will follow his intuition in difficult situations, sensing the demands people make on him and he on them, and helping where he can. But if he happens to be also addicted to abstract thinking, he will want to be conscious of what he is doing and will want to plan his actions to some extent. The following suggestions are intended for such a person who wishes to plan, evaluate, and make conscious decisions occasionally. It is not intended that conscious planning should become a substitute for intuitive appreciation of situations, since this would be a poor exchange, but it can serve as an occasional supplement.

Ends and means.—Two concepts which are important in almost any kind of planning are the concepts of ends and of means. A planning method is most aptly characterized by the way in which ends and means are determined in it and by the way in which they are related to each other. Before we state how this is done in the present method, let us first consider two other planning methods and see how they treat ends and means, by way of contrast.

The first and most common method of planning is to distinguish sharply between ends and means and to devote a separate inquiry to each. This kind of planning consists of first deciding what one wants to do, and then finding out how to do it. First, one sets up the objective, by imagining some desirable state of affairs in which the problematic character of the present situation is missing. In the case of the Fox Indians, one imagines them living at peace with themselves and their neighbors, carrying on their traditional activities, or one imagines a moderately prosperous farming or working community, distinguished from other Americans only by their cooperative, leisurely style of life. Questions of resources are omitted from this inquiry; one imagines himself a dictator, or the recipi-
ent of an indefinitely large grant of money and persuasive powers, and one imagines human beings to be perfectly reasonable, i.e., malleable to one's wishes. To be sure, a common-sense regard for what is possible sets limits on one's objectives, or scales down the first flowering of fancy, but not in any systematic way. The matter of limitations is reserved for the second inquiry, the inquiry into means.

This inquiry is devoted to figuring out how to realize the objectives set up by the first inquiry. Since resources are usually inadequate to realize ideal objectives, this second inquiry characteristically centers on the task of re-uniting the ends and means that have initially been separated. This involves a combination of two processes. The first process is to find ways of increasing available resources, for instance by learning to express one's ideas more persuasively, getting a larger grant of money, making more contacts, involving more people in the project, finding the "soft spots" of the people one is contacting, and so on. The second process is to reduce one's objectives to an achievable level.

This kind of planning is often successful, but success is achieved only by overcoming several characteristic dangers and weaknesses. First, a planning which begins by setting up ideal objectives often ends as a quest for more and more power. This in itself is not objectionable; it becomes bad only if the quest for power becomes indiscriminate, if the planner fails to ask himself whether the power he is seeking is actually the right kind for his objective. There is a danger of continuing the separation of means and ends to such an extent that the means one finally selects are not appropriate to the end. To avoid this, one must continually evaluate the increased power one is seeking to make sure it is the right kind of power.

Second, a planner who first sets up an ideal objective and then scales it down to realistic, achievable proportions has to make sure that his shrunken objective is still worthwhile. It may be that a different objective, which looked less interesting under ideal conditions, is actually more realizable and more desirable in practical terms. This is a part of the general problem of choosing among alternative objectives. All ideal purposes look desirable as long as questions of cost are omitted; but there is a danger of choosing merely on the basis of intrinsic desirability and thus neglecting a less attractive but more realizable alternative.

Third, this kind of planning is often faced with the problem of how to decide on objectives in the first place, since agreement of purpose among everyone involved in a plan is rare and precarious. The problem of agreement is intensified in a situation of culture contact, where difference of values makes agreement nearly impossible. In the absence of agreement, a choice among conflicting values must be made in establishing one's objectives. Thus we could either make our own decision on what is good for the Fox, or we could listen to the advice of their neighbors, or we could ask the Fox how they want us to act. But each of these alternatives leads to difficulties. If we follow our own preferences, it will be hard to avoid coercing and manipulating those who disagree with us. On the other hand, if we limit our role to that of helping the Fox get what they want, we are faced with the usual conflicts of purpose found in any large community, perhaps aggravated in this case by acculturation problems. To be sure, if a large measure of agreement could be reached on any specific issue, it should certainly be carried into action; but such issues are rare.

Mention of these difficulties is not meant to imply that this type of planning is invalid. On the contrary, probably any method of planning involves difficulties, and these particular ones need not upset a skilful
A second kind of planning, economic planning, avoids the difficulties of the first kind by selecting ends with reference to available means. Instead of first establishing a single objective and then attempting to realize that, economic planning recognizes alternative and competing ends. Its problem is that of finding the proper proportion in which resources are to be allocated to alternative ends. Resources are assumed to be limited and in principle neutral, transferable to any end, though not equally effective for all ends. In general, the problem of resource allocation is solved by attempting to find an allocation proportion such that the last unit of resources could with equal desirability be assigned to any of the ends.

This economic kind of planning is effective in its own area of economic transactions, but cannot be extended to situations in which ends are not comparable with each other and means are not neutral and freely transferable, for instance when sacred elements are involved. In particular, it can only with difficulty be applied to problems in social relations, where ends and means are interdependent and non-transferable rather than self-contained and alternative. In dealing with social problems, desires and purposes have often to be treated as symptoms, instead of validly given alternatives, and plans have often to include changes in desires, personality, identifications, and resources. These things can perhaps be done within the framework of economic planning, but with difficulty.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest a third method of action planning, one in which means and ends are interdependent, and which is applicable to social relations. This type of planning seeks to establish "a fitness of means to ends, and a fitness of ends to means." The characteristic of this method is that neither ends nor means are regarded as given at the start, but both are determined in a single inquiry, each by reference to the other. Those ends are selected which best fit the available means, and those means are selected which will best realize the ends. There is a mutual adjustment of the two, instead of a unilateral dependence.

The basic focus of inquiry is the extent of changeability of each element of the problem. Since this is a method of mutual adjustment, we have to know the adjustability of each ingredient. A factor that cannot be changed at all, because we desire it absolutely, or believe in it absolutely, or cannot influence it, has to be regarded as "given." It sets the limits on the solution; since it cannot be adjusted to anything else, everything will have to be adjusted to it. It constitutes the ultimate end, or the ultimate conditions, depending on one's attitude toward it. Conversely, an infinitely malleable factor need not even be taken into account, since it will adjust to anything available. Most of the problem will fall between these two extremes, dealing with factors that are changeable within limits, and it is in this middle area that all the planned changes will have to be made.

The general principle for making changes is that the more variable factors are to be adjusted to the more fixed factors, just as everything necessarily adjusts to the completely fixed factors. There are, however, very important qualifications to this principle.

This means in practice that we determine ends and means through a back-and-forth, interactive process. We begin with whichever of the two happens to be initially more definite, use this to determine the other
somewhat, return to the first and specify it more, and so on. If our resources are initially more definitely known, we begin by determining what general ends will most effectively utilize that sort of resource, then determine what particular resources will realize those ends, and so on. Notice that this method does not involve the assumption that means are neutral and ends are given, as is done in economic planning. Instead, the range of adaptability of means, and of ends, is determined in the course of the inquiry.

The problem and the possibilities of change.—Since ends and means are not known till the completion of the inquiry, one uses during its course two other terms, the problem and the possibilities of change. By "problem" is meant everything that is wrong or missing about the situation; by "possibilities of change" is meant all the changes in the situation that could be produced by an anthropologist or some similar person. These are the raw material out of which ends and means are eventually derived. The system of things that are wrong, or missing, provides by implication a set of possible rightings or additions from which actual ends can be selected. The system of possible changes constitutes the supply of (non-neutral) resources from which actual means can be selected.

The two systems are discovered separately, but the selection of ends and means from them is done by relating them to each other, in the interactive manner mentioned before. This means that there are three distinguishable inquiries: one in which all the things that are wrong, or missing, or needed, are determined, one in which the directions and degree of possible change are determined, and a third in which ends and means are evaluated and selected from the results of the first two.

However, the two processes of discovery never occur separately from each other or from the process of selection of ends and means, so that in practice all three inquiries go on more or less together. The area of the problem to be investigated is continually being limited by reference to what changes are possible, and vice versa. Supposedly wrong things that cannot be changed are excluded from the problem, since they cannot be made right, and a study of them would be a waste of time. Likewise, possible changes which are not changes of something that is wrong are also excluded, since they are irrelevant to the problem. Instead, only those problems are investigated which could conceivably be changed, and only those possible changes are investigated which could conceivably have some effect on a part of the problem. If this mutual limiting did not occur, the process of discovery might go on endlessly, since there is no end of things wrong with any part of the world, and also no limit to the number of changes one could initiate.

There is thus a double relationship between problem and possibilities of change, one in which each limits the area of the other to be investigated, and one in which a process of solution, particularly the point at which a solution can begin, is selected from both. This double relationship will be discussed later.

Discovering the problem.—The judgment that a problem of some sort exists usually has a double aspect. To some extent when we say "something is wrong" we express an immediate feeling of wrongness, of dissatisfaction, or mistrust. But this feeling is soon refined by some conceptual judgment, some theory about what is wrong. Each of them, taken separately, can be mistaken; the feeling can be displaced from some other experience, and the theory can misinterpret, ignor, displace, or unduly magnify factors in the actual situation. But taken together they can each exercise some check on the other and can gradually achieve a mutual refinement.
The theoretical judgment about what is wrong with something depends in a general way on one's conception of what kind of thing it is. Things all have their own characteristic ways of going wrong: a discussion group does not run out of gas, and an airplane does not start quarreling. When one is working with an automobile engine, his diagnosis will necessarily be expressed in terms of pistons, valves, lubrication, battery, etc., and will consist of statements about the lack of transmission or transformation of power. In the same way a person working with a social problem will express his diagnosis in terms of what he thinks a society is, how it is structured and how it functions. He will say, in general, that the society is not functioning properly, and will discuss the specific breakdowns or strains occurring among the structural elements.

To be sure, a social theory cannot tell us specifically what is wrong in any given situation; but it does provide the general categories, the general kinds of things to look at and the kinds of things that might go wrong. Thus on the basis of a functionalist theory, we would express a diagnosis in terms of conflicts among cultural institutions, beliefs, social roles; we would discuss personality disorganization difficulties in identification and role-taking, disturbances in ego-function. Since this is not an essay in social theory, but in its application, I will not describe in detail the kind of terms I think should be used in diagnosing a social problem. Besides, everyone will want to fill in his own terms anyway according to his own theory. But the kinds of terms used to describe a society will also, in general, be the kind used in stating what is wrong about a society. They have to be, since the same entity is being dealt with in both cases.

If we describe the problem in functionalist terms, as a system of conflicts in institutions in relation to personality, the necessity of setting limits to the problem becomes apparent. Almost any serious social problem turns, upon investigation, into an endlessly ramified network of conflicts and maladjustments. It has no beginning and no end. Some few aspects of the problem may present themselves as more fundamental, but none can be regarded as absolutely fundamental if, as functionalists, we believe that no one social institution uniquely determines all the rest.

It is necessary, therefore, to somehow find our way into the problem to set limits on how much of the endless problem to take into account in planning a solution, and to find a point at which a solution can begin. Limits are necessary so that one's resources for investigating the problem and for solving it can be concentrated and made more effective. The limits on the problem are set by the possibilities of change, just as the equally endless possibilities of change are in turn limited by the problem. The point at which a solution can begin is also found by a combination of the two.

Possibilities of change.—The possibilities of change are a combination of two factors, each partly dependent on the other. A social change has to be introduced, and it has to be accepted if it is to persist. By "being accepted" I mean not conscious approval, but a fitting into the previously existing scheme of things without strong incompatibilities and frictions. A new factor is compatible if it is functionally similar to an old factor it replaces, or if it fulfills a need or resolves a conflict for the culture which accepts it, and if the accepting culture is flexible enough to adapt itself to the required changes.

For example, various aspects of the white woman's role have been readily accepted by Fox culture because of their functional similarity to the Fox woman's role, and the American Legion was readily accepted because it seemed to fulfill a need for equal participation with whites in approved activities. On the other hand, the American system of law-enforcement by
police, lawyers, and judges has not been thoroughly accepted by Fox cul-
ture, in spite of the conscious support given it by a majority of the com-

munity. It conflicts with the clan- and faction-oriented Fox personality
and with approved political methods, and consequently remains a more or
less alien element. The lawyers and policemen are not dealt with directly
and successfully, but according to the devious and evasive method the Fox
have for dealing with alien forces. The police-lawyer system in its turn
undergoes adaptive alteration because of the incompatibilities. It re-
tains the formal structure essential to American ideology, but in actual
operation it becomes more devious and indirect.

The acceptability of a change depends partly on the skill of the
introducer and on his social position. Hence a scale of acceptability of
various possible changes cannot be constructed except by reference to
some introducing person or role. The scale varies as the introducer var-
ies; one change may be more acceptable if introduced by A than if intro-
duced by B, while another change is more acceptable if introduced by B
than if by A.

For instance, a Government agricultural agent would get nowhere if
he tried to introduce a change in religious ceremonies, while a native
religious leader, who could introduce the latter change successfully,
would have difficulty in influencing agricultural techniques. This is
part of the explanation for the supposed special resistance to change of
the value system of a culture. The value system is resistant, but only
to a person who does not have the proper introducing role. The accepta-
bility of change in any part of a culture is partly dependent on the
existence of some role from which changes can be introduced.

The power to introduce changes is likewise not a self-contained
entity, but depends even more on the range of changes that are acceptable.
No matter how skillful, dynamic, and therapeutic a person may be, the
changes he introduces have to fit into the existing cultural system, so
that he can introduce only what actually will fit.

Thus the possibilities of change are a combination of two partly
interdependent variables. To find out what changes are most possible
(relative to the problem) we move back and forth from one variable to the
other, beginning with whichever one is initially more definite, and becom-
ing more specific with each move. For instance, if we know that changes
are to be introduced by an anthropologist of some sort, we can determine
what areas of change might be available to him because of his age, sex,
genereal cultural role, etc. We can tell what changes in child-training
techniques, among other things, cannot be directly introduced by an anthro-
pologist, because his possible roles could not include direct participation
in the raising of children (unless he brings his own along). Such changes
could only be indirectly introduced in a limited way, through other changes,
such as technological changes, that could be introduced directly. Once we
know the general areas of change open to an anthropologist, we can determine
the kind of role needed to introduce changes in this area, relevant to the
problem. This will enable us to see what specific changes would be easiest
to make in such a role, and with what people; on this basis the required
personality and activities of the anthropologist can be seen more specifi-
cally, etc. Or, if we know that a certain range of changes is relevant to
the problem and acceptable, we can determine the role from which such
changes could be introduced, then determine the group of changes most in-
troducible from that role, and so on. This interactive process must, of
course, be combined with a continued reference to the problem, so that the
possible changes we investigate remain relevant to the problem.
How to determine acceptability.—The compatibility of possible new changes is not easy to determine with exactness, even if one knows who the introducer of change is going to be. However, a rough estimate can be made by comparing the proposed changes with changes that have been accepted or rejected in the past. White people have continually been introducing changes into the native cultures; some of these have been accepted, some rejected, others accepted with extensive modification. In some cases rejection may have resulted from inadequate introducing skill, but if allowance is made for this element one should be able to get a general picture of the kinds of changes that are acceptable.

Information about the flexibility of the culture, its openness or readiness to assimilate changes, can be derived from Rorschach material or common-sense observation. Such material would indicate the degree to which people's energy is bound up by rigid defenses, affective blocking, diffuse anxiety, etc., and the degree to which energy is available for new adaptive tasks. Also one could discover which groups and which individuals have the most adaptive energy available relative to the problem, though such discoveries can also be made by common-sense observation. It is easy to distinguish people, and areas of activity, which are flexible and receptive to new ways of doing things, from those who are rigid and defensive, as well as from those who anxiously conform to all proposed changes without assimilating any of them. The most flexible people, working on changes most compatible with the existing cultural structure, provide the greatest likelihood of accepting changes.

Introducibility of change.—At the level of group activity, the process of introducing change is primarily a leadership function, though to some extent the whole group shares in it. "Leadership" here is taken in the wider sense of referring to any originating or co-ordinating center of group activity. The determination of introducibility then consists of finding out what kinds of leadership are possible, in relation to the kinds required by the problem. The solution to the problem will include, among other things, the adjustment of possible and required leadership to each other.

The usual practice in classifying types of leadership is to distinguish between authoritarian and democratic leadership. This distinction requires some clarification, since it may have several different meanings. A democratic leader may be thought of as a person who is flexible and perceptive, and thereby responsive to his group's needs, as contrasted with a rigid and unresponsive, authoritarian, leader. Democratic leadership in this sense is made possible by a degree of inner security, which enables a person to face a new situation without undue fear. Such a person can act without having to control a situation or have it controlled by someone else; he can deal with unpredictable as they come up instead of excluding them by advance planning; and he can perceive the needs and point of view of other people and adapt himself to them. Authoritarianism, on the other hand, is a defensive reaction to a threatening situation; it is an attempt to control things that are in danger of getting out of hand. When the two kinds of leadership are defined in this way, the democratic kind is of course always the more desirable, because a person who is preoccupied with securing his own defenses cannot be as effective in the larger sense as a secure person. At the same time, a person cannot become "democratic" in this sense by a simple decision, because the kind of leadership he can provide is largely determined by his person in relation to the kind of situation in which he is working. Probably most people are authoritarian in some situations and democratic in others.

Once one has specified that a democratic leader in the above sense
is desirable because effective, one can still distinguish two kinds of leadership that he could provide. These can in turn be called democratic and authoritarian. The differentiation in this case is based not primarily on the security or insecurity, flexibility or rigidity of the leader, but on the needs of the group and of the situation. Different groups and problems require different kinds of leadership, and a person who is responsive to these differences will to some extent change his behavior accordingly.

The two kinds of leaders differ, on this level, in the way they introduce changes. An authoritarian leader contributes toward changes through his ability to plan and make decisions, to take responsibility, to preserve order and suppress disorder. He is able to excite respect for his ideas and decisions and provides plans, purposes, and guidance. A democratic leader contributes to changes through his ability to mediate, coordinate, support, and interpret opposing forces for each other. His role is not so much one of suggesting changes as it is of helping people assimilate changes, though a sharp line cannot be drawn between the two. Both kinds of leadership make possible identifications and formations of ego-ideals, but the identifications take place on a different level. The authoritarian leader is identified with or the superego level, the democratic leader on the ego-level.

An adequate solution of the Fox problem will primarily involve a use of democratic leadership in the second sense as well as the first, though some authoritarian leadership will undoubtedly appear occasionally. Democratic leadership is necessary because the kind of thing needed by the Fox men is the ability to themselves achieve control over a difficult environment, to overcome certain attitudes toward whites; and such things can be contributed only by a democratic leader. An authoritarian leader, by retaining control over situations and plans himself, and by accepting responsibility for decisions will intensify rather than help solve the problem. The kind of changes he can introduce are not the ones that are relevant to the problem. This is to be expected, since white people have generally taken a fairly authoritarian role (in both senses) among the Fox just in virtue of being White people, and such contacts have undoubtedly helped to intensify the problem.

The existence of a standard authoritarian White role among the Fox makes it difficult for any White person to take a more democratic role, since he will inevitably be associated with the standard role. This association will have to be rejected and avoided by acting as different from white people as possible. Yet too great a difference will not be acceptable, because people cannot be expected to radically change their attitudes in a hurry. Here the need for flexibility is evident; the introducer of change cannot stubbornly insist on being democratic, but must reach a compromise between the requirements of the problem and the limitations of what can be accepted. The establishment of a leadership role in which the greatest amount of relevant change can be introduced is itself a change, and like all changes must be partly determined by the factor of acceptability. In general, as much adjustment as possible should be done by the introducer of change, to simplify the task of accepting him and identifying with him.

By combining the factors of introducibility and acceptability, in relation to the problem, we can discover the easiest possible change or group of changes. This is the point at which the solution will start—provided that another factor is present, to be mentioned later. But this point can be found only if the problem has meanwhile been limited in some way. Let us examine how this is done.

Limiting the problem and beginning the solution.—To some extent, any social problem is part of a network of problems, of stresses and
Thus the problems of the Fox are related to white attitudes toward Indians; these attitudes are part of a system of strains, defense mechanisms, projections, etc., in white personality structure, which in turn are intensified by economic conditions, national insecurity, world problems. Fox problems about government control over them are related to conflicts in governmental attitudes and policy toward Indians, which in turn are a part of larger strains and conflicts within Government agencies and personnel.

The interrelations of conflicts makes it difficult to resolve any one of them by itself, without resolving many others at the same time. For instance, continued discriminatory attitudes toward Indians reinforce the Indians' attitude toward each other and thus make it difficult to change one without changing both; white attitudes in turn are reinforced by a number of other factors, including the attitudes of the Indians, and so on.

Fortunately not all factors in a society are related to all other factors in an equally tight fashion. Instead, societies usually consist of groups and areas of activities partly separated from each other, though overlapping. Thus a kinship group, age groups, a recreation group, a religious organization, an occupational class, will all overlap each other in membership and activities, while maintaining a partial independence in internal organization. In the same way, not all conflicts and strains are related to all others in an equal degree. It is possible to find problematic factors which can be changed to some limited extent without requiring simultaneous changes in other factors. For instance, an industrial conflict may to some extent be resolved without requiring changes in personality or in economic organization, though it may depend for its resolution on the occurrence of changes in these larger areas (Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*, chap. vi).

A workable problem is delimited by finding such areas of conflicts which are relatively independent, and estimating the extent of possible change within each area. The area surrounding a problem constitutes the limits of the problem, because it literally limits the changes which are possible in the problem.

When a problem is delimited, it becomes a problem-area, that is, a system of conflicts or strains, together with the factors creating, supporting, or preventing the resolution of the conflicts. A problem-area may be of almost any size; it may consist of a single person's inner conflicts about his adult roles in society, or it may be a system of conflicts among masculine and feminine roles, economic organization, status symbols, etc., embracing a whole society. Hence a community of 1000 people can be divided into a large number of overlapping problem-areas of different sizes, each one limited in its changeability by its surroundings. From a theoretical standpoint, any one of these could be selected as the problem (based on the assumption that there is no one basic problematic factor determining all the rest of the problem); but from a practical standpoint we have to select a problem that can actually be solved with the resources available to us.

There are two rules to follow in selecting a problem that can actually be solved. One rule is: determine the relative possibilities of change of each problem-area, and select the areas of greatest possible change as the areas within which the solution can start. The reason for this rule is evident, since the easier the changes are, the greater is the likelihood that the changes will actually occur and persist.

The areas of greatest possible change are likely to be fairly small, since the smaller a problem is, the larger one's resources are relative to
the problem. In practical terms the rule therefore implies that one should begin the solution by concentrating on problems small enough to be handled successfully. This is especially important for anyone with as little influence as an anthropologist.

The second rule is that one should begin the solution in areas from which an expansion of the solution is possible. Ideally, one should try to discover a starting-point from which a solution can expand to cover the major problem-areas in the whole community and beyond. This rule is the natural complement to the first rule, since a solution to a circumscribed problem is insignificant unless it leads to solution of broader problems.

Let us see how the expansion of the solution might occur, and what circumstances would prevent it. Then, in following this rule, one would try to avoid the circumstances which would prevent expansion.

The process of solving a social conflict involves, among other things, a reconciliation of opposing factors, so that instead of excluding and negating each other they include and fulfill each other. This may happen in strengthened group relationships, increased identifications within a group, or in a decrease of incompatibilities in an individual's beliefs or values or roles, or in a greater adjustment of expectations and actions within reciprocal pairs of roles. In the process of integration all factors involved are modified somewhat, but the more variable factors are modified more. Usually, the more readily changeable factors are adjusted to fit the more fixed factors, since this is the easiest way to reach an adjustment. The circumstances in which more fixed factors have to be changed to fit more changeable factors will be mentioned later.

The result of integration is (a) a decrease in conflicts and strains in the problem-area; (b) a freeing of the energy that was tied up in conflicts, and a resulting increase in ability to resolve conflicts. In other words, the power to introduce changes will be increased. This power will not necessarily be possessed by the initial introducer of change, but rather by the group of people involved in the problem-area. Their power to introduce changes in new areas of their own personality, or in groups of which they are members, will be increased.

As the power to introduce changes increases, it becomes possible to extend the process of solution to the next larger problem-area. Here the same back-and-forth process of resolution of conflicts, increase of power, and expansion of problem-area will occur. If nothing goes wrong, the problem-area and the process of solution will continue to expand.

The process of expansion can be called "growth," and includes two interdependent factors, expansion of the problem-area and increase of integrative power. Growth is made possible by the fact that a problem stated in functionalist terms consists of strain, disorganization, or conflicts, and that a resolution of conflicts results in liberation of energy and increase of integrative power. Thus once the process of resolution begins, it can continue of itself. Growth is a necessary part of a good solution because the initial energy available for solving a problem is usually slight in relation to the total extent of the problem.

Growth need not inevitably occur in an attempted solution, but results only from careful planning or a fortunate combination of circumstances. There are two kinds of factors which usually prevent solutions from growing. First, the initial area of the problem may not contain enough integrative power and therefore enough possibility of change, to actually begin a solution. It is difficult to find, or produce an independent area in which one's initial power is adequate to the complexities of the conflicts, and it is easy to overestimate one's power and to
underestimate the fixity of the problem. If initial power is inadequate, it is necessary to contract the area of the problem, to simplify it by excluding complicating factors for the time being. The process of excluding and simplifying is itself difficult and often unsatisfactory, as will be indicated later. In order to avoid the necessity of contracting the problem-area, it is important to try to begin the solution in the area of greatest possible change, even if this area is small.

The second and more important kind of difficulty which prevents or stops growth is the existence of too big a jump from one problem-area to the next larger one. The nature of the difficulty is plain: if the increased integrative ability resulting from success in the smaller problem-area is still not adequate to the complexity of the larger problem-area, a solution cannot continue. For instance, if a Fox community which is solving its problems is surrounded by white people and Indian service agents who cannot change their attitude toward Indians, growth is stopped. Further, a stoppage of this sort is often followed by a gradual undoing of whatever solution has occurred, as the resistance to change by the surrounding area prevents the problem-area from fully accepting changes.

One should, therefore, in selecting the initial problem-areas, be on the lookout for barriers that are likely to stop future growth, and should try to avoid them. This may involve beginning the solution in an initially less changeable area, or moving in a direction of initially more difficult changes. The solution will not necessarily begin in the areas of the greatest possible change, but rather in areas combining possible future growth with initial changeability. In the process of solution as well, it is sometimes necessary to concentrate on modifying relatively fixed factors and adjusting them to more readily changed factors, to introduce changes which are not easily introduced or accepted, in order to provide for future growth.

For instance, if white attitudes toward Indians are foreseen to be relatively fixed factors which may limit future growth, a foreknowledge of this should influence the initial stages of solution. The group of whites most likely to change its attitudes should be selected as a future part of the problem, and the solution should move in the direction of this group. That is, changes which are acceptable to this particular group should be included in early stages of the solution, to increase the possibility of the group's changing its attitudes and of becoming included in the problem. This should be done even if these changes are not the most possible ones; they are justified because they increase the future possibility of change, though at the expense of present possibilities.

The amount of provision for future growth cannot be large, because this might endanger the initial stages of solution. A compromise is necessary between the requirements of effective initial change and the requirements of growth. The ideal problem, in which the areas of easiest change are surrounded by expanding areas of gradually increasing difficulty, will never be encountered in real life.

One exception to the necessity for growth should be mentioned. If a problem-area is so independent of its surroundings that it can change without external resistance, the surrounding area need not be taken into consideration, and the problem-area need never expand. A solution can be complete without further growth. For instance, it is fairly easy for an adolescent to grow in a family which cannot grow with him, because he can simply leave home when the external resistance to his changes becomes too stiff. Such a degree of independence is, however, rare for any settled community. It is possible for individual members of the community to leave it when further growth is prevented within it, but the whole community
cannot detach itself from its surroundings. The changes occurring in the Fox community have to be accepted by some of the surrounding area in order to survive.

Other characteristics of a solution-process.—Up to now the process of solving a problem has been described as a process of reconciling and integrating conflicting factors in an ever-expanding series of social areas, combined with an increase of integrative power or mastery. This dual process of growth is only part of what happens in a solution. It is impossible to reconcile all factors of a problematic situation to each other, even in a very small problem. Some factors will always remain too unchangeable to enter fully into a new system.

This unchangeable residue of conflicting factors is taken care of in a different fashion. As a person, or a group, or a set of roles and beliefs, grows more integrated and powerful it acquires an increased stability inwardly and an immunity against disruptive factors. These factors become less threatening, and the tension accompanying mutual incompatibility decreases. As a result, the opposed factors, or sets of factors, become able to tolerate each other. Thus a problem can diminish in intensity even though not all the conflicting factors have been brought into a functional relationship. This is the process that, in reference to personal growth, is called "learning to get along with oneself" or "accepting one's own limitations." It consists of recognizing and tolerating the immature, destructive, perverted, and unusable parts of one's personality without having to either repress and destroy them or transform and take them up into the ideal self. Recognition and toleration is made possible only by an increased self-unity and mastery, because of which the disturbing factors no longer threaten the destruction of the personality.

In the same way, a group or a social system is able to tolerate oppositions within itself to the extent that it has attained a self-sustaining internal organization. Here again the toleration is not achieved by conscious willpower or even less by moral exhortations to be tolerant, but comes as a by-product of increasing interdependence and stability in the system.

Tolerance within a system may be thought of as an ability to keep incompatible things separate and thus prevent them from interfering with each other. Such an ability is required in any situation where different cultures, sub-cultures, or classes continually come together; since it is too much to expect the different cultures to become completely assimilated, the next best way to reduce tension is to develop an emotional isolation of the cultures so they do not threaten each other.

The ability to separate incompatibles is especially required of an introducer of change who comes from another community or another culture. In this case the separation has to be made between the self which he develops as he becomes a member of the new community, and the beliefs, interests, purposes, and standards which he developed in his previous life, if they are alien to the new community. Failure to exclude these alien parts of himself will complicate the problem, since they will then enter into the problem-area along with him and will have to be worked into the solution. That is, he will either try to get his friends to conform to these standards, purposes, etc., or will have to change the standards and purposes to fit into the new situation. Neither of these procedures are necessary.

For instance, an apartment house city-dweller doing field work among country-dwellers (or vice versa) is likely to be pained and shocked by the absence of many comforts, habits, and standards which he takes for granted. He is likely to see this as a problem or part of a problem, and
may try to educate people to a realization of the shortcomings of their way of life. Or even if he engages in other kinds of action, his own living standards will help determine the objectives he sets in his own mind. In these ways he will be forcing alien values on people, thus repeating in his own way the usual practices of white people and Government agents, with probably the usual results. If, on the other hand, he removes the influences of these standards on himself, he will be better able to see what changes in habits and standards are actually acceptable.

Such a separation of incompatibles by the introducer of change does not in itself solve any problems; it merely prevents him from complicating the problem by his presence, and prepared the way for objective evaluation of the problem and the introduction of acceptable changes.

Since toleration itself depends on growth, one cannot expect it to increase to any extent during the early stages of a solution; and even in later stages it will not necessarily be sufficient to neutralize all unchangeable factors. What happens to the rest? Even these factors undergo some mutual modification during the course of a solution, though perhaps such modification cannot properly be called a "solution." What happens is that opposing forces move toward an equilibrium in their destructive struggles with each other. For instance, suppose a person has conflicting masculine and feminine identifications, or conflicting self-concepts, which for some reason he is unable either to modify and integrate or to separate and tolerate. In that case each identification will thwart the active expression of the other; but instead of resulting in a complete disorganization of the personality, the thwarting will more likely produce two mutually limited "spheres of influence." Each identification will express itself in a limited set of activities. Whenever the person engages in one set of activities for a while, he will begin to experience anxiety, guilt, helplessness, fatigue, or other symptoms, which subside as soon as he changes to the other set of activities. These in turn soon lead to different symptoms and a resumption of the first set of activities. Thus an equilibrium is established between the two identifications, so that each factor has its own sphere of expression but is checked in its further development by the other factor.

The same thing occurs when racial or other prejudices are checked in their expression by the force of conscience. The rejecting attitudes, which always have some function in the personality, have to be expressed as part of the normal activity of the person. But soon they are checked by the censorship of conscience, especially if it is supported by ministers or other conscience-figures. This thwarting can be endured only temporarily; there is a revulsion against moral authority, and the rejecting attitudes are again expressed and again checked. Such equilibriums in group activity are fairly familiar; they appear as factional rivalries, or more subtly as conflicting group aims or conflicting personal or social functions of the group, expressed in vacillating behavior.

It may be hard to conceive of an equilibrium as part of the solution to a problem, since it seems more like a problem itself. Yet it does represent a successful solution of sorts, since it prevents further disorganization of the system under stress. A person with incompatible self-concepts can continue to function after a fashion, with considerable effort. Further, equilibrium provides a kind of hectic stability within which a more positive solution can develop, if additional power to introduce changes is somehow made available. The stability exists insofar as the opposed forces neutralize each other's destructive effects. Thus in an international conflict a balance of power is thought to partly neutralize the opposed military forces and pave the way for non-military efforts at solution.
On the other hand, the same neutralization which prevents mutual destruction may also prevent a better solution, by fixing factors in opposition to each other and preventing their mutual modification and acceptance. Often the first step in solving a problem has to consist of breaking up some partial equilibrium and releasing the forces bound up in it. Thus the usual second step in a therapy is for the patient to unsettle the compromise, the cartels and non-aggression pacts of his neurosis, and to reopen the old struggles. In the case of the Fox a partial equilibrium is unsettled every time someone challenges the well-established unsatisfactory relations between Indians and whites by trying to establish a new kind of relationship.

In general, no equilibrium of conflicting forces is ever completely achieved, partly because the opposed forces never remain constant but continually try to evade each other, and partly because environing forces keep interfering and dissolving the system that is trying to reach an equilibrium. The stability of an equilibrium depends on how much the opposing forces are willing to accept and tolerate each other, that is, on how far they are both integrated into a larger harmony. The more a problem is solved by integrative processes, the easier it is for whatever unchangeable factors are left to reach an equilibrium. For instance, the more the tribal factions see themselves as complementary parts of a single community rather than as protagonists and antagonists of forces external to the community the less they will try to evade, frustrate, and destroy each other. Thus the stability of an equilibrium depends on the amount of solution by integration that is simultaneously occurring. The less the system is integrated, the greater will be the tension and instability of the equilibriums achieved.

A fourth important process which occurs in a problematic situation should be mentioned. Like the processes of growth, separation, and equilibrium, this one also is the result of an attempt at solution by the creative forces involved in the problem. However, it is the least satisfactory of all processes of solution, and can hardly be called a solution at all. It consists of the attempt to reject, repress, or otherwise exclude threatening and unchangeable factors from the problem-area. The supposition is that if these factors can be gotten rid of, the problem can be simplified enough to make a solution possible with otherwise inadequate resources. For instance, in a situation of oppression by discriminatory racial or class attitudes, it is often felt that the problem must first be simplified by rejecting and excluding the discriminating people and their attitudes, and repressing the acceptance of those attitudes in oneself. Likewise in culture contact situations, the attempt is frequently made to completely exclude the alien and threatening culture. The conservative factions in Indian groups have regularly tried to create workable problem-areas in this way, by excluding unmanageable, unmodifiable white influences.

The exclusion of alien or unchangeable factors from a problem is very difficult, precisely because an unchangeable factor is one that resists change, even the minor change of being excluded from a problem. Thus the attitudes, and the white people, whose exclusion from the Fox settlement would do most to simplify the problem are just the ones that stay most tenaciously. At best, one might hope to achieve an equilibrium between the factor to be excluded and the one's own excluding forces, at the price of immobilizing these forces in a continued deadlock. But worse results often occur. When efforts at exclusion prove ineffective in reality, they are often shifted to the perceptual field: instead of actually getting rid of the threatening forces, one ceases to perceive them, by repressing, projecting, or reinterpreting them. In this way
the problem is simplified in the field of perception but not in the field of action. Such perceptual exclusion is of course undesirable, since it reduces the relevance of conscious perceptions to the actual problem. Its only function is to provide an imaginary sort of relief at the conscious level, by allowing the person or group to live in a simpler make-believe world.

It is possible to avoid the use of ineffective exclusion techniques, and to some extent equilibrium techniques as well in the following way:

First, by beginning the solution in a problem-area small enough so that integration is possible with actually existing resources. Second, by including in this initial area an introducer of change who is secure enough to avoid forcing alien factors of his personality into the situation, without having to exclude them from his personality completely—a person who is able to limit his participation in the situation without feeling personally fragmented. Third, by expanding the problem-area gradually enough so it does not overcome the growing integrative forces.

Summary: Ends and means again.—We have now described the manner in which the problem and the possibilities of change are limited and investigated in relation to each other. We have indicated how the areas in which the solution can begin are discovered, namely by (a) finding areas that are relatively independent of their environment; (b) finding among these the areas of greatest possible change in relation to their problems; (c) finding areas from which growth is possible. The areas within which the solution can begin are then selected by compromising between (b) and (c). We have shown how the direction of the solution is established, and have mentioned four characteristics of a process of solution, namely growth, tolerance or immunization, equilibrium, and exclusion. In all this nothing has been said about ends and means, the usual terms used in discussing action. This defect must now be remedied.

In general, one can say of this method of solving problems that its ultimate end, its intrinsic good, is community or shared experience, speaking qualitatively, and growth, speaking quantitatively. This is an utterly impractical end, since it does not inform us as to what particular things are to be included in it, or by what particular means it is to be achieved. The particular guides to action are provided by analyses of the problem and the possibilities of change rather than by consideration of the endlessly changing ultimate end and its endlessly changing conditions.

In terms of this ultimate end, everything included in the solution can be understood as a means to it. If the solution is taken as a temporal series of actions, the end is the whole series taken collectively, while the means are the series taken distributively. If the solution is seen as an expanding process in social space, the end is again the whole expanding community and the means are the contributions of each of the parts to the whole. By "parts" are not meant individual people, but roles, values, interests, etc. The whole exists more or less in each person.

Neither of these series can, however, be foreknown by the introducers of change. Because the ultimate end is continually shifting in content no practical course of action can be derived from it. The problem cannot therefore be solved by setting up advance objectives, but only by studying present conditions, present opportunities and conflicts. The introducers of change should concentrate on what present changes are possible in relation to the problem and on what possibilities of future growth exist; only during the process of solution do means and ends become known.

Range of applicability of this method.—This method of solving
problems is expected to be applicable to a variety of problems in social relations. It is designed to deal with social factors that are (1) interdependent and (2) changeable in a definite, limited number of ways. It reaches a solution by discovering these limited possible changes and their interrelations. The theory on which it is based assumes that neither human nature nor social institutions are perfectly malleable, and that no one factor in society or personality determines all the rest.

However, in practice there are factors which are completely changeable, and with these the present method is unable to deal. For example, neutral economic means such as money are completely changeable, adaptable to any purpose. One cannot, by examining them, discover anything about the purposes to which they should be directed, and must instead devote a separate inquiry to the determination of ends. When many neutral resources are present in a problem it has no determinate solution by the present method and should instead be dealt with some other way, for instance by economic planning.

Nor can this method deal adequately with completely unchangeable factors, such as absolute beliefs, fixed purposes, and irresistible power. A problem in which many such factors are present should probably be solved according to some other method.

Another limitation of this method is that it deals only with changes that can be introduced from within a community. It provides no way of evaluating changes that are externally imposed, since such changes cannot be controlled by the problem-area and its possibilities. For instance, a Government official entrusted with carrying out a pre-determined policy on people he has no personal interest in, cannot use this method. His policy, being set externally to the problem-area, cannot be changed or controlled by it. The limited acceptability of changes in the problem-area constitutes an obstacle to him rather than a source of plans, and he will try to overcome this local resistance in carrying out his pre-established policy, rather than changing his objectives to accord with it.

The present method provides no check on the validity of such an externally administered policy. It is designed to be used by people already involved in a problematic situation, and one of its rules is that all parts of a person not involved in a situation should be excluded if possible from influencing his actions. A person who is only partly a member of a community, such as a field worker, should try not to be guided by his alien commitments, interests, and standards, but only by the demands and possibilities of the problem itself. Where this is not possible, some other kind of planning method should be used.

Changing relations with the Indian service

In the summer of 1952, Fred and Marjorie Gearing, together with William McCormack and Steven Polgar, went to the Fox community. The Gearings stayed through the following year and the summer of 1953. During the summer of 1952, McCormack attempted to apply linguistic methods to an analysis of Fox leadership, and Polgar worked exhaustively with the teen-age Fox boys, an area of Fox life hitherto untouched. Toward the end of the summer, Gearing and Polgar began working with the Legion, then temporarily defunct, and during the following fall and early winter, Gearing continued to work with the Legion in their reorganization and in furnishing an unused tribal building for a Legion meeting hall. Marjorie Gearing, during the fall and winter, worked with a group of Fox high school students in the organization of parties for the community.
Earlier, in January of 1952, correspondence had begun with the American Friends Service Committee and the Indian Service. The federal government was contemplating transferring the jurisdiction over the Fox grade school from the federal government to the state and it was suggested that the Fox project could serve a useful function in helping the community assume the responsibilities apparently implied in such a transfer. There had been conversation with Indian service officials from Minneapolis, and in those conversations Tax and others attempted to learn, first, whether the federal monies which had hitherto been spent in the running of the school and which were being given to the state for that purpose would continue as long as there was a need, and second, whether the Fox, under the new arrangement, would receive greater authority in the running of the school. The Fox project personnel felt that, if these two conditions prevailed, such a transfer of jurisdiction would probably be to the Fox's advantage. In March of 1952, Tax was invited to attend a council meeting in the Fox community at which the Minneapolis representative of the Indian service would discuss with the council and the tribe the transfer of this jurisdiction. The next day there was a second meeting in Tama with the Indian service representatives, members of the tribal council, and officials of the Tama County school systems. As a result of those meetings, no formal relation between the Indian service and the Fox project was attempted. As the school matter developed over the summer, the Fox project found itself having definitely taken the side of the tribe, not over the matter of whether the school should be transferred but in resistance to attempted coercive measures by the Indian service. These experiences reinforced earlier experiences at Ft. Berthold and led to the realization that, in order to do the kind of work suggested by Tax in "Action Anthropology," the Fox project must be unattached to the administrative locus of power. Clearly, one is in a better position to help a group clarify their wishes if one is unattached to any actual or potential exercise of coercion over the group. The four letters which follow, Exhibits 27, 28, 29, and 30, report the developments in respect to the Fox school and reveal the kind of relationship which was attempted in respect to the tribe and in respect to the Indian service. The latter relationship, for understandable reasons internal to the Indian service, did not develop as hoped. Today the Fox project has no relationship to the Indian service, formal or informal, which is unfortunate.

Exhibit 27
April 1, 1952

Mr. George Willoughby
American Friends Service Committee
Des Moines Regional Office
1116 East University Avenue
Des Moines, Iowa

Dear George:

I returned late Sunday evening from three days around Tama and I hasten to report to you. Mr. Fred Gearing, who will probably continue to participate, accompanied me.

Aside from informal conversations which I won't try to report (and leaving aside also the piece of business which concerns Station WOI-TV's plans to have an educational television broadcast by the Fox Indians, which caused us to meet there) we had three meetings: (1) on Friday evening with the tribal council alone; (2) on Saturday evening with Messrs. Foster, Kelley and Mays and the tribal council which also included a number of other tribal leaders, particularly from the opposition which is not much represented on the council; (3) on Sunday morning with four members
of the tribal council and Messrs. Foster, Kelley and Mays and all of the members of the school boards of Tama and Toledo. This was held in the home of Mr. William Wellinger, the president of the Tama Commercial Club, who is not a member of the school board. There may also have been a few other citizens. To this meeting I went alone on the special invitation and more or less as the spokesman for the Indians.

At the first meeting on Friday evening I told the tribal council what was up, confining myself to the question of transfer of the Sac and Fox day school to state supervision. They were considerably disturbed and knew that the meeting on Saturday night would be of great importance and begged me to attend. For this reason also they made it a kind of open meeting.

I gave it as my own view that the change might not be a bad thing if they were given assurances that they might be able to run the school affairs themselves and if the money were forthcoming from the Indian Service year after year.

At Saturday evening's meeting Mr. Foster opened the proceedings with a rather long speech that (1) used hopelessly bad rhetoric as far as any acceptance by the Indians was concerned, plunking for "integrated" schooling and sounding as if the Indian children were to be sent to public schools whereas, in fact, his plan was only to make the Indian school over into a public school; and (2) involved me in the picture by saying that when he talked with me in Chicago I had agreed with him that this was a good plan. I therefore thought it very necessary to make a speech at once telling him that I did not understand the premises of the plan as he did, disassociating myself from any attempt to integrate Indian children into public schools. Although I have never seen this at any Indian council meeting, when I finished my speech there was a round of applause and I noticed among those who applauded were members of the Young Bear faction who were on the council and also , who is a leader of the Old Bear faction. In the ensuing discussion Mr. Foster got himself further and further in trouble with the Indians asianly with his impossible rhetoric, indicating that the policy of assimilation was not only his, but that of the Indian Service, the Congress, and therefore the whole American people.

The Indians were considerably disturbed and made speech after speech in an attempt to avoid the changeover in their school. Mr. Foster (and Mr. Kelley, who in every instance spoke better than Mr. Foster) was forced into several concessions: (1) that he was not putting pressure on the Indians to decide one way or the other (although nowhere did he say they could make a decision contrary to his recommendation), and (2) that they should take plenty of time to discuss it and he wasn't necessarily demanding that the changeover be made by September. However, the Indians were cynical about both propositions. Mr. Kelley is to return in about six weeks to draw up the contracts when state officials will be there. The Indians by themselves will surely "decide" in the negative and I suppose what will happen is that they will be told that Mr. Foster has been overruled in his generosity by the Commissioner and that in fact the Indians have no choice between transferring of the school to the state and having none at all. As we left the meeting the Indians told me they were going to "fight this," that "the next round" would be held in the morning and that I should please come.

After the meeting I made my peace with Mr. Foster by pointing out that I would have been completely useless if I had not disassociated myself with what would appear to the Indians as connivance with him against their benefit. He was so insensitive as to deny that there could have
been such an interpretation, but he hid any anger he may have felt towards me and suggested that we meet in Washington with Dillon Myer soon.

The Sunday meeting with the school boards was asked for by the school boards because for some time the Indian Service has been encouraging the towns of Tama and Toledo to build a union high school with vocational facilities. Heretofore, the two towns have been too competitive to do much; but now control has in some degree changed hands and they were meeting together to consider the possibility and get federal funds. Mr. Foster pointed out that the Indian Service may not legally help in projects like this which now must go through the United States Office of Education, but it could make strong representations. The members of the school boards wanted to know specific matters of finances and the like, and it soon became apparent that the question of the Indians was secondary in this whole problem. At the same time, however, the proposal to turn the Indian day school over to the state was explained and the Indians were given an opportunity to speak, etc. Almost the same thing happened as the evening before. Mr. Foster explained the assimilationist policy; members of the Tama school board indicated that "since it was going to happen anyway, the Indians had better get over the hump quickly and it would be better if they came to white schools in the lower grades instead of waiting until high school." When the Indians were called on to speak they seemed a little helpless and although they were clearly negative to any changes, all they seemed able to talk about was the "discrimination" which exists in Tama and Toledo against the Indians. The reaction on the part of the whites was to deny that they felt any discrimination.

Somewhere along the line Ed Davenport, the chairman of the tribal council, called upon me and I didn't have much choice but to make a fairly lengthy speech apologizing for being an outsider as well as a professor and a social scientist, but pointing out some of the things we know and some of the difficulties both with the "empirical prediction" that the Indians were going to be assimilated anyway; and the manner which they seemed willing to act on that prediction. I pointed out, of course, the real cultural differences that exist and the kinds of insecurities that are to be found in the Indian community. I explained to everyone present that the discrimination referred to was probably not discrimination but the Indian reaction due to misinterpretation, etc.

There was almost no reaction to my speech during the meeting. After the meeting the president of the Tama school board claimed to have enjoyed the speech and said that in a democracy "I have a right to be wrong." Two or three other people, however, stayed with me and I had a chance to explain a little more what I meant, and I think they began to be influenced. On the whole, however, I think that this is going to be a tough nut to crack and it is, of course the most important thing that we must do.

There were no positive results of this meeting because the Indian Service people could promise nothing since the school situation and the union high school situation were in an exploratory phase. One thing I was able to make clear to the Tama and Toledo school boards was that if the plan went through the union school would be a union of three districts, not just two: (1) the Tama school district; (2) the Toledo school district; and (3) the Indian reservation. And the Indian school district, like the Tama and Toledo ones, would have an elected board with whom they would have to deal. From the reaction to this comment, which could not be denied of course, I judge that even Mr. Foster had not thought of this. I was unable, however, to judge any particular reaction except surprised realization on the part of the others.
At the end of the third meeting I again tried to make my peace with Mr. Foster asking him if he still wanted to meet with him in Washington. At first he said he would let me know. Then he said he was going to Washington at the time of the conference called by the Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc. for May 8, 9, and 10, and when I told him I might come to that conference he immediately proposed that at that time we see Dillon Myer together. It is my interpretation that he is so anxious to turn the Fox over to somebody that no matter what I said, he would want us to help.

I find myself after the weekend in an extraordinarily favorable position vis-à-vis the Indians themselves. I think they all feel that we are "for them" in any fight that comes up, and we start out by having both factions equally strong for us. I doubt now whether it would make a serious difference when we begin to work there this spring if we were to receive money from the Indian Bureau or not.

Another favorable fact is that in learning about the educational system in our department of education, I discovered that there were two good students from the Tama area at the University of Chicago, both at the stage where they are beginning to work on their doctoral problems. One is Elmer Ferneau, who was brought up south of the reservation and went through Tama high school and is well acquainted with the whole state educational system and personally with the state superintendent. He has his M.A. in Education and happens to have as his main interest the problem of community organization for education. I do not know whether he might not be induced to take up the principalship of the Indian day school but he seemed very interested in the challenge involved.

When I spoke to Ferneau, he informed me of another student here from Tama itself who also has a M.A. in education and also is about to choose a doctoral problem. His name is Norman Brice, whom I have met as the husband of an excellent teacher in the University Laboratory School. Ferneau told me that Brice as sociological background and is now interested in working with Carl Rogers counseling center. He too is technically qualified to head up the Indian school. If either could be put in the job, it would be relatively easy to teach the Indians how to run their school and to make the transition that is now demanded.

I mentioned the fact that we have these two students at the University to Mr. Foster and he seemed very pleased.

I shall keep you informed of developments, if any.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

Ralph Rose
Associate Dean

Exhibit 28

Dear Dr. Tax:

We want to bring you up to date on the school situation. In the last week there have been a meeting here with Indian Office and State men, a Council meeting, a conference with Myer in Minneapolis, and a conference with Miss Parker in Des Moines. The net result is that the transfer will not go through this year and, more important, the matter is not closed but completely in the hands of the tribal council to decide and plan for.

Kelley came down for the first meeting. There were meetings during
the day with the State people and they reached agreement on some matters bothering them (apparently a contract had not been finally drawn and signed until that time). About 4:30 Mays came to Ed Davenport and asked that a council meeting be called that evening. The request was turned down but four members of the council met informally with Kelley and the State people. Kelley outlined the agreed-upon program for the coming school year "under new management," Council members jumped on Kelley hard for not consulting with them. Here for the first time the State people realized that the council had not been consulted all along the line and that the people as a whole were against the transfer. They said they couldn't take a further step until consulting with Miss Parker, that their basis for coming in the first place was because they thought they were wanted. We later learned that one of the State men had to talk with Kelly for over an hour afterwards to get back the contracts he had signed. Kelley didn't want to go back to Minneapolis empty-handed so he suggested that members of the council go to Minneapolis and there meet with Dillon Myer who was in town for conference.

The next evening the council met, agreed upon a proposal to present to Myer (attached) and decided that Ed Davenport, Kenneth Youngbear, Columbus Keshana, and Fred Gearing go. An offer of the station wagon as transportation was accepted. The substance of the meeting with Myer was that his position was explicitly stated; since the government has the responsibility for educating the children, it has the authority to make what it thinks to be the best decision; no body (i.e., the tribal council) can veto such a decision.

But the council realized that they in fact did have veto power in that the State people were now afraid of the transfer (they are afraid of bad publicity in the Des Moines Register). So it was decided to get to the State people as soon as possible. On returning from Minneapolis it was learned that McKelso had received a call from Des Moines to the effect that Miss Parker would be in town Monday; an appointment was made.

The meeting with Miss Parker was fine. She impressed us as much as Fearnau had indicated—sincere, honest, straight forward, and a good listener. She made it clear that the State was interested only if the tribe wanted them there and thought they could do a better job than heretofore. The door was expressly not closed for the future.

It would be unwise, of course, for the transfer to be attempted this year. Now the council must get together and make an approach anew to the State people, working out with them the transfer and the running of the school after the transfer. Especially important will be the function of a local advisory body. McKelson has suggested that it would be a mistake to ask that a school district and a School Board be organized since it is not necessary and would be nine-tenths the way toward a school tax. Rather, in view of the sensitivity of the State people to bad publicity and in view of our impressions of Miss Parker's good intent, an advisory body would have as much actual authority without the drawbacks of the formal Board. Indian Office people had arranged that the council form the advisory body but there is some question as to whether this would be the best arrangement. It would probably be advisable to involve some persons from Tama and Toledo in this body, as well as people from the settlement.

Perhaps a year will be sufficient time to work out the arrangements with the State people and gain some support from the people here. Generally speaking, they seem to be in favor of the transfer if the arrangement is put in terms of their gaining some autonomy in the running of the school. However understanding of the matter is still all but absent and it will take a little time.
The most important fact is that now, as compared to March, the Mesquakies have the initiative in their hands. The State is willing to take the school but they will do nothing until asked. The Indian Office would act if it could but is now blocked and, since it wants very much to delegate the running of the school, most any arrangement acceptable to both the people here and the State representatives will be acceptable to the Indian Office. On such a grounding some real contributions to the welfare of the kids in the future can be made.

Very sincerely,
Edward Davenport
Fred Gearing

Exhibit 29
August 4, 1952

Dear Sol [Tax],

Just a line in respect to your coming conversations with Myer. In your letter to Ed you say, "I offered to help show the people why it would be good" (with qualifications). This would be interpreted by Myer, I think, as a commitment to undertake a selling job on behalf of the transfer. It is just this that I (rightly or wrongly) told Myer in Minneapolis that you or I or UC generally would not undertake, that rather we would attempt to clarify the alternatives, leaving the goodness or badness of the alternatives to be decided by the Mesquakies.

There isn't, of course, a real contradiction here since, in practice, clarifying the alternatives already is throwing what influence we have on the side of the "good" alternative. Nevertheless I have attempted to make it clear to the people here and to Myer in Minneapolis that we are not "in favor of" the transfer or its opposite; and, to the people here, I have attempted to communicate that the only thing we are "in favor of" is the right of the Mesquakies and not the Indian Office to decide whether the transfer is good or bad.

Hence, if Myer is to read the letter to Ed, there may be that initial confusion.

As far as I can make out (from Myer's words in Minneapolis and from two speeches of his I have read) our most basic disagreement with him revolves around the principle: since the federal government has the responsibility for the sundry services to the Indians such as education, it must have the authority to acquit those responsibilities in the manner that it thinks best for the welfare of the Indians involved, irrespective of the judgment of the Indians themselves. I take it that these are considered statements and are quite central to his thinking, hence "converting" him would be out of the question. Whether the difference should be minimized or maximized, I have no feelings at present.

As far as the attitudes toward the transfer among the people here, it seems to me that there is no real opposition either on the part of the youngbears or oldbears and that the controversy revolves around two axes: the relations of the people with the Indian office and the internal power struggles. If the Indian office were suddenly to become "disinterested" in the outcome (i.e. present the proposition as a real matter for the people to decide in either direction) one dimension of the opposition would disappear. The problem would then be to get into operation a bipartisan group to consider the matter and make its recommendation after conversations with the State people, the council agreeing beforehand to abide by that recommendation. Through all this there is the problem
which has been central in the thinking of the Indian office people; how to make it clear that some decision is necessary and thereby get around the tendency that is real enough to just let the matter ride. Perhaps the Indian Office could let it be known that the present arrangement was to terminate at a certain date next year, say July 1, and that at that time the tribe would have to have ready a decision inviting either the Indian office or the State to come in and run the school (i.e., that no decision would mean no school). This last is not a considered judgment and no doubt there are less drastic ways to accomplish the same result.

In any event, if Myer wants a concrete example of why the way in which they approach such matters is self-defeating, he has it right here. I could prepare a rather complete report on this in a month if you thought his reading it would serve some useful purpose.

I do hope some understanding will come of your conversations. I think, too, that a meeting of the minds is all we should attempt and that your earlier decision that Indian office money would only make our job more difficult if not impossible was correct.

Fred [Gearing]

Exhibit 30

Mr. Russel M. Kelley
US Office of Indian Affairs
Minneapolis Area Office
250 Buena Building
2908 Colfax Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Kelley:

I have come, in the weeks since the conversations with Commissioner Myer in Minneapolis, to some understanding of what has transpired in respect to the proposed school transfer and want to pass these notions on for what they may be worth.

First, in respect to the substantive parts of the controversies—that is, the welfare of the children of the school—I find no strong feeling here one way or the other. There is very little grasp of the question and for that reason what opposition there is a rather hazy fear of something unknown. But more important, it has seemed to me that this part of the question is almost irrelevant in the thinking of the community here to date.

The controversy has, rather, turned around two axes: the relations of this community as a whole with the Indian Service; and the internal power conflicts between sundry groups within the community.

As you know, better than I, these people are opposed in principle to just about anything the Indian Service is for (and, I take it, it is the same for most Indian groups). The people here did not take the proposal as presented by you and Mr. Foster as an invitation to make a decision but as the exerting of pressure on them to decide the matter in a certain direction; for this reason they were, at the start, opposed and for many this was the only grounds for their opposition. It has been amazing to me the degree to which this dimension of the opposition has disappeared since conversations with the State people; for in the course of those conversations it became clear that the Indian Office was not in the position to force the issue but rather the people here were in the position to decide whether and when the State undertook the job hence that
pressure was removed, in their eyes. It was only after that dimension of the opposition was lessened that I began to hear conversations of the substantive matters involved.

The aspect of the power conflicts within the community are quite complex but most generally the present situation is affected by the fact the present council is made up of persons from the "youngbear" group only; the "oldbears" and an in-between group will tend to oppose anything the present council seems to be in favor of. This matter was brought up, to some degree, in Minneapolis. But what was not made clear there was that no matter whether the council voiced opposition to the matter or not, if the transfer went through everyone would interpret that as secret machinations by the council. Hence the council, to save their political necks, was forced to prevent the transfer if they could and could not follow Commissioner Myer's suggestion that they simply voice their opposition. The only way that this dimension of the opposition will be overcome is through the establishing of a body to consider the matter, the council agreeing beforehand to abide by the decision of that body and the body including persons from the "oldbear" group and the in-betweens as well as the group now represented in the council.

In view of the impressions made by the State people on the persons from this settlement who have met with them, I am rather confident that when the substantive matters are finally brought into the discussions here seriously, the decision will be for the transfer. I am fairly confident, too, that in spite of the fright the State people got in the meeting here at the settlement that you called, they will be quite willing to undertake the job at the invitation of the people here. Miss Parker, I know, is very intrigued by the problem of running the school here and would do a very good job.

For these several reasons I rather expect the transfer to be made at the start of the 1953-54 school if your office is still of the mind to do so at that time. A transfer requested by the people here will be incomparably better for the State people who will undertake the job than a transfer to which the people here had merely acquiesced, and for this reason much better for the Fox people also.

As far as the matters I related at the first of the letter, I leave them with you with only the reservations that they are accurate, to the limits of my understanding, but oversimplified. At the first opportunity, I hope to gather together everything I know of those events and think them through in some detail. The only way the results, whatever they may be, could be communicated adequately is through conversations. I would be happy to talk the matter over sometime at your convenience, either here or in Minneapolis, since I am sure my own understanding of such matters would be increased.

Very sincerely,
Fred Gearing

First educational actions

In the fall of 1952, Gearing returned to Chicago for a series of discussions attended by Tax, Rietz, Merrill, Peattie, Polgar, and McCormack. Discussion focused on the educational dimensions of the Fox program which were suggested by Tax's acculturation hypothesis and his article, "Action Anthropology." The discussants decided to prepare information about the Fox community for distribution through local channels of public communication. The audience was seen to be both the local whites and the Indian community. On the one hand, it was hoped that local whites would
learn crucial things about the life and viewpoints of the Fox people which would make them more prone to act effectively and sympathetically in the event of future difficulties such as those over the Fox school. On the other hand, it was thought that the saying of certain things about Fox life publicly would help clarify those things in the minds of the Fox and, because the Fox would react to those publications in conversations with us, would help us understand more fully their thoughts and wishes. A draft of the newspaper series, "We Are the Mesquakie Nation," was prepared by Gearing in Tama, and sent to Chicago where it was read by members of the Fox project and suggested revisions incorporated; it was then distributed to some twenty persons in the Fox community and their suggestions further incorporated. Most of the articles were printed in the Tama News-Herald. Two articles follow, Exhibit 31.

The articles are based on the assumptions that the Fox community and its contrasting ways of thinking and acting might never disappear; that the average local white man judges much Fox behavior negatively; that such negative judgments put the Fox on the defensive, creating conflicts in their own minds as to what they want, and confusing the relatively simple choices which they face in their continuing adjustment to the demands of their always changing environment. If those assumptions are true, then the need to attempt to alter white expectations about the future of the Fox community and its ways and to alter white understanding and attitudes about certain behaviors seemed clear.

Two main difficulties emerged in the experience of writing and publishing these articles. First, in order to communicate the idea that Fox ways had their own validity and that Fox society and its ways might continue forever, the rhetoric which emerged could easily be interpreted as being "anti-progress"—as against any and all adjustments—and that rhetoric seemed to be in support of the conservative faction within the Fox community as against the progressive faction. Second, it has been innocently expected that, with the appearance of the articles, there would be ample feedback from which it would be possible to learn something about the areas of acceptance and resistance to these ideas. The learning which resulted was not absent but was held to minimal proportions in the Fox community and was even less adequate in the local white communities. Here, apparently, was an area in which traditional anthropological techniques of sitting and waiting for data to happen would not suffice.

Exhibit 31

WE ARE THE MESQUAKIE NATION

Two articles selected from a series of sixteen prepared for the Tama (Iowa) News-Herald

As told by Fred Gearing

Why there will always be a Mesquakie community

Most white people think the Mesquakies will disappear in a matter of time. We do not think so. They point to all the different people who make up this country—the "melting pot"—and how they all disappear into the main stream of American life in a matter of a generation or so. They say the same thing will happen to us but we do not think so.

Our numbers are growing all the time and at a rate that more than replaces the people among us who move away to the cities. It is the same all over the country with Indian groups. There are 450,000 persons living in Indian communities in the United States and Alaska today! People are beginning to realize that the "vanishing American" isn't vanishing at all.
If we stop to think a minute, it is clear that the American "melting pot" is made up almost wholly of people from Europe. There is one big difference between the Europeans and the Indians. The Europeans who come to this country have ways that are very little different to begin with from the ways of America.

The nations of Europe all cover quite a large territory and all have large populations. It is the same with America and this makes the way the people govern themselves very much alike in Europe and America. In both places, everyone is accustomed to being governed by laws made by men they do not know, of being told by others that they must do this or that because it is the law.

But we Mesquakies have always lived in small villages where everyone knew everybody. Because of this, our ways of governing ourselves were quite different; no man ever had to do anything just because other men decided to make it a law. Instead, all the people always got together and discussed things until everyone agreed. If only one man disagreed, the rest would respect his opinion and not make it a law. No man could tell another man what he had to do.

In time, our ways of governing ourselves became a part of our ideas about ways a good man should act toward other men in every kind of situation. So they affect all of our actions, not just those that have to do with government. No one of us or no group of us, no matter how large would even think of telling any other man that he must do a thing. Those ideas of how a good man should act work out very well too. And those ideas are just as strong today as they ever were.

In the same manner, the way Europeans and Americans govern themselves in their large societies has become a part of their ideas about how good men should act toward one another in all areas of life. In Europe and America, no matter where you look—in government, in churches, in sports, or in business—there are "bosses" and "the bossed." That way works well too.

So the Europeans who come to this country every year have little difficulty fitting themselves into the way Americans think and act. If a newcomer becomes a boss, he does not feel uncomfortable giving orders and if he is a worker, he feels all right receiving orders. The foreman bosses the worker; but if they both bowl for the company team, the worker may be the captain and boss the foreman. And so it goes. That way is "right" because the people think it is "right."

But for the Indian people, many of the white man's activities could not be easily fitted into the Indian ways of doing things. They simply did not "fit." Take the softball team, for example. Everyone says they have a lot of very good ball players and that, if the coach only got "tough," they'd be sure to come in first. But a Mesquakie coach simply wouldn't feel right telling off a player and all the players would resent it. So they just run the team the "Indian way" and, if it weren't for the fact that they are playing white teams and want especially to win for that reason, they'd have just as much fun coming in last as first.

Of course, it is true that many of our people do decide to leave our community; they give up our ways entirely and adopt the ways of the white man—all of the ways, in a lump. That is easy enough for one man but it is not possible for a whole community. A community must go right on operating while it makes such a change and the disruptions would be too great.

It would be the same if, for some reason, Tama would decide to
abolish all the positions of all foremen, councilmen, police, ministers, and so on. You can imagine what a mess that would make.

Besides, why should we Mesquakies attempt to adopt wholesale the white man's ways of doing things? Many of the white man's activities we have fitted in in the place of our own—those activities which seemed to meet certain of our needs. We changed them a bit here and there to make them fit and generally they work out all right. But some of our own activities we have compared with the white man's and ours still seem good to us.

Keeping those that seem good does not make it impossible for us to learn the skills that are necessary to earn our livings. We can go right on being, if we may say so, an important part of America.

So we don't think we are going to disappear and what's more we don't think we should.

Why we'd just as soon not farm much

There was a picture in the papers not too long ago. It showed a Mandan Indian in North Dakota signing papers which would turn over his people's land to make way for a dam that was being built. He was crying. Those of us who saw that picture cut it out and put it somewhere where we would see it often.

That picture meant things to us that it could not mean to white men because we have had experiences in our history that the white men have not had. Those experiences cause some of the "differences" white men see in us and are puzzled about.

It was those experiences—of being pushed this way and that by armies and of constantly seeing our lands dwindle away—that caused us to leave the reservation the government had put us on in Kansas. For if the government set that land aside for us, they could take it back as they had already done so often. So we came back to our former home in Iowa—to the hills and streams we knew and loved—and bought these 3000 acres we call home today.

It was those experiences that created this deep feeling we have for these acres. Our people sold their ponies and bought the land and the land can never be taken away.

The land, to us, is not something to be used, not something from which to earn a living. The land is a place of safety, a refuge, a permanent home.

The white farmer looks at his land and says: How much will it yield? He buys and sells the land according to the market. He landscapes it and cuts down the trees and dams the rivers and builds bins and fills them every fall.

These things we do not do because the land means something altogether different to us. OUR LAND WAS NOT BOUGHT TO BE USED. It was bought just to be there for us, always.

Some white people say we should divide up the land so each person would own the land he lives on and therefore have more reason to "fix it up" and make money from it. We don't divide the land, though, because in the first place we don't figure "fixing it up" is so important. And in the second place, we know that if we did, sooner or later a man would need some money bad and he might sell his share. Soon we would have less and less land and then none.
So we keep the land in one piece, owned by the tribe, and any of us can build a home here and find room for a garden or get a few acres to farm if he wants. But no one can sell the land and the land will always be here for everyone. Our people who move away to the cities know that they can always come back if they want and there will be room for them here.

So when people tell us we are not using the land "efficiently" we just nod and remember that they do not understand that the land is serving exactly the purpose for which we bought it. That is another kind of efficiency they do not see.

We like our land just as it is. The trees are good, the river is good and the hills are good. If a few of our people want to clear some acres for farming (and, of course, some always have) that is all right because there is plenty to go around. But most of us do not want to and never have wanted to and probably never will. And that is all right too.

The land will be "home" as it has been ever since we bought it. The men will go out and make their livings in the factories and in their businesses, for this is the way they prefer it. They will come home in the evenings to their land and the land will belong to them and their children forever.

Means-ends, empirically

Beginning in the fall of 1952, conversations were begun with an Iowa businessman to the end of providing economic assistance to the Fox community. By this time Miller's analysis of Fox patterns of authority had become sufficiently internalized by the Fox project personnel that we were prone to taking those patterns of interpersonal relations very seriously. The difficulties inherent in them in any attempt to organize cooperative activities among Fox unless the participants were members of a single extended family became more central to the thinking.

But more basic were important shifts in conceptualization and a new realization of some implications of earlier value judgments. Until this experience, Diesing's study had not become integral to the thinking. Miller's and Diesing's studies together, now entering the thinking about possible economic enterprises, made it clear that Fox interpersonal relations are not, necessarily, means to be adjusted in arriving at the Fox's overt and unmistakable desire for greater income. It became clear that, if the Fox want greater income and seem, by their behavior, to want their relations one to another to be non-authoritative and non-competitive, both are ends in the minds of the Fox. Further, if one makes the value judgment that the Fox, and not we, should make the choices among alternatives, then it is a covert form of coercion if the anthropologist assumes either end to be only a means. If so, the legitimate thing to do is to show, if the Fox happen not to realize this already and to the degree that it is actually so, that the two ends are incompatible and leave to the Fox the selection between two such incompatible ends.

Nevertheless, those ideas, though now fully conscious, were importantly speculative, as applied to the particular situation. The Fox had apparently farmed considerably, before wage labor became available, and in pursuing that farming they had engaged in a degree of inter-family cooperation. Also, the Iowa businessman was in a position to provide substantial assistance. In such a situation it was thought necessary to go forward with the planning, but to talk of the undertaking as an experiment and to attempt to minimize any feeling among the Fox that, if the project did not
make great strides, that the participants had "failed."

Throughout the activities which followed in the spring and summer of 1953, occasions arose to talk about these patterns of relationships with the involved Fox. Throughout the activities, those abstract "patterns" were easily visible in their waking reality. The experience was not promising and it confirmed our expectations, though it can hardly be considered conclusive.

Two complicating factors emerged during these activities. First, when activities involved a number of individuals, both Indian and white, and cross-cutting factional lines, it seemed that an uncomfortable amount of manipulation, as opposed to education, was unavoidable. In this manner, the old dilemma supposedly settled in the current rejection of the means-ends model came back into the picture. Do we, or do the Fox, choose that the Fox will be educated? Is it ever legitimate to maneuver people into position in order for them to have educative experiences? And if so, how much of such manipulation can be permitted without defeating the educative ends sought? Second, how far is it possible, in this social context, to prepare the participants for non-success? We set out on an activity in which we did not expect success. There is no evidence that the participants were wounded in any sense by this "failure" but can we anticipate this in other cases? If not, and in view of the fact that the Fox's sense of self-confidence is not in the best of condition after many years of pressures from the outside society, how does one measure the adverse effects of not succeeding against the educational effects of the experience?

The two documents which follow, exhibits 32 and 33, report on the activities.

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Mr. Bert Stolpe
The Des Moines Register and Tribune
Des Moines, Iowa

Mr. Bert Stolpe

Since our last conversation the fellows who will be farming the UC land have been lined up and there have been two meetings. It seems unquestionably apparent to me that these men are fully committed to the project in its broadest scope and that they see the necessity of making the start in this small way. I think, too, that they are able and willing to get under way this coming year without any outside help, if that becomes necessary. In other words help will not be a necessity at this stage, although, in line with our last conversation, a gesture of some sort would be desirable in terms of the thinking of these persons and of the community. It also may prove desirable as a sort of commitment by the business or government people; but you would be able to decide this better than any of us here.

There is a man living near here, an easy-going chap, like by the Indians, who has been doing quite a bit of berry-farming and the like as something of an avocation (being a retired small-businessman). He has considerable know-how and apparently spare time. We thought it might be possible to get him to commit a bit of time, gratis, as technical advisor to the group. [A] and I are to see him tomorrow if we can find him at that time. This will create a role into which a future full-time manager can fit himself in if and when such a manager becomes desirable and feasible.

The Mesquakies now involved are as follows:
[A], whom you met. [A] is a political conservative. He is now farming but doesn’t derive his whole income from that. He is very practical-minded. He has been active in community-service roles—a former member of the Council and of the Pow-Wow Committee.

[B]. [B] is one of the three most influential men in the politically conservative group. He is a bit older than the others, 60-ish. He was a supporter of the defunct Gruber farm plan and sees the present enterprise in this same community-wide light but thinks realistically and therefore sees the necessity of the small inelaborate start with or without outside help as the case may be. Unless I am sadly mistaken, [B] will assume a chairman-like role in this group in virtue of his age and his position in the community and this will put the undertaking in the best possible position with the conservative group (and this is the group that would tend to oppose what would easily be interpreted, without these precautions, as "outside influence" or interference).

[C], whom you met. [C] has perhaps the most know-how in the group. His thinking more closely approximates that of the "economic man" of classical economics than anyone I have come to know out here. He is a political progressive and the only one now represented in the group. I was somewhat leery of his being "alone" and for this reason gave him the opportunity to suggest someone for [D’s] place (of which more later) but it was clear from his response that he didn’t feel concerned about this. Also, he is a close friend of [A’s] in spite of their political differences and, being an actively religious man (in the traditional Mesquakie beliefs), he comes into frequent and intimate contact with the both [A] and [B] and with most of the conservatives, more so than most of the political progressives. His family forms the core of the progressive group (I mean his father, brothers, etc.) and he is respected by them, hence our position here should be good also.

[E], a member of an influential conservative family but rather unpolitical himself. He now does some farming and has a tractor but has too little land and is coming into this largely as a matter of self-interest. He is something of a rake—he drinks heavily at more or less regular intervals; a good worker when he’s actually working. We should learn a lot from [E’s] reactions as this project moves along because I would say that he is perhaps more representative of the Mesquakie "average man" than the other, more service-oriented, persons who are now involved. [E] is really the "unknown factor" as we are now constituted.

There is a vacancy, of a sort, that can but need not be filled. [I], [G], and [H] have been suggested by various persons above and I am leaving the eventual choice or absence of choice up to them. [I] is middle-aged, one of the reputed wits of the community, a guy "everybody likes"; also he has had considerable experience in growing berries; for both these reasons he would be an asset. [G] is a young, hard-working and unimaginative person, a member of a strong conservative family; he now does quite a bit of farming. I know very little of [H] except that he has done quite a bit of farming in the past and owns a now-unused tractor; I think he is rather nonpolitical.

[D], after learning of my proposed line-up (which included him) decided it would be best for the success of the project if he did not enter at this early time. There is apparently quite a bit of bad blood between him and [B] and [A]. However [D] is very much committed, subjectively, and will be of help in the background during this first phase. It will be good to involve him openly as soon as the project has expanded a bit and perhaps in a capacity not directly connected with the farming (say the cannery or the store, when these become feasible.)
This time is almost ripe to [talk to] [I] and the Council into our confidences. This is a ticklish matter. The thing must be presented to them as something of a fait accompli and at the same time they must feel that they are truly being consulted. The problem is, I think, to make them see that the matter at this stage is irrelevant to the Council which concerns itself with community-wide matters but to quiet any misgivings they might have that the project will progress around or over the Council when developments do become important to the community as a whole. Nothing would be gained by making too much of the community-wide implications at this time. For one thing, the theoretically possible implications are almost limitless and we ourselves won't know really just what the implications will be except as we watch the progress of the enterprise as it develops pretty much according to the "laws" which govern such developments in this community. For another, these people are quite accustomed to being presented with "blueprints" which are really of the rigid nature of blueprints and are complex and abstract (and unworkable) for that reason; hence they would have difficulty believing that our plan is of a much more flexible nature and they would be attempting to visualize the finished product before lending their support or opposition, which finished product cannot really be predicted by them or by us or by anyone. In other words, too much emphasis on the broader implications of the project would introduce an unnecessary and, indeed, unreal complexity.

This approach, which is basically a matter of rhetoric in presenting the matter to the involved people, would have to be reversed, I realize, in our conversations with potential white backers. We white Americans have an irresistible penchant for visualizing big and wonderful things. Hence to make the same enterprise seem "real" to these backers, the finished product must be presented with more emphasis and must be drawn in more details (even to the point of concreteizing it more than is actually justifiable). This, I recognize, is the problem with which you are faced in selling the project. Apparently our only out is to become somewhat schizophrenic and we can only hope this doesn't affect our personalities permanently! I not unfrequently try, without success, to trace through the happenstances which led me into this weird and wonderful job of working for this community.

The four fellows now involved and I met Sunday at [A's]. We talked for three hours on matters relevant and irrelevant. One relevant suggestion I was happy to see come up was that they come to Des Moines and talk with you. After consulting their several work schedules, they found they could come Saturday the 13th. (The next opportunity would be January 10th.) Saturday is probably a bad day for you but it is the only day they all have free time together. They want to learn a bit about what sort of help they might be able to get in the future (and I think they will not only understand but actually profit if you are perfectly candid about the problems you will be facing in getting this backing—for one thing, it will underscore their own responsibility to make a go of things in this early phase to thereby help you to sell the idea to potential backers). It might be that you will find this an opportunity to have a "ripe" customer meet and talk with them. Or it might be that the possible visit to this community by the governor, of which we talked, will make the trip down unnecessary. In any event, it would be well if they knew as soon as possible whether to keep the 13th clear for the trip down.

This letter has gone beyond all reasonable lengths so I'll just break it off here.

Very sincerely

Fred Gearing
APPENDIX II

EXTRACTED FROM FIELD NOTES; SLIGHT MODIFICATIONS ARE IN BRACKETS.

Letters used to identify persons are the same as in the preceding correspondence.

Coop Farming—a general summary—August 11, 1953—Fred Gearing

During the winter months, feeling some compulsion to make use of the U.C. land, and some compulsion to attempt concretize some of the thinking of former project personnel, I talked with several persons off an on in this community concerning the possibility of a cooperative farming venture. Also, during the summer, Mr. Bert Stolpe (public relations official of the Des Moines Register) came on the scene and conversations with him tended to center around farming enterprises. It seemed that Mr. Stolpe was in a position to (arrange for) a good deal of technical assistance if something like this were done. For those several reasons and because Mesquakies themselves think of farming as related to the good old days, we attempted to organize and carry through this coop farming program.

The persons talked to during the winter months were, in order of the frequency of the conversations, as follows: [six names]. All of these people voiced their general interest in the coop program. [Three] were especially interested in the project as an indication of possible future developments leading to greater farming income to the community. A fourth, too, seemed interested from this point of view, but his limited use of English prevented adequate conversations with him. However, others had lengthy conversations with [him] on this subject.

As May first approached and time to begin planting drew near, four of these persons dropped out of the group—in every instance I learned of their dropping out indirectly—through their telling others in the group or through their going away to take jobs. I learned that [B] had slacked off in interest indirectly through [A] and [B]. [B] had begun to mention to them repeatedly that his Sundays would be taken up in his religious activities as he is headman of the Fox clan and that he was tired evenings when he returned from his job on the railroad and this left him only one day a week off. [A] took a job in Marshalltown and then a bit later when a strike interrupted his working in Marshalltown he took another job in Cedar Rapids. He was living in Cedar Rapids through most of the week, returning weekends. I saw him one Sunday in late May and he told me that he has decided not to do any farming this year. His own lands are idle. [I] was really never interested in the project from a personal point of view. He had talked from the beginning vaguely of going out and getting a job somewhere during the summer. He did not go out to get a job and he did not join the farming group. [D] protested his extreme interest right up to the beginning, and even until today; however, he said that it would "be better for the project" if he did not enter at this time because his entering would cause friction with other members of the project. He said that he would want to enter the project at the soonest possible date when things were settled and organized and running smoothly. In the light of many other schemes of [D's], such as his attempting to organize a handicrafts group, his ideas of every year starting a stand at the Pow Wow and presently his notions about opening a garage, one might possibly say that [D] is much more of a dreamer than a doer and that his rationale for dropping out of the group was probably not the only thing entering into his decision.

However, as the first two weeks in May passed, and it became apparent that the raspberries and the strawberry plants were not going to materialize through the Earl May Company as Bert Stolpe had indicated, this provi-
ded a ready rationalization for me to tell these persons that we would only have field crops this year and therefore could only use persons with mechanical equipment and that the other part of the project would have to wait until next year.

Hence, the project at its inception boiled down to [C] and [E] planting field corn on the 20-odd acres of U.C. bottom land. The field corn seed was provided gratis by the Earl May Seed Company of Shenandoah. As May 15 seed planting time approached, [C] began to seem anxious about all the work he and his family had to do on their own farming, and anxious that only a couple of the people of the group would end up doing all the work. This anxiety was sufficiently eased in the arrangement that he and [E] would be the only ones involved in the field crops and that I would keep a schedule of the time that each put in on the planting and cultivating and that they would divide the income proportionately. In this context [C] made the general observation that where members of a particular family are working together, such as his family works, he can tell his younger brother and his nephew that they have to get out into the field today and get to work and they will understand and take this prodding. However, when persons are involved in a single project which does not include only members of one family, then this sort of prodding is impossible. Lastly, [C] was anxious about the way in which the gasoline would be paid for and dished out. This was settled by the arrangement that U.C. would order the gas, pay for it in advance, keep it at the U.C. place for use in the work on these fields and that [C] and [E] would repay U.C. at the time of the harvest. Throughout all this nervousness about particular matters, [C] maintained his conviction (not consciously encouraged or discouraged by us) that by entering into this project he was serving the community and he would repeatedly talk in terms of extending the project to include such things as the cooperative store.

[E], from the beginning, indicated neither [C's] sense of service to community, nor [C's] nervousness about particular matters. [E] made it clear that he was in the thing to make a buck, and when he talked at all about who would do the work, he would jokingly say, well they won't do anything, but he never seemed particularly bothered by this.

As the work progressed, there was very little contact between [E] and [C] each would come over, put in a day or so—ploughing, planting, or cultivating, and they were seldom there on the same days. [E] would often send [a relative] over with [E's] tractor, and [C] often sent his oldest son over with [C's] tractor. In no instance did either of these men come to me to suggest the next step or to complain about or to commend the other. The corn got in the ground a little late, but only 3 or 4 days later than the average farm in this vicinity, there being late spring rains keeping the ground too wet for ploughing. There were only two cultivations throughout the summer, and I would guess the average for this area would be 3 or 4. As it worked out, the time spent by [E] and [C] was within one-half day of being equally divided.

There are three pertinent observations about farming which arise from the experience of this summer. In the first place, Mesquakies who do farm seem to get a kick out of it as indicated to me by the bantering that kept up through long hot hours when I was helping with the cultivation, the planting, and so on. I have no idea whether this is any greater than one would find among farmers anywhere, but I do say that it is a bit more than this city-bred person would have expected under these circumstances. Mesquakies also evidenced the same generic nervousness about the weather that is so typical among Iowa farmers, and presumably farmers everywhere.
The second point refers to the general pattern of farming on an individual family basis as has been practiced by the two families in this community; there are three factors mitigating against a family getting a substantial income from farming in this community. In the first place, the plots are generally small and widely scattered. This is an extremely uneconomical arrangement in that I would estimate 50% of the working time is spent moving farming equipment from one plot to another. In the second place, Mesquakies who do not share the white middle-class norms about setting money aside for future uses, generally come up to the planting season without cash on hand to buy seed, and perhaps replace worn equipment. This necessitates their taking a seasonal job in the early spring, such as construction work, which jobs are at that time of the year beginning to open up, but having such jobs makes it extremely difficult, even impossible, for these persons to take advantages of the breaks in the weather which all farmers must jump at in order to maintain a profitable enterprise. And thirdly, and somewhat relatedly, the Mesquakies who do farm, work extremely hard at it for long hours, but they do not readily fit into the rigid time schedules demanded by mechanizing farming. Variances in the mood of the person are not, as with white farmers, overridden by a compulsion to get the job done, and the many religious events in the community take precedence over getting the crops in or out at the best possible time. Ray Ruppe had drawn my attention to the fact that in using primitive agricultural methods, the farmer is not nearly so much at the mercy of the elements as the modern mechanized farmer is. It presumably makes little difference when one is planting seed with a stick or some such, whether the ground is very soft or quite hard. However, with tractors, a soft field must wait until a dry spell, and when the dry spell has come, the farmer must be there at that moment to plough, cultivate or plant before the next rain.

The third main point deals with cooperative farming—meaning farming involving more than one family in any given enterprise. The experience this summer leads me to believe that no such enterprise can succeed in the foreseeable future without a permanent white manager. I cannot see any Mesquakie I know taking a position requiring such exercise of authority (over another Mesquakie) without being completely rebuffed by other Mesquakies. (Mesquakies can and do assume positions of authority over white workers.) However, Mesquakies would allow themselves to be directed in this manner by a competent and reasonably affable white manager.

The results of a project in growing cucumbers involving four teenage Mesquakie girls under the leadership of Marjorie Gearing are being written up separately. In general, there was among these girls (who were drawn from families without close kinship ties) no discernible friction and to date each had proved quite willing to work hard and each has come to work as prearranged with 100% reliability. However, this project did involve a white person in the position of leadership, and even though this leadership was not exerted whenever it could be avoided, nevertheless, it was absolutely necessary for the success of the project. In general, the experience of this cucumber project indicates the possibility of such [groups of unrelated] girls entering into future projects involving high labor and high return crops. [The question as to their working together without an outside "moderator" was not clearly answered by this project].
Out of such collective thinking came the contemporary formulation of the Fox project, Exhibit 34.

Here, now, was an analysis of a social situation and, derived from that analysis, a plan of activities with certain goals. The 1949 plans had never been implemented. From 1948 until now, the anthropologists could, if they wished, do nothing but stand still and listen as long as that seemed profitable. They could defer action and decision and long-term goals while they learned and discussed. In attempting to discover what the goals should be they were at the same time learning about the community factually, clarifying the goals step by step without commitment.

A great degree of that freedom still remained. The freedom was built into the program itself in a way which strongly contrasted with the words, at least, of Rietz's 1949 program. The 1949 analysis was presented as something "done"—to the degree, at least, that it could be turned over to the Indian service for implementation. But here the analysis is a hypothesis to be tested in the activity itself. Or, stated otherwise, this formulation is much less binding than the commitments which anthropologists who advise administrators must make to enable the administrators to justify appropriations. Such plans must promise specific, easily seen results. It appears a necessary condition of the administrator's position that he operate in terms of "programs" and "target goals" and therefore, also, of the traditional means-ends scheme which sets goals and then tries to find means to fill them. Here, the more tangible and, we argue, less basic goals were all but dropped from the picture. Furthermore, this program could not, in any event, be turned over for implementation by government because the government's behavior is an important part of the subject being treated. Finally, most basic of all, the anthropologists in the Fox program were now to act utterly unconnected with any power of enforcement. That disconnection was partly accidental, partly a recognition of important facts about the exercise of authority. Because the project now had only education and persuasion as tools, the hypothetical nature of the analysis and the tentative nature of the goals were insured. The anthropologists now had no choice but to proceed step by step, going only so far as the community would voluntarily follow, and redirecting their efforts in terms of community response.

Now, for the first time, the values question: "Whose choice?" is logically resolved. Practice is more difficult and less new. The anthropologists do not now cease to have values of their own—the job still is to discover them. If, as those values continue to be severally discovered, it turns out that the Fox do not share particular ones, then the anthropologist must answer whether he can place that value beneath the value of self-determination for others in his own hierarchy. For example, very early it became clear that we Anglo-Americans do and the Fox do not consider work to be a virtue, in itself. If the anthropologist can decide that that value seems to him of lesser importance than his value of self-determination for others in his own hierarchy. For example, very early it became clear that we Anglo-Americans do and the Fox do not consider work to be a virtue, in itself. If the anthropologist can decide that that value seems to him of lesser importance than his value of self-determination for others in his own hierarchy. For example, very early it became clear that we Anglo-Americans do and the Fox do not consider work to be a virtue, in itself. If the anthropologist can decide that that value seems to him of lesser importance than his value of self-determination for others in his own hierarchy.
The following formulation is a shortened form, substantially unchanged, of the formulation drawn in the winter of 1952-53.

Exhibit 34

PROGRAM
ON BEHALF OF THE MESQUAKIES
AND NEARBY WHITES OF IOWA

The Mesquakies are a Central Woodlands tribe. At the time of the first recorded contact with whites, their villages were in the central Great Lakes region. Their economy was based on hunting and "squaw" agriculture. A series of patrilineal clans provided the structure for their ceremonial and political affairs. Authority roles were strongly limited in either scope or duration and group decisions were made only when all overt opposition had ceased.

Mesquakie villages shifted southward and westward under the pressures of the general westward movements throughout the Great Lakes area during the 18th and 19th centuries, finally coming to a temporary rest in southwest Illinois and east Iowa. At the close of the Black Hawk War they, together with the allied Sacs, were removed to a reservation in Kansas. The uncooperative nature of the Kansas terrain, government pressures to allot the tribal land, and political disputes with the Sacs caused them to send a small group back into Iowa, around 1850, in search for a place to settle. That group was able to buy 80 acres along the Iowa River, near the present town of Tama and they obtained permission from the Governor of Iowa to return. Through the next several years more land was bought and more Mesquakies returned from Kansas. Today the community numbers about 600 and there are 3300 acres. The land is owned by the tribe collectively.

The present and future status of the group in relation to the federal government is of extreme ambiguity and is a source of considerable anxiety to both the Mesquakies and nearby whites. For a number of years after the return to Iowa the tribe was effectively independent of the Indian Service. Then the Service resumed jurisdiction and re-assumed responsibilities for the education, health, and general welfare of the people. The last 25 years have seen a gradual withdrawal of some functions and attempted withdrawals of others. Today the Indian Service operates a day school, pays tuition for students in the local high school and maintains a part-time contract doctor. Mesquakies interpret those withdrawals as the breaking of promises and fear for further similar actions; nearby whites tend to dismiss the community as a federal responsibility and are apprehensive that the responsibility may be "dumped" on them. The community pays county property taxes but exemptions add up to about three-fourths of the normal assessment, the largest exemption being the school tax. The taxes are paid by the tribal council from moneys received from leasing 500 acres of the tribal land to a white farmer.

The community's income is derived primarily from wage labor with lesser amounts coming from welfare payments and farming. Jobs open to wage-earners are largely unskilled and generally require daily or weekly commuting to cities from 25 to 100 miles away. Farming is an exclusive source of income for no one and of major importance to only four families.

The tribe seems to be very much a going concern. Tensions and fissions within the group are not inconsequential but the group seems to have learned to live with such divisions and it is unlikely that those divisions will fatally affect the group.

The community lives in close day-to-day contact with Tama and other nearby white towns. Every able-bodied Mesquakie goes to town several times
Most Mesquakies know scores of whites and vice versa and not a few friendships and personal enmities have arisen. Yet the most general relationship between Mesquakie and white individuals is a somewhat feigned indifference. This indifference is basically an adjustment made necessary by an almost categorical absence of communication. The spurious nature of that indifference is evidenced by the easily aroused hostility which is vented against "the Indians" or "the white" in the event of a minor incident such as must inevitably occur in the everyday goings and comings of unsaintly humans. In different ways, each group sees the other as a threat but these threats are more imagined than real, more a function of misunderstanding than clashes of interests.

There are three nearby white communities important in Mesquakie-white relations. Tama is a community of 4000 workers, managers and businessmen and a shopping center for nearby farmers and for the Mesquakie community; it has two industries (paper and wood-preserving) and is on U.S. Highway 30, two miles east of the Mesquakie community. Toledo is three miles NE of the Mesquakie and is a community of 3000 businessmen and retired farmers; it is non-industrial and is the county seat. Montour is a small community of 700, mostly farmers, four miles west of the Mesquakies.

All Mesquakies and many whites are wont to speak earnestly and vaguely about "the problems." It very well may be that the greatest "problem" each of the communities has is that it sees the other as a problem and is so seen by the other. The mere side-by-side existence of these communities is not unalterably a problem—there are no fundamental conflicts of interest. It is our contention that, if the basically erroneous, threatening picture each group has of the other could be corrected, the Mesquakies' "real" problems of economics and politics and technology, should in large measure solve themselves (since the solutions are, in most instances, fairly obvious). What should interest one foremostly is the fact that these problems have not been solved already. This leads us to look into the rigidity in thinking and acting which prevents those solutions and we think we locate the source of that rigidity in the tension-laden interrelations between the groups. It is these interrelations, primarily, that we propose to treat.

Major aspects of the relations between Mesquakies and whites: there are four.—1. Mesquakie and white societies are categorically distinct in respect to culture and social structure in many dimensions. The differences which most directly affect the relations between the two groups are two:

Persons living in white society typically create for themselves as they mature a personal "ideal self" (excepting, perhaps, the lowermost strata which, in our social structure, may be "low" for the reason that they do not). That self is a more or less coherent selection of virtues which are generally valued by the society. The life careers of these persons is, ideally, a ceaseless effort to make the real self coincide with that ideal self. This, we suggest, is "conscience." But the Mesquakie individual apparently has no "conscience" in this sense. He does not create such an ideal self; he does not see himself, nor is he seen by his fellows as becoming anything. The white individual, because of this ideal self, is able to engage in sustained effort in a single direction over a long period of time more or less independent of his group. But the Mesquakie individual is guided almost exclusively by his moment-to-moment relations with other Mesquakies and sometimes with whites, hebridles under rigid work schedules extended over long periods, or he becomes listless in situations requiring extended, isolated self-direction.
The structure of white society is a hierarchical arrangement of authority which rests (loosely) on the opinions of the majority of the group. Through this structure, white society is able to choose group goals and systematically work toward effecting them. But Mesquakie authority roles are stringently limited and the group cannot effectively choose a goal except in the absence of all overt opposition. White society, then, is structured for innovation; Mesquakie society, save through the continuous breaking up and reforming of Mesquakie villages (now impossible), is not.

In virtue of these differences, white behavior looks aggressive and selfish to Mesquakies and Mesquakie behavior looks indolent to whites.

2. Since these two groups are parts of a single economic and political system, there are certain interests bound up in the present position of each in respect to the other. The most salient feature is that Mesquakies are something of a financial burden to the larger society. This burden is of greater symbolic than economic importance. It is generally considered a proper state of affairs by Mesquakies and an improper one by whites.

3. There is a myth whites hold universally in respect to Mesquakies in particular and Indians in general: they are supposed to be "temporary." It is supposed that there is an inevitable process under way by which Mesquakies are to become indistinguishable behavior-wise from white men and/or are to disappear as a group. White judgments of Mesquakies, stemming from these notions of inevitable "progress," are in terms of distance traveled (upward) along this line of progression; the Mesquakie community becomes, effectively, a second-rate, not-yet-arrived white community and Mesquakie individuals are measured one against the other according to how nearly white-like their behavior has become.

4. Mesquakies contact whites every day and each contact means another, more or less explicit, exposure to that myth. A Mesquakie may respond by accepting the myth and the white behavior stemming from it. In that case he sets out to fulfill white expectations. But the accepting of the myth evokes much anxiety and generally effects little in the way of the results anticipated. This, for two reasons: first, it is relatively easy for a Mesquakie to understand what it is he is expected to do in any particular instance, but it is quite another thing for either whites or Mesquakies to understand how he is to go about it, given Mesquakie personality structure and the socio-cultural context within which the thing must be accomplished. Since white men choose the particular activity, directly or indirectly, it is not surprising that it could be carried out quite easily in a white community but might be very difficult or even impossible to achieve for a Mesquakie individual and in the Mesquakie community. The Mesquakie individual who engages in that particular activity generally feels blocked at every turn by elements in the social organization and by his own personality structure which he but vaguely understands and the net impression on him is not only one of deep frustration but also a sense that, somehow, his actions are anti-social. Second, a Mesquakie setting out to fulfill those white expectations in any particular activity is rigidly afraid of failing. He but vaguely sees how to go about achieving the desired end and his past experiences of such attempts make it seem all too probable to him that he will fail. But the failure itself threatens to prove again what he has already come to half believe—that he and his people are somehow inadequate, that they are failures. This fear of failure is often sufficient in itself to defeat an attempted activity which is not impossible or even very difficult in the Mesquakie socio-cultural setting.
A Mesquakie may, however, reject the myth. In this event, his attention is directed to a golden age in the past and all the shortcomings of his present existence are seen as a result of the white man's presence. He waits for the white men to kill each other off and, in the meanwhile, calls for the white man to solve all the present difficulties. The solution is seen as a perpetual and generous handout. This response to the myth is less anxiety-producing than the other but it is equally fruitless.

In actuality, every Mesquakie oscillates between the acceptance and the rejection of the myth but the community divides, roughly, between those who tend to accept and those who tend to reject it. The factional fissions coincide loosely with that division. Both reactions seriously undermine Mesquakie feelings of self-confidence in dealings with the here-and-now.

The above four elements join together in a self-perpetuating circle and constitute, in essence, the intercommunity relations today; Mesquakie behavior looks, to whites, undesirable in general and indolent in particular and the Mesquakie community is costing money; this seems intolerable to whites, hence one necessity for the myth that Mesquakies are temporary; but the belief in the myth evokes behavior in both whites and Mesquakies that makes it impossible for Mesquakies to cease costing money.

This analysis of Mesquakie-white relations seems to us applicable with strikingly little variation to the American Indian generally (with important modifications probably necessary for the Pueblos). Hence as we refine the analysis and prove or disprove it in the course of future action-research, we can at once draw from and contribute to the greater understanding of the situation of all American Indians. Undertaking this program in Iowa has one distinct advantage: the small size of the community and the absence of Indian-white struggles for natural resources make the operation of above features more easily discernable and make for greater freedom of movement in working out the solution. A solution worked out in Iowa, however, would be basically applicable in other more complex situations.

A program of action-research.—The record of attempts by white men, public servants and private citizens, to assist Mesquakies points rather conclusively to the crucialness of the white man's picture of the Mesquakie community and its ways as temporary. Within that frame of thought, the single aim of interested and sympathetic white persons has been to speed that process. Where debates in strategy have arisen, the only contending notions were whether it is more effective to remove the present supports to the community's welfare and thereby "force" it to move ahead or whether to provide more supports and thereby create more "opportunities" for it to move ahead. Both of these notions may or may not be joined with a subsidiary belief that the individual is better off if he gets away from the community and on his own in the white world. It is equally conclusive that the results of such assistance are almost invariably bad or nil. We set out, in two interrelated ways, to alter that belief and the behavior that springs from it.

First, there is the possibility that much can be done by verbal communication. If enough of the right people can be shown that the belief is doubtfully sound and that the behavior related to the belief has demonstrably ill effects, then one might expect that behavior to be detectably altered. By the same token, new Mesquakie reactions should follow.

But the notion of Mesquakie impermanence is related to other beliefs which form together the somewhat threatening picture of Mesqua-
kies which nearby whites (excepting, again, the lowermost strata) hold with little variation. We anticipate that these beliefs will fall into two classes: those especially resistant to correction or, where already substantially correct, to re-evaluation, and those belief's less resistant. We suggest that a belief will be resistant whenever the belief impinges importantly on the self-image of the persons holding the belief or when it is directly involved in interests vis à vis the other group. Examples of probably resistant beliefs are that Mesquakies are "indolent," "sexually promiscuous," and "dirty." Examples of probably less resistant beliefs are: "poor farmers," "poverty-stricken," and "can't get things done."

If we are to talk about Mesquakies being "permanent" we must at the same time draw public attention away from the highly resistant belief and toward the less resistant beliefs, thereby reducing the amount of threat white men see in continuing Mesquakie existence. That means doing much talking and writing, avoiding the first and attempting to correct and re-evaluate the second. A degree of success here should increase receptivity to the idea that Mesquakies might be permanent and a re-thinking of what "helping Mesquakies" entails; then, in turn, altered behavior and the possibility of new and better Mesquakie reactions.

Everything that is written and almost everything publicly said will be read and heard by Mesquakies. This is unavoidable and it is desirable. It means that, in telling whites about Mesquakies we will be at the same time telling Mesquakies about whites and both about themselves (white audience). Mesquakies have a set of beliefs about whites which is loosely the reciprocals of white beliefs about Mesquakies. Examples are that white men are "greedy," "discriminatory," and "unnatural." Mesquakie beliefs seem to fall more into the resistant class than the less resistant but there is one crucial item which fortunately appears to be less resistant: Mesquakies share the white belief that whites can and Mesquakies cannot "get things done." The behavior underlying that belief relates directly to the white society's authority-delegating social organization and Mesquakie "level" social organization. Some success has already been achieved in explaining these facts to a few Mesquakies, apparently to their great relief. It seemed to provide an explanation for past "failures." In terms of both relieving anxiety about past failures and selecting future undertakings, an understanding of these facts would help re-establish Mesquakie self-confidence. Increased Mesquakie self-confidence would raise the likelihood that Mesquakie reactions to altered white beliefs and behavior would be in the direction of better adjustment of the community to its social environment. Also, an increased self-confidence would make possible Mesquakie behavior which would, in itself, call forth increased white receptivity to the notion of Mesquakie permanence.

During the summer of 1955 four activities will provide the framework of the above educational undertakings: First, members of a summer field party made up of three or four graduate students under the leadership of a permanent field director will engage in frequent informal conversations with Mesquakies and whites; the content of these conversations will be guided by our working analysis of Indian-white relations and these conversations will be systematically recorded and compared. Second, the field party will continue working with a small group of Mesquakies and white men in the preparation of radio and TV materials; this was begun last summer and is designed to provide a situation in which the participants can learn-while-doing, and to provide public educational materials. The working sessions of this group will be recorded and continually reconsidered by both the field party and the group itself. Third, members of the field party will assist in an educational program now being planned
by the Federated Women's Clubs of Iowa, and these experiences will likewise be recorded. Fourth, a series of informal adult education meetings will be started among Mesquakies using records of the radio series, Ways of Mankind. Throughout these activities members of the field party will watch for, record, and analyze all indications of the relations between the various items of belief and behavior. In large measure it will be necessary to rely upon events which occur "naturally" and which evoke the behavior, but in some measure, it will be possible to create situations calling for the particular behaviors. It may prove to be feasible to adapt techniques developed in communication research to aid in measuring both the ideational effects of our activities and the relations between beliefs and actions. Seminars, to be held at the University of Chicago and the State University of Iowa in the coming months will explore these plans in some detail. Developments in the field during the summer will determine how the field director will continue and modify these activities during the fall, winter, and spring; all the activities except the second named will, we now expect, be continued.

The second summer session will be planned in detail in seminars and conferences during the winter. In general, we now expect that the main difference in activity during the second summer will be the inclusion of work through public communication media, utilizing materials prepared during the winter months, and relying upon increased understanding about what can and cannot be said constructively.

In short, in this first approach to correcting each group's threatening picture of the other, we focus our attention, with whites, on the white notion of Mesquakie impermanence and, with Mesquakies, on the matter of ability to get things done. We will be attempting, by verbal communication to induce selected kinds of understanding by each group of their own and the other's culture.

A question of importance theoretically and strategically is whether we are educating people in both groups by force of ideas or whether we are rather searching out persons who, in virtue of atypical experiences or personality formation, are already converted, as it were, even though it need be brought to their attention. In fact, we shall undoubtedly be doing both; but it is essential that the distinction be kept in mind since different strategies seem implied. If it is basically a matter of inculcating ideas, efficiency would call for a concerted attack on the upper strata in the white society and the elders of Mesquakie society to make the desired notions the proper notions. If, however, it is a matter of searching out certain propitious personalities, and assuming such personalities will not be randomly distributed through the population, the problem will be to locate the clusterings (strata, occupations, voluntary associations, etc.) of these personalities.

We anticipate uneven results. Mesquakies will learn more about whites (and hence about themselves) than whites will learn about Mesquakies. This is because of Mesquakies' more pressing interest and of the fact that, generally speaking, Mesquakies have had more experience in both societies. The very failures of whites to understand, however, will open a new channel through which to communicate to Mesquakies the nature of white culture and white society.

The second approach to altering each group's threatening picture of the other involves creating new situations which will tend both to demonstrate the things we will be saying and to create less threatening situations which would increase receptivity to the new ideas.

There is the one overriding qualification, however, that any
action which redirects the people's thinking to the "problems" of their co-existence would be of greater damage than benefit. This means that whatever is done must be done somewhat quietly and cannot be a matter necessitating great amounts of public discussion and decision. The things done should, in general, point implicitly to the possibility of a self-sustaining Mesquakie community but there should be no great insistence on this as a sought-after goal at this time.

The following rules of thumb should be used: Small numbers of interested Mesquakies and whites, rather than large numbers or the communities as wholes, should be involved. Whatever is undertaken should be started with the feeling that no great matter is at stake. Anything done must not look like a withdrawal of Indian Service responsibility; this is especially important wherever the state government is involved. Anything done which entails the giving of funds or services to the community must be undertaken without the implication that, in return for these funds or services, certain results are expected of Mesquakies.

With all these limitations, there is room for activity in the Mesquakie community in respect to the education of the children, the income of the community, welfare services, health, and general community activities such as recreation, but within those same limitations none of those problem areas could be completely resolved with the possible exception of the last. In all those areas we will be encouraging workable undertakings, discouraging unworkable ones, initiating activities where desirable, and assisting where asked.

There is an aspect of this second approach which is special because of its basic importance. Our analysis of Mesquakie-white relations indicated close ties between the white picture of Mesquakies as indolent, as a burden, and as temporary, and between Mesquakie self-confidence and the last. We showed how that crucial item of impermanence can be approached with hope of some degree of success. However, two things are clear: First, the Mesquakie behavior underlying the white's picture of their "indolence" is related to basic matters of Mesquakie personality and social organization and the best possible success in inducing white rethinking about Mesquakie impermanence and the related changes in white behavior will not soon or basically change this Mesquakie behavior; present services to the Mesquakie community will necessarily be subsidized for the foreseeable future. Second, so long as Mesquakies continue to be a burden, attempts to cause significant numbers of whites to think in terms of permanence is fighting against great odds. It is theoretically possible that with patient wise activity over 10 or 15 years a benign circle could be established and nurtured to the point that, using only present resources, the Mesquakie community could become financially self-sufficient and that both groups would have ceased to view the other as a threat. It is theoretically possible and the first steps should be taken but the prospect of success is disheartenly remote.

One can, however, see a way in which the notion of the Mesquakie burden can be effectively removed. Presumably a community which is seen as indolent but not as a burden would be much more readily accepted as permanent. The way the notion of burden can be removed, in effect, is to establish, through political activity, a Mesquakie trust fund which would be appropriated by Congress and managed by a law firm hired by the Mesquakies; the interest from that fund would be used to pay the expenses of present Mesquakie community services. Such a fund would remove from the minds of nearby taxpayers the threat that Mesquakie expenses will be dumped on them, and from the minds of Mesquakies the threat that the necessary services will cease. The removal of those threats would create an atmosphere much more compatible to new thinking and new behavior.
Our activities in respect to this second approach during the first summer session will be three. First, there is the possibility of establishing and setting in motion both a Mesquakie community house and a clinic. It would be undesirable to attempt both at once, and the choice depends largely on others, Mesquakie and white. Second, there is a fruitful area of action research concerning Mesquakie patterns of work behavior and leading to the establishing of an industrial enterprise with white capital and using Mesquakie labor. But today we know little about the jobs Mesquakies can and cannot enjoy and perform well. Nor has anyone explored the problem from the standpoint of the interests of the investor. A group will be formed of Mesquakies and businessmen to explore the possibilities of inducing outside capital to invest in an industrial enterprise using Mesquakie labor. Third, we must begin to point out to Mesquakies and local whites that they share an identity of interest in respect to establishing a Mesquakie trust fund, and assisting Mesquakies in beginning the political activity necessary.

These last two activities will be continued by the field director over the year and by the second summer session it is not unlikely that the final preparations for the first operations of an industrial establishment and/or the trust fund will demand our attention. In any event, we will plan to help set up a community center or a clinic, whichever remains.

In sum, this second approach involves creating new situations in which learning can occur; the creation of a trust fund is the most ambitious, the most basic, and therefore the most promising of the possible new situations.

Concurrent with the field activities, a full-time program director will coordinate the comparative analysis of those activities with similar past and future activities by participants of the program in other locales. He will also coordinate the recording of data relevant to the theoretical and strategical suppositions guiding the project, consult with members of other disciplines, and direct the on-going evaluating of the undertakings and the planning of future actions.

By January, 1956, there will have been two summer sessions, the period of evaluation and planning between them, and a final three months of evaluation of the whole period. At this time we will decide as to the necessity and promise of further effort. In the event it is decided that the project should close, six months will be required to withdraw without damaging our host communities.

We have not yet, nor do we intend to, come to grips with the beliefs which we suppose are not amenable to change. It is felt that one of three things will happen to those beliefs, assuming a degree of success in our other efforts:

1. Some beliefs will become less important (as the white belief that Mesquakies are indolent, if Mesquakie expenses are not a threat to local tax payers; and the converse, the Mesquakie belief that whites are greedy, if that greed is not a threat to withdraw necessary services).

2. Some of the beliefs will tend to become less true (such as Mesquakie supposed dirtiness and promiscuity; and white discrimination).

3. Some of the beliefs will become unnecessary (such as the belief that white ways are artificial and that whites are temporary; and the belief that Mesquakies are romantically free).

The success of the project will turn on how much we are able to increase Mesquakie self-confidence. We are banking on Mesquakie change...
more than white change. A critical item of white belief about Mesquakies is that Mesquakies are unambitious. We anticipate that this belief cannot be redefined so that it is tolerable to whites. Since we cannot change this belief, we can only make it less important in the interrelations between the groups. This can be done by putting the Mesquakie community on a financially self-sufficient basis with the initial help of a trust fund or much later without that fund. In either event Mesquakie self-confidence is necessary. That self-confidence and its most basic element—the greater Mesquakie understanding of Mesquakie and white behavior—should make it possible for Mesquakies to adjust their own behavior sufficiently to cope with the white world, especially in the economic sphere. By adjusting we mean self-conscious actions—acting—doing things deliberately for desired ends. It is clear that this sort of change differs radically from the basic change that would be required of whites (to recognize that work is not an absolute virtue). It is clear too that the changes we expect of Mesquakies are not the sort of basic changes that are generally thought of when one speaks of acculturation.

We see neither the possibility nor necessity of predicting what the Mesquakie communities will become in future generations. Perhaps, the pressures being relieved, Mesquakies will come more and more to adopt the material "needs" of the white community and develop the skills for acquiring these needs and in the end become very white-like. Perhaps the more intangible rewards of Mesquakie community life will become increasingly evident to Mesquakies and will demand their attention and energies to the exclusion of work toward these material needs. Perhaps the exodus from the community will overcome and surpass the rate of population increase and the community will disappear. The important fact for us is that today no Mesquakie is in a position to reasonably choose between these destinies and no white man has a right to.

Appendix

I. Items of belief which are thought not amenable to redefinition or correction:

A. Believed by whites of Mesquakies:

1. Mesquakies are lazy, unambitious. (It is thought that the notion of work being an absolute virtue is so integral a part of the self-image of most white men and so necessary to the continued functioning of white society that we cannot anticipate that white men can really accept the fact that work isn't really an absolute virtue, that it is only "culture" which makes it seem so.)

2. Mesquakies are sexually promiscuous. (This promiscuity can be explained, insofar as it is really a fact, by the breakup of the traditional means of social control which accompanies parents' engaging in occupations which take them away and make it impossible for them to take the children along as apprentices and by the association of the sexes in school; but white parents have children who associate with Mesquakie children and whites, themselves, accept sexual restrictions at considerable cost, hence they could hardly be expected to accept that explanation as a scientist might.)

3. Mesquakies are lawless. (This is exaggerated and, insofar as it is true, can be explained by Mesquakie attitudes toward authority in general and white authority in particular; but whites are fellow citizens and have property and have forced themselves to be adequately law-abiding; it is expecting too much that this
be shrugged off as a cultural difference.)

4. Mesquakies are dirty in their persons. (This could be explained, in part at least, by the absence of plumbing, etc.; but whites could not be expected to accept this as a not unfortunate cultural difference that need not be changed—and probably here they are right.)

5. Mesquakies are "free". (The first three of the above beliefs are sometimes thought of by whites, rather wistfully, as a romantic sort of freedom; this, in itself, is not particularly harmful to the relations between the groups, and since the content of that "freedom" is rather loaded, the belief should not be tampered with.)

B. Believed by Mesquakies of whites:

1. Whites are greedy and selfishly aggressive. (This, as its counterpart in white belief, hits at the core of Mesquakie notions of man's proper behavior and impinges directly on his economic involvements with the white world; a Mesquakie could not really tolerate or understand this behavior.)

2. Whites dislike and discriminate against Mesquakies. (This is an extremely painful belief in virtue of Mesquakie feelings of inadequacy; insofar as it is true, it could never be understood or tolerated.)

3. Whites are temporary. (This belief plays an important role in sustaining Mesquakies in the present painful aspects of their life; it would be wise to let the belief lie until it is unnecessary; then it will presumably die of its own accord.)

4. White ways are artificial. (This, as the above, plays an important role in sustaining Mesquakies for the present.)

C. Believed by both groups of Mesquakies:

1. Mesquakies are wards of the federal government. (This belief is put in this non-amenable category temporarily; it hits the core of the involved interests between the groups but it is thought that the specific content—how the Mesquakies are and are not wards and what the wardship should come to mean—will be handleable at a later phase of the project.)

2. Mesquakies have gotten a "raw deal." (This evokes considerable hostility on the part of Mesquakies and guilt on the part of whites; it is not felt that either group could come to understand and "let by-gones be by-gones").

II. Items of beliefs that can be expected to yield to redefinition or correction with reasonable ease:

A. Believed by whites of Mesquakies:

1. Mesquakies are temporary. (Our answer is that in the important dimensions of their culture they are still Indian, that the community is growing, and that Indians generally aren't assimilating as we thought they would, and that the "fault" lay in our expectation.)

2. Mesquakies live in grinding poverty. (Our answer is that the poverty isn't really "grinding" since Mesquakies have no interest in many of the possessions we value and since they help each other over the rough spots; further, in virtue of the social
structure and the culture, prosperity as we know it is impossible.)

3. Mesquakies are not good farmers. (Mesquakies aren't farmers at all.)

4. Mesquakies cannot "get things done." (Mesquakie culture and social structure prohibits telling another Mesquakie that he must do a thing; this puts all odds on the status quo.)

5. Mesquakies are improvident. (They are just generous.)

6. Mesquakies have no decency in respect to their homes. (They view their homes as shelters, not as places to display material wealth.)

7. Mesquakies are particularly subject to the bad effects of alcohol. (They drink because there is a law telling them they can't.)

8. Mesquakies are inscrutable. (Mesquakie behavior is understandable when you understand their culture.)

B. Believed by Mesquakies about whites:

1. Whites discriminate against Mesquakies. (Insofar as this is true, that is, in those instances where a white person is sought out and a Mesquakie is not in virtue of the former being a friend or acquaintance and the latter being a stranger, the reasons for the behavior can be explained.)

2. Whites are able to get things done. (White social structure and culture are adapted to change, Mesquakie society and culture is not.)

3. Whites are powerful enough to get anything they want. (Mesquakies have certain bargaining powers too—like owning their own land.)

4. Whites are inscrutable. (White behavior is understandable if you understand white culture.)

C. Believed by both groups about Mesquakies:

1. Mesquakies are an important consumer market. (Mesquakie should reinterpret this to mean that they are not, simply, being gouged and whites should be brought to recognize that there will be Mesquakie consumers only so long as there is an ongoing Mesquakie community.)

2. The Mesquakie community is an asset in its attraction of tourists. (Just spell out.)
In Tax's article, "Action Anthropology," he says that:

Action anthropology is an activity in which an anthropologist has coordinate goals, to neither of which he will delegate an inferior position. He wants to help a group of people to solve a problem, and he wants to learn something in the process. He refuses ever to think or to say that the people involved are for him a means of advancing his knowledge; and he refuses to think or to say that he is simply applying science [i.e., scientific "knowns"] to the solution of those people's problems.

The basic contrast with other kinds of interfering programs is: in the place of learning and then applying, action anthropologists attempt to learn through applying. It is of course a moot question whether this approach will prove fruitful in the long run. Judging from history, other disciplines have found it impossible not to separate doing and learning. Although applied anthropology insists that the applied anthropologist "publish and share new discoveries and methods with his colleagues," there is no claim to serve science equally with serving the practical ends.

The experience since the current conception of the Fox project was set down in the spring of 1953 indicates that this attempt to merge learning and doing has not been all profit, nor all loss. It has occurred to the group to undertake activities, such as forming the "TV group," which probably would not occur in this form to persons not interested equally in doing and learning; there was both profit and loss in that undertaking. The field party of 1953 discussed the 1953 formulation of the project at great length and these discussions tended to focus, happily, on the more questionable aspects of the plane. Relations between the project and the larger society began to expand and that brought both profit and loss. Further educational materials were prepared, not without difficulties. Old ideas were, in the process of all this, being thought through and new ideas continued to emerge.

More education

In the summer of 1953, the Gearings were re-joined by Polgar and, with him, Walter and Lucinda Sangre, Ariane Brunel, and Richard Kluckhorn. Also, during the preceding months, there had been conversations with the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the State University of Iowa with the result that Dr. Reynold Ruppe and his wife Carol and a graduate student, Carl Couch, joined the field party.

During the summer, Polgar continued his work with the teen-age boys and Brunel joined him in a parallel study of the girls. Lucinda Sangre made a pilot study, terminating in a research design, of the contrasting modes of etiquette between the Fox and local white communities and their effects. Ruppe did a study of the acquisition by the Fox of their present acres and Couch did a survey of Fox job adjustment. Tax visited the field for a long weekend in late June. During his visit, the field group decided to form a group of local whites and Fox to prepare raw materials which would later be turned over to competent persons to be worked into dramatic form and produced in the form of educational television programs. It was thought that the exchange of thinking within such a group would in itself be a great educational situation for the participants and, of course, for us. There were several meetings over the
summer but it was not possible to continue those activities after the end of the summer because of the absence of field personnel and the remoteness of Chicago. Two documents follow, Exhibits 35 and 36, which report the activities of that group.

Exhibit 35

July 6, 1953

Mr. Bert Stolpe
Des Moines Register
Des Moines, Iowa

Dear Bert:

I have just returned from several days in Tama and after considerable discussion there conclude that an urgent step now is the creation of a TV program (or a series) that would describe the true dimensions of the problems of the Mesquakies. I am assured that the Department of Mass Communications at the State University would help develop the program in its later stages. Our task in the next months, however, is the difficult one of determining just what needs to be said and devising constructive ways of saying it. Since the fundamental problem involves the relations of Mesquakies and white Iowans, both groups must be involved in the planning of the program.

The plan therefore includes:

(1) The preparation of a short document which will analyze the problem and its solution, as we now see it. Fred Gearing will send you copies shortly.

(2) Selection of ten or a dozen Mesquakies and the same number of whites who will work together (and with us) to work out suggestions for turning the written material into visual material. Since the problems are not "material" or economic, but socio-psychological, this is not a simple matter. We shall have to find ways of showing, for example, why pressure on the Indians to change keeps them from adjusting as well as they might. By the same token, however, if twenty or twenty-five Indians and whites discuss such questions during the next months they are bound to reach thorough understandings that will themselves be a great gain in relaxing the pressure.

(3) Development of the script with the help of SUI experts.

(4) Arranging the actual televising of the program or series of programs over WOI-TV, William Harrow's "See It Now," and/or other outlets, to spread the message as widely and well as possible.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax
Associate Dean

Exhibit 36

Memorandum

From UC--SUI field party

To: "TV group"

To date we have had four meetings. We have gone over quite a lot of ground and we have had some pleasant times in the bargain.
You have suggested several topics which would serve well as materials for radio and TV programs. Mesquakie history kept coming up, especially the period of expulsion from Iowa, the return, and the buying of the first acres of land here. Matters of present day education were also mentioned often (grade school, high school and college as well as adult education); in that connection, the fact of the different "etiquettes" of Mesquakie and white communities was raised since that difference probably complicates the adjustment of Mesquakie pupils when they enter high school in Tama. You mentioned Mesquakie adoption and someone likened them to the white man's Social Security. You discussed the artists of the community and the present impossibility of their earning a living in their crafts and the danger that the crafts might disappear. Finally, the Red Cross home nursing program in the community came into the conversation on several occasions.

All of these items, and others you mentioned, will serve well as material for interesting and helpful educational programs on both TV and radio. The Red Cross home nursing program seems a particularly good jumping off place. It was of great interest in the community and was quite successful. It would undoubtedly be of interest to the audience. We should, at this next meeting, put down on paper a rough outline of what we want to say—the raw materials for a program. Thus armed we can then tell the radio and TV people we are ready for their professional assistance.

Also, in the course of the previous meeting, matters kept coming up that called for action. One of these matters was adult education. At the last meeting some of you undertook particular jobs to make it possible to set up an adult education program at this next meeting.

So there are those two matters to be taken care of Friday, the 9th: the adult-education program and the program on Red Cross home nursing in the community.

New difficulties

Throughout the summer of 1953 there were extended discussions of the project as lately formulated. The attached three documents reveal the major difficulties encountered to date in the current frame of thought. Gearing's letter to Tax, Exhibit 37, summarizes the difficulties as they appeared. Those difficulties were three: the social organization of the project itself; questions of fact and theory; and method of scientific inquiry. Resolution of the first had to await a substantial financial foundation which materialized the following year. Questions of fact and theory are, of course, what we need and want most. Questions of method—the models of scientific inquiry held by the various participants in the Fox project—are the most basic and, at this stage in the development of social science, the least arguable.

Brunel's report, Exhibit 38, is exemplary of the first difficulty and Sangre's report, Exhibit 39, of the third. Because the activities go on within an action frame the latter question is inseparable from values questions, as Sangre suggests.

Exhibit 37

August 3, 1953

Dear Sol [Tax],

I mailed this afternoon five tapes containing several discussions concerning the project. We are now squared away I think and have scheduled two meetings this week, one with Indians and one with whites, to talk about
the TV show. It seems perhaps wasteful in terms of time that we are just now beginning these discussions. However, I think we have learned quite a lot about inherent weakness in the "social organization" of the project itself—a weakness in terms of continuity and economy of effort. As we have so far visualized the project, there will be a preponderant influx of new people each year, "led" by a person of non-faculty status and experience. When these new people arrive each year, the most salient item in their consciousness is that there is much they don't know and much no one knows about Mesquakies. This has, of course, all the desirous effects which new thinking always has. But in terms of the on-going project, it looms large enough in everyone's mind to prevent the subjective commitments necessary for pitching in on the job at hand, at least at first. People do, for better or worse, become inured to their ignorance and a degree of this is necessary in order to feel right about "doing something." I feel that this problem will diminish as the project becomes something of a tradition, if it does, and thereby gains a little momentum. It would also be diminished if the coercive and reassuring weight of your prestige and experience could somehow be brought more closely to bear. I have no idea how this might be done and there are obvious disadvantages and an obvious lack of concurrence with your own ideas about education and your temperament. The problem would also be diminished to the degree to which the year-to-year carry-over of personnel can be increased and the degree to which we might be able to increase the communication between the developments in Tama and the seminar in Chicago.

It seems to me that the objections to the project as recorded are of three sorts. The first and greatest in terms of bulk on the tape boils down, I suggest, to method. In effect it questions the methodological assumption of "action" in general. Members of the field party have said: we do not know the exact connection between understanding and feeling or behavior hence there should be a pilot project to discover more about this connection before beginning the "real" project. It had always been assumed heretofore that there was a connection of some sort and that the best way to learn about the connection was through doing the project in the "go-easy" manner in which all action is supposedly undertaken. I think this objection finally was pinned down and resolved in the last tape though some feel uncomfortable that our go-easy beginning is not sufficiently controlled so as to make the answers clear. This was not followed up and there is implicit disagreement as to the relative validity of quantification as compared to collective and reflective thinking about non-quantified data.

The second objection deals with the strategy of the project in respect to Mesquakie vs. white work patterns. This objection is also very tightly bound to the innermost feelings of all of us as white men. We have always said that a part of "Indianness" is "lack of industriousness" and that, in terms of the project, Indians get to choose to be not industrious. However, the work relations between Indian and white men are so crucial, it has been suggested, that Indians cannot really have this choice no matter what we may decide, that they will at least have to come to appear industrious. I suggest that all of us are appalled by laziness and some of us more than others of us and that this seriously enters into our judgments about the crucialness of the work relations in the overall problem of adjustment. This objection has not been resolved.

The third, and I think the most important, of the objections was raised on, I think, the fourth tape. [The speaker] seems to know about some psychological law that no one else here knows about and which he hasn't been able yet to get over to us but which predicts that the replacing of the present confused thinking about Indian-white relations with clear thinking about "unchangeable" cultures will destroy the psychic economiee of Indians and reform-bent white men. (That last I can ees.) I am rather speechless.
in the face of this sort of argument but I admit to a blind spot in all my past thinking about the project: I had always wondered about the amount of effect we might produce, but I never really questioned the assumption that whatever effect we could induce, taking the precautions we had decided to take, would be for the better, men being in some crucial sense rational creatures.

Best regards.

Very Sincerely,

Fred [Gearing]

Exhibit 38

Progress Report

9,27.53

Ariane Brunei
Barnard College
Undergraduate Research Stipend
Summer 1953

1. Action anthropology program of the University of Chicago on the Mesquakie (Fox) Indian settlement in central Iowa.

2. To study the acculturation of teen-age Mesquakie girls with particular emphasis on three main points: (a) the relationship between degree of acculturation and experiences outside the settlement, both among whites and in Indian schools; (b) the relationship between degree of acculturation and dissatisfaction with life on the settlement as expressed mainly in a desire to leave the community, either temporarily or permanently, and (c) the differences between teenage boys and girls in their adjustment to the white-Mesquakie situation. (The boys are being studied by a graduate student from the University of Chicago.) Acculturation will be measured by the degree to which each individual knows and practices the old customs and the degree to which she has adopted the white ways, as regards both values and material culture.

3. In 1932-34, Sol Tax made studies of kinship among the Mesquakies. In 1948 he sent a group of students to the settlement to conduct a study of leadership patterns. During the course of this study the anthropologists became involved in community issues and were faced with the choice between neutral observation and active participation in community affairs. The latter course of action was chosen, and a permanent field station was established on land bought by the university, with a three-fold purpose in mind: (a) to study Mesquakie acculturation, (b) to train students in field methods, (c) to help the Indians in all possible ways, by easing issues concerning their welfare and by attempting to ease the tensions between them and surrounding Iowans and to increase Mesquakie self-confidence which has been undermined by a long history of misunderstandings and prejudices on the part of neighboring whites.

The plan is to make Mesquakies and whites aware of certain cultural differences and to point out those fallacies in their ideas about each other which are amenable to correction. It is believed that once Indians and whites discard some of those fallacious notions they will be better able to sift out the real issues at stake, such as the problems of federal-state-county jurisdiction and the possible withdrawal of services to the Mesquakies by the Indian Service and consequent dumping of financial responsibility to the state. This increased understanding between Indians and whites is being attempted both through formal mediums such as newspapers, radio and TV, and through informal contact with the Mesquakies and residents of the neighboring townes.

I came to the project insufficiently prepared, for I could not incorporate a study of the Mesquakies into last semester's work, and after I
learned I had received the grant I had little leisure for independent reading. I also knew next to nothing about Indian history in the U.S., nothing about the Indian Service and very little about the political set-up of this country. I realized after a while that sympathy for the Indians was not enough in determining my own standpoint toward Mesquakie affairs. My knowledge of the mechanics involved in each issue was too tenuous to allow me to make an intelligent and morally satisfying decision. If I had spent most of my time reading on some of the topics I knew so little about, my main purpose for the summer—first-hand acquaintance with a non-western culture—would have been invalidated. I gradually withdrew, therefore, from the action program and concentrated on contact with the teen-age girls and other members of the community, feeling I could contribute more to the project that way, even though indirectly.

4. I lived on the Mesquakie settlement from June 15 to September 20. My initial interest was in children, but I soon realized I did not have the necessary training to undertake a study on those lines. The situation among the Mesquakiies is complicated by the fact that most children of pre-school age do not speak English. I decided, therefore, to concentrate on teen-agers, in accordance with Dr. Tax's earlier suggestion. Adolescent girls constituted the only age and sex group with whom I could gain ready acceptance, and another student was engaged in a study of the teen-age boys which I wanted to parallel. I felt that adolescence is the time in life when most Mesquakie girls are first exposed intensively to white contact and when they make certain crucial decisions as to whether they will abide by the old way or live like the whites. It is the time when they either leave the settlement to work somewhere, or settle down and marry at home. To know more about the reasons for these choices would be to know more about the factors involved in white-Mesquakie orientation and about the general trend of Mesquakie acculturation today.

The first half of the summer was devoted mainly to participant observation of teen-age activities and to the establishment of rapport. I attended all community dances, Saturday evenings in town and ball games, took the girls swimming and went to detassel corn with them. I kept a daily journal and observed groupings among the girls and their attendance at various functions. I learned about their homes and families, and I learned about the community generally. During the second half of the summer I administered semi-formal interviews to 36 girls: all those now in high school, all those who graduated in June 1953, and all those age 14-18 inclusive who do not attend high school. The interviews lasted from 30 to 90 minutes depending on rapport and other circumstances, and covered knowledge and practice of old customs, experiences outside the settlement, experiences in school, amount of contact with whites, and plans for the future. Before each interview I explained to the girl the purpose of the questionnaire, and I took down her answers in shorthand.

5a. By the time I began interviewing I had secured sufficiently good rapport with most of the girls to make it a fairly easy task. I found that my interest in learning the language was the most effective single means of establishing rapport. A few Mesquakie words worked wonders. Most of the girls talked willingly, some enjoyed the interview a great deal, and a few were quite reticent. I did not, of course, have equally good rapport with all of them. Some were harder to contact because they did not participate in community affairs. There were also such complicating incidents as one girl objecting to my association with "bad girls," another stealing something from me, and the father of a third accusing me of collecting data to testify to the government in favor of Indian Service withdrawal.

On the whole, however, the problem of securing material was nothing as compared to that of the reliability of the data obtained. As I learned more
about interviewing I had to modify my methods and change the wording of my questions to fit new needs. Although I had made it a point to interview the girls alone, I tried once the group interview technique used by the other student with the boys to see its advantages and disadvantages. My technique, therefore, were not consistent throughout. I had to alter the order of questions, their wording sometimes, and my general attitude with each girl, depending on the amount of rapport and the special circumstances of each interview. I believe this setback was unavoidable, however, since no formal interviews had been administered before in the community and a written questionnaire would have been unadvisable, if not impossible to administer. Another setback was that I often was not sufficiently careful in devising questions subtle enough to avoid ambiguous or untrustworthy answers.

5b. The analysis and interpretation of the material lies in the future, and I believe it is from this aspect of the research that I will learn the most. The problem which I found most difficult to overcome was that of the different levels involved in the interview material: what the interviewee thinks she does and believes, what she says she does and believes, and what she actually does and believes. I still have not solved this problem to my complete satisfaction. I did not devote enough time to the collection of objective data about the girls which I could have used to check many of their answers. My observations in many pertinent areas were not systematic enough, and I feel this is one of the weakest points of my study. More material will also be needed, for comparison purposes, about white teen-agers and about those Mesquakie girls who live away from the settlement and could not be interviewed. I had hoped to get some of this material from studies by other members of the field party which were not concluded. I feel that the "white end" of the Mesquakie-white continuum which has to be set up for a study of acculturation is not sufficiently supported by objective data.

5c. As I already indicated above, I had no definite plans of any sort before going into the field. I committed the methodological mistake of letting hypotheses emerge from data rather than collecting data around formulated hypotheses. At first I thought of taking a few life histories. My supervisor in the field suggested that I divide the girls into four main types of Mesquakie-white orientation by means of a few key questions, then take a life history from one girl out of each group. From these life histories I could then derive certain hypotheses to be tested against the total sample. I found, however, that the asking of questions proceeded so slowly, because of still imperfect rapport, that I would not be able to do more than get the life histories, and it seemed to me that this was not sufficiently valuable to justify the whole procedure. So I decided to give the life history questionnaire I had devised, in slightly modified form, to all teen-age girls. The four areas I concentrated upon were knowledge and practice of old customs, amount of contact with whites, degree of dissatisfaction with life on the settlement (which I felt was present in most of the girls), and sense of career (which seemed much more prevalent among girls than among boys).

I did not feel an age sample was satisfactory and planned to use as limits the time when girls begin to spend most of their time with their peers rather than at home, and the time when they settle down either to marriage or to a job. I found, however, that within the lower age group under 14 most of the girls were too shy and reticent to be interviewed, and that among the older ones the criterion of settling down was meaningless in a culture where young marriages seldom last longer than a few months. I decided therefore to use a straight "teen" sample of girls between 13 and 19. It turned out, however, that there were no thirteen-year-old girls on the settlement, and I had to cut out the nineteen-year-olds because of imperfect time planning the last couple of weeks. Several of the high-school girls are above 18, but I included them
all so I may compare the degree of acculturation of those who have had intensive contact with whites in high school with that of those who have not.

6. I feel my background in the social sciences was insufficient, mostly in the methodological realm. I also should have known more about other acculturation studies and about adolescents generally, mostly white teenagers.

7. This question was partly answered in Items 4 and 5. At the end of the summer I worked with the student who is studying teen-age boys on a list of acculturation criteria which we can use as a common basis for analysis and possibly for the drawing of individual profiles to determine the various types of adjustment to the Mesquakie-white situation. After the interviewing was completed I determined the three main foci of interest (described in Item 2) around which I plan to interpret my material. Some of the hypotheses I have formulated so far are (a) that sojourns outside the settlement, both among whites and in Indian schools, contribute to acculturation; (b) that the lack of adequate recreation facilities on the settlement contributes to acculturation during adolescence by compelling the girls to seek amusement elsewhere; (c) that the conflict between white and Mesquakie values is more acute for adolescent girls than for boys of the same age group. Although such hypotheses should have been set, theoretically, before research began, I could not have formulated them without first-hand knowledge of the Mesquakie community. I feel many more hypotheses will emerge as I look over the material collected.

8. All analysis and interpretation of the material remains to be done. It was not possible for me to transfer to the University of Chicago or to incorporate the work into my academic schedule at Barnard this coming year. The credit I got this summer, however, will enable me to take a sufficiently light schedule so I may devote the time necessary to analyze the material. I will be handicapped by the fact that I will be working away from the field party, but I can communicate with them by mail and I am planning to spend a week in Chicago in December for group discussion. I have all the field material on the Mesquakie here in microfilm.

9. My work this summer was made possible by the fact that the University of Chicago has been among the Mesquakies since 1948 and that students have won wide acceptance in the community. I feel, however, that the team situation was not exploited to its fullest insofar as the research of the various members was not sufficiently coordinated.

10. Dr. Tax spent a brief period of time with us at the beginning and at the end of the summer. The field party was headed by a graduate student who had been living among the Mesquakies for a year, and included an anthropology professor from the State University of Iowa. I did feel the lack of adequate supervision, though I believe this was largely my fault since I did not take full advantage of what guidance was available.

11. I learned a great many things, and feel I will learn most when the time comes to connect the information I gathered with the larger picture behind it which I do not yet visualize perfectly. My aims this summer, as enumerated in my application, were (a) to test myself against the field situation, (b) to have contact with a non-western culture, (c) to understand first-hand the methodological problems involved in research. The results: (a) I realized the importance of the field worker's personality with regard to the values of the culture involved. I found myself, for instance, being frequently too aggressive in a community where aggressivity is thoroughly disliked. I also found, as I have already explained, that I do not consider myself fit for action anthropology at this point. I often felt this summer like a first-year medical student who is given a patient to handle. I feel I could only participate in an action program with a clear conscience if I knew a great deal about the community and the issues involved and had formulated a definite moral stand toward
them. (b) I feel this aim was completely fulfilled. I also gained an understanding of what it means to be a member of an "encysted minority group" and of the complexity of problems—cultural, moral, legal, and political—which are involved in such situations. (c) I met problems in this area which I had not tackled before, as I have already explained above.

12. The conclusions I can draw are, as I have already said, that action anthropology seems possible to me only as the end product of much knowledge and experience. I was also faced with the ethical issue of interference and collection of personal data which confronts every field worker, and which I have not yet settled satisfactorily in my own mind. My long-standing interest in linguistics was confirmed, and I began a study of the Mesquakie language which I did not continue for lack of time, and also because I did not have the necessary training to make such a study rewarding.

Exhibit 39
Discussion of the Action Anthropology Project—Summer 1953
Cindy Sangre

It is an important part of the Action Anthropology project that the beliefs of Groups 1 and 2 be investigated as to their prevalence. It is also thought important by the Action Anthropologists to see how the beliefs impinge on everyday events, not only in situations of Mesquakie-White interaction, but also to ascertain what functions such beliefs might have in the lives of members of each group. An example of this latter problem might be an investigation of the function of the belief by Mesquakies that Whites are temporary. Unfortunately, in my opinion, such types of investigation have not preceded or even kept pace with the "Action" involving these beliefs. For example, one of the students has written several newspaper articles concerning beliefs in Group 2 attempting to (1) get the White audience to redefine the beliefs, (2) attempt to teach Mesquakies something about the way White people think and act by showing what the Anthropologists believe the Whites think about Mesquakies. It is true that some of the articles deal with items... that have been explored by fairly systematic study... An example of this type of article would be "How our Ethics are different and why they should never change" which is based on ideas contained in Walter Miller's paper. Other of the articles seem to me, however, to stand on much lees secure ground. In the article "How our poverty isn't really grinding," the student attempted to point out that Mesquakies help each other out in hard times. He also attempted to point out that the Mesquakie generosity in these hard times and at other times is an important factor in the seeming inability of Mesquakie to accumulate capital and "get ahead." This article was thus attempting to redefine the beliefs (1) that Mesquakies live in grinding poverty, and (2) that Mesquakies are improvident (they are just generous, said the article). There has been, to my knowledge, no study of the extent to which Mesquakie give financial or other assistance of gifts to relatives, friends, or acquaintances. When I use the word study here I do not necessarily mean a well-planned and executed research project. The term as here used includes even non-haphazard participant observation... That is, a sustained interest in a selected item such that one would make an effort to question many people around that item and note down in an orderly fashion the information gained. Also, so far as I know, no attempt other than haphazard conversation have been made to learn the effect of these newspaper articles.
Important relations with the larger society

In March, 1953, Tax was invited to address a gathering of interested Iowans from all over the state who met in nearby Toledo with representatives of the Fox community to discuss the Fox community to discuss the Fox situation. That meeting had been a result of Mr. Stolte's interest and he had in mind the eventual formation of a state committee to assist the community. Tax spoke to the gathering on the necessity of considering the Fox community as permanent and of the necessity of conceiving the community as a community of wage laborers, not farmers. There followed a good discussion in which Fox and other Iowans freely and congenially exchanged opinions. Then the visitors were taken around the Fox community in order that they might gain some notion of the physical setting. At the end of the summer, in September, a second meeting was called in Des Moines. The outcome of that second meeting was less happy, but not without profit, as was reported in the two documents which follow, Exhibits 40 and 41.

Exhibit 40
from the Des Moines Sunday Register September 20, 1953

Hope for the Mesquakies

The Mesquakies of Iowa lost the battle of the eighth grade this fall, but they won the battle of the kindergarten. And they won—decisively—two much more important battles: the recurring battle inside their own minds and the first battle inside their white neighbors' minds over whether the little century-old Indian community near Tama is going to survive the stresses of rapid economic and political change.

All factions of the tribe cherish the grade school maintained within their borders by the federal government. They are deeply troubled by the repeated announcements that the federal Indian bureau is getting ready to wind up its affairs and withdraw support.

Transfer of the eighth grade from the local school to nearby Tama (where the Indians already send their high school students under contract with the Tama school district) seemed like the first step toward losing the local school. So the whole tribe protested the Indian bureau's decision. As usual, when bureaucrat meets Indian the bureaucrats won.

But in a historic meeting of the Mesquakie tribal council with Indian bureau officials in a Des Moines hotel Sept. 11, the Indians did get a pledge that they would lose no more grades for at least two years.

And the bureau found a way to avoid abolishing the much-needed kindergarten (where the Mesquakie children learn English for the first time, the language in which the rest of their schooling is to be conducted).

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But these are mere skirmishes compared to the tremendous battles of the mind. The war and postwar period have been tremendously disruptive of old patterns everywhere; how much more in a tiny community of some 500 souls, with an average family cash income of around $1,000, attempting to maintain a traditional language and civilization quite different from the one which surrounds them and in which the men earn their living as laborers.

The survival of the Mesquakie culture for nearly 100 subversive years, as an island in their old home area, is as remarkable in its way as the survival of the world's Jews for 2,000 years in scattered exile. The Jews never
fell below a million people and gathered tremendous strength from their earnest devotion to book-learning and a written "law"—which the Mesquakie lacked.

Yet the Mesquakies survived. They have been increasing for some time in numbers and in solidarity, with a culture in which no man may order another, and the whites' competitive drive is regarded with distaste and disapproval.

There is a richness in this culture which whites are only just beginning to discover, a richness which has nothing to do with material possessions.

* * *

In recent years the Mesquakies have attracted sympathetic study by a group of social scientists from the University of Chicago, who may yet be able to interpret them to their fellow Iowans and to the legal authorities here and in Washington. The new statewide committee to help them differs from previous do-good efforts—often so frustrating to both Mesquakies and whites—in that the Chicago scientists and the Indians themselves are playing a prominent role in it.

The fact which Indian bureau officials and fellow Iowans have rarely seen about the Mesquakies is that they are not a "problem"—they are an achievement. They have problems, of course, and they welcome help in solving them so long as it is really helpful and not a well-meant effort to destroy the things which they hold more important than worldly goods.

Exhibit 41

Mr. Glenn L. Emmons, Commissioner
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Interior Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Emmons:

I know that you are "on the road." Whether this is forwarded to you or whether it will await your return, please accept congratulations and thanks from one citizen who appreciates the tremendous effort you are now making. I am sure that your personal sacrifices will help to renew the confidence of Indian groups who have come to feel abandoned in the last years.

Many friends and colleagues have spoken so well of you that I have long wanted to write both to congratulate you and to offer you any cooperation possible. If you have come across my name at the Bureau, the comments were without doubt unfavorable. I have been present at two "crisis" situations involving the Mesquakie and the Indian Service and on both occasions felt constrained to say things which, on a superficial level, were "anti-Indian Service." Mr. Spaulding, and Mr. Foster and others in this area, doubtless feel that we have been harmful to the program as a whole; on the other hand, we sincerely feel that our efforts will benefit both the Indians and your office. My students and I have thought these problems through most seriously, and have discussed our conclusions with colleagues. Nevertheless, we could be wrong, and if so it is important to know it. Therefore, I hope that some day soon you might be able to stop at the University, where we could arrange a seminar discussion at your convenience.

I had the pleasure of attending, Friday, Sept. 11, the meeting in Des Moines at which Mr. Spaulding spoke. It was an event of great importance—an opportunity for Indians and leading state citizens to come together and to come to understand and appreciate one another. Mr. Bert Stolpe of the Des Moines Register was the prime mover and member of the University's field
party spent many days explaining to Mesquakies the desirability of such meetings and showing the groundlessness of many fears. Mr. Stolpe deserves great credit in his ongoing efforts. Bringing Mesquakies and other Iowans closer together is an altogether laudable aim. It is unfortunate you could not attend. I am sure you would have enjoyed it and the audience would have profited.

At the meeting, Mr. Spaulding forthrightly and, I thought, effectively outlined the government's withdrawal policy. Of course, the Indians weren't made happy by those words. For Mesquakies, as for larger tribes in the Southwest, the financial problems to the tribe which are inherent in withdrawal overwhelm them; hence "withdrawal" to them is a financial threat (and the uppermost threat in their present affairs). But those words of Mr. Spaulding were not new to the Indians so they just braced themselves to ride out the storm. I'm sure the thinking of the rest of the audience was made clearer by Mr. Spaulding's forthrightness and clarity.

After Mr. Spaulding's words, however, the meeting took an unfortunate turn. Discussion turned to the matter of education and soon old controversies between the tribe and the service were being aired. It soon became apparent, no doubt unintended by anyone, that there was developing a tug of war between the Indian service on the one side and the tribe on the other. They were soon competing for the sympathies of the white audience. What an unhappy turn of events in a meeting originally designed to bring the Indians closer to other Iowa citizens!

The worst effect of this development was not the response of the white audience (I'm not sure whether they were swayed either way) but on the Indians. It was quite clear, I thought, that midway through the meeting they felt defeated. Now Mr. Stolpe was working on forming an organization, made up of Indians and whites, to work together on the problems of the Mesquakie community. If the Indians had gone away from that meeting feeling that the group had been "won over" by the Indian service, they would, of course, have decided to have nothing more to do with Mr. Stolpe's group. The group, without Indian cooperation, would soon prove ineffectual and would inevitably disband after a good deal of ill-will toward the "ungrateful Indians" had been generated.

When it finally came my turn to speak, I thought it necessary to say something that would counteract the Indians' feelings that the day was lost. Since the competition had been well advanced, there was but one thing to do—relate (mostly for the Indians' benefit) the Indians' side of those past controversies and describe why Indians are so fearful of withdrawal; in short, be "pro-Indian" and "anti-Indian service." One naturally doesn't do a thing to add to the cares of harried public officials, as that no doubt did, without considerable misgiving. However, if what I said serves to cause Indians to continue to work with state citizens and if it causes state citizens to think and act in ways which make it possible for Indians to continue to cooperate, then I'm sure the interests of everyone—even the poorly used officials!—will be served in the long run.

Indian groups, and their conditions, differ widely. But appearances are often very deceiving. The Navahoes are so much more isolated than the Mesquakies, and their problems are so much more serious, that it may appear by contrast that the Mesquakies are nearly aculturated. But in fact their Indian culture is valued by them as much, and is as tough, as among Navahoes. Mesquakies are making very satisfactory economic adjustments. Both as individuals and as a community they are entirely capable of administering their own affairs. But they need financial help for their community services, and they are understandably greatly disturbed when this support is threatened. Were this threat removed, constructive development of new relations in Iowa would be greatly hastened, and much good would result. On the contrary, the threat that a
financial load might be dropped on the state is highly destructive and self-defeating. Should it materialize, the taxpayers of Tama County would almost surely "take it out" on the Indians, and the present excellent potentialities would dissolve. The Indians, of course, sense the danger; it is not surprising that constructive forces among them become immobilized. The only road to a happy solution is to stop the threat of withdrawal and to make it a promise instead, with adequate long-term financial provision for education and health services. Then the Mesquakie community could—and probably would—hopeful enter into new relationships with state agencies. This I suppose to be the object of all of our efforts.

I am taking the liberty of sending copies of this letter to Mr. Foster in Minneapolis and to Mr. Stolpe in Des Moines. I shall also inform the Mesquakies of what I have written you.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

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**Education, pro and con**

The shift of emphasis in the action program toward education necessarily involves public utterances. In the winter of 1953-54, the opportunity presented itself, in the person of Mrs. Raymond Sires of Tama, to have a short description of the Fox community and its problems published and distributed by the Federated Women's Clubs of Iowa. An abstract follows, Exhibit 42. Making public utterances to such a heterogeneous audience as the local white communities with their differentiations, and the Indian community with its factional differences, presented problems of great complexity. In the first place, some items were simply avoided, as had been suggested in the 1953 formulation of the project. And, it was hoped, the final result would be a statement that satisfied the real interests of all the involved parties and did so in rhetoric that all could understand. The problem encountered in the earlier drafting and publication of the newspaper articles for the Tama News-Herald reoccurred here, complicated by the total complexity of our relations with the two Fox factions and more particularly with the tribal council.

A memorandum, Exhibit 43, follows which reveals some of the difficulties encountered in the publication of that pamphlet and suggests alternative ways of surmounting those difficulties. The tribal council had expressed certain displeasures as plans for publication of the pamphlet materialized. The memorandum was prepared and Tax visited the tribal council. At that meeting, the tribal council brought up the matters in the memorandum, almost literally item for item. It was a pleasing revelation to members of the Fox project that, in spite of the non-systematic manner of arriving at the understandings reported in the memorandum, that memorandum proved extraordinarily true.

The relations with the council now appear to be mended. The only reason this is possible, within the framework of principles of the Fox project, is that the factionalism in the Fox community does not represent an irreconcilable conflict but, rather, is bridged by a strong communal sense of unity. That does not make the problem less difficult on a day-to-day level, but it does make it soluble.

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**Exhibit 42**

THE "RICH" MESQUAKIE COMMUNITY

(from *The Mesquakies of Iowa*, Published by the Federated Women's Club of Iowa. Page 11-15.)

The present Mesquakie settlement covers 3,300 acres along the Iowa
River in Tama County. The land is either hilly and wooded or low and subject to yearly floods. It is not valuable land economically. But to Mesquakies, it is a home and a refuge—a place of safety. The purchase of the first of those acres marked the end of many years of wandering. The people sold their ponies in order to buy the land and in the buying of it they acquired a permanent home no longer subject to the whims of white armies and white settlers. They bought the land for the tribe collectively and the land is still owned by the tribal body. Each man can use a plot for his home, his garden, and for a bit of farming but it still belongs to the tribe.

As "home" the land is to Mesquakies what home is to every man, the known and familiar. Children grow up here, and this is the place which they know. They know the roads and the short-cut paths, each small frame house and who lives there; they know the bridge where the couples meet at night, the spots in the river which are good for fishing, the government school, the cemeteries, the little store, the pow wow grounds.

But the community is not only a tract of land and a set of landmarks. It is also a group of people, known to each other personally, loving, hating, helping, hurting one another, remembering and dreaming, feeling themselves to share a life and a history. This is "we" Mesquakies against "you" outsiders. It is a people and a way of life—a small society.

The heart of the Mesquakie ways go on. Mesquakies today avoid arguments with other Mesquakies, just as they must have been doing before the Pilgrims landed. A Mesquakie is still open-handed to his friends and relatives to a degree that makes it impossible for him to be a successful businessman in dealing with other Mesquakies; it is as if the people had made a conscious choice that they would rather be generous than rich. Men still are highly reluctant to move into a position where they seem to be putting themselves above their fellows and instructing them or deciding matters for them.

These patterns of behavior, which contrast so strongly with white notions of proper behavior, make the Mesquakie community something more than a matter of familiarity. White men leave the familiar places of their childhood with little more than an occasional tinge of homesickness. A Mesquakie who leave the Mesquakie community enters a world of new behavior in which he feels himself a stranger. For this reason the "boundaries" of the Mesquakie community are much more definite than the boundaries marking off home from the "outside" for the white man.

The community, too, is a group with a language which sets it off from other groups. The Mesquakie language is spoken universally; the child does not learn English until he enters school and it always remains for him a learned alien tongue. Mesquakies often remark how tiring it is for them to converse for more than a few minutes in English and one often gets the impression that the thoughts they are trying to get across simply do not translate into that learned language.

And finally, life in the community is a series of familiar events that have no parallel outside the community. During the summer months, there is the round of religious feasts and dances. There are frequent informal recreational events—sports during the warm months, dancing and traditional indoor games during the colder months. Whenever a Mesquakie dies there follows a formal adoption feast when children may adopt a ceremonial parent, or brothers adopt a brother, or parents a child. And every year there is the gala high-point of the Mesquakie year, the pow wow.

Men go out every day to their jobs in the factories, wearing every-day clothes and driving Chevrolets. They earn U.S. dollars and shop in the supermarket. But, beyond these things they know all those other things and all
those other things add up to a richness in Mesquakie everyday life which is the equal of life in white communities. These are the rewards in the life of every Mesquakie which the tribe struggled for 300 years to keep. These are the rewards which Mesquakies hope whites will come to recognize and appreciate.

A permanent community.—Because life in the Mesquakie community is rewarding, the community is permanent. A community breaks down when its ways no longer serve the needs of its people.

The increasing Mesquakie population is itself evidence of the community's permanence. In 1910 there were 257 Mesquakies; today there are over 500 living in the community and another 120 who live (only a few say "permanently") in the cities of Iowa.

The population will continue to increase. The community is young—almost half its members are under 18. As medical services become more available to the people, deaths will occur later in life and the rate of increase will inevitably turn still further upward.

The community is permanent and growing. But white men almost invariably consider Indians to be vestiges of once-mighty populations, vestiges which will inevitably either die out or be lost in the stream of American life. These notions are apparently not true for Indians of the United States generally; the population of Indian communities across the land is steadily and rapidly rising and those figures do not include those Indians who as individuals leave the reservations and cease, in effect to be Indians. And those notions are certainly not true when applied to the Mesquakies.

But those false notions affect the actions of white men in their dealings with Mesquakies. If Mesquakies are held to be in the process of an inevitable absorption into the larger society, then the Mesquakie community is seen, in effect, as a second-rate white community that has not yet "arrived." Similarly, Mesquakie individuals are measured one against the other in terms of the distance they have traveled toward the white man's ways. Within the frame of thought, the only actions which enter the minds of sympathetic white people are actions designed to hasten the alleged, inevitable change.

Mesquakies often resent such actions. For one thing, most Mesquakies do not consider the change itself as an unmixed blessing. But more importantly, such actions indicate clearly to Mesquakies that the white men remain blind to the merits of the heart of the Mesquakie ways.

The people are winning their struggle for the survival of their community and their ways but they have only begun their struggle for acceptance. It is unfortunate that every white Iowan could not sit unseen and watch the mirth of a "squaw-dice" game or watch the solemnity of a ceremonial adoption. If that were possible, the struggle for acceptance would be won already.

Exhibit 43

SUMMARY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN PROJECT AND TRIBAL COUNCIL

Fred Gearing, Steve Polgar — May 1, 1954

Events and situations tending toward strained relations:

1. Field personnel have generally disliked [A] personally though many appreciate his functions in the tribe and the behavior those functions require. Bill McCormack and to a lesser degree Walt Miller had good relations with [A] based mainly on an office-boy role they cultivated.
2. Through overt acts we have recognized the existence of the Old Bears. This in itself is unavoidably "anti-council." Examples are: taking [B] and [A] together to see Stolpe, attending Old Bear council meetings, sending the telegrams in re the school.

3. Whenever specific activities are under consideration there is pressure to go around the council from the people who are potential participants. This may be an accident of past selections but that is not likely; most of the people who vote for the present council still resent their intrusions. Foremost example is the farming activity last summer. Also, in discussions in re a possible Friends work camp and Boy Scout troupe, the council was largely ignored as a possible sponsoring agency.

4. Important community groups with which we tend to deal a lot (the Legion, the shifting groups which work on recreation events) are more often than not anti-council.

5. Conversely to (4), since the school matters in '52 we have done no specific things with or through the council.

6. Most councilmen and their families do not participate in community events; the leading Old Bears and vocal anti-council individuals do; so do we.

7. Our rhetoric and re "progress" (in the News-Herald articles and the pamphlet) has sounded anti-Youngbear.

8. The project itself has never formally asked the council's permission to exist; councilmen have mentioned that to other Fox.

9. We have not made a practice of attending church services at the Mission even though we live right next door; that does not please [A].

10. We have taken over some of the functions of the council as intermediaries between Mesquakies and whites. People come to us for guidance rather than to [A].

11. We compete, especially, with [A] and [C] who also are educating the public and who get paid for it so feel the threat doubly.

12. We have often refused to do office-boy jobs for [A] after having done such things in the beginning; it may seem to him that we do such services for others.

13. The council has decided that Gearing wants to make materialize the Old Bear's aims and that he has influenced Tax to that position to some degree.

14. Gearing's relations with [B] exceeded his relations with any other individual greatly in terms of both time and closeness and, especially, exceeded his relations with [A].

Basic possible alternatives as to project-council relations:

The question rests on the broader question of the desirability and possibility of legitimatizing the present, elected council; there is little doubt that such legitimization will eventually occur but we have no real understanding as to whether our actions have been constructive or destructive to date in this dimension and we have no clear picture of what modifications would make the present council more workable.

There are three alternatives:

a. Ask for a formal council invitation for the project to continue, and continue only in the event of such an invitation; commit ourselves to ask for formal clearance on all future activities.
b. Ask for a referendum; base our support only on popular, community-wide opinion; treat with the council henceforth only in matters where they are directly relevant.

c. Try again to establish a disinterested position in re the factional disagreements; demonstrate a recognition of the council as the present, legitimate governing body; try to get council consultation but do not ask for formal council clearance.

The council, in terms of its letter, seems to now want (a); I take it that the project could not continue under that condition. It would seem that (b) would be undesirable for the reasons stated in the first paragraph. I suggest that (c) is workable so far as the project is concerned and could be obtained. Basically, our bargaining position with council stems from two things: first, they have recognized us as useful and, second, kicking us out would be too risky politically for them to gamble on. The first is the strongest and the less ambiguous of the two.

To accomplish (c), the following must be done:

1. Scold the council for not making known their feelings about the News-Herald articles and, if it comes up, about the Toledo pamphlet. We have never done anything knowing that they did not like it.

2. Demonstrate publicly a "recognition" of the council by sponsoring with them and with the women's clubs an adult education program in surrounding white towns. Problem: how do we keep [C] and [A] from talking and/or from saying the things they usually say?

3. Explain again that the project is basically education. Examples: [D's] radio program, the TV meetings last summer, the pamphlet, the adult education program described above.

4. Individuals in future field parties should be given particular responsibilities to cultivate the friendship of council members (as well as others) so as to more consciously maintain the factional balance needed. (It may be that one individual cannot get and stay close to persons in the hard core of both groups.) Especially crucial among the councilmen are [B's] family and [F's]. We should expect continuing trouble with the [A] wing of the Youngbear group who basically want assimilation and who form the core of the Mission.

More theory

In the spring of 1954, Tax, in a commencement address at the University of Chicago High School, Exhibit 44, attempted to spell out certain assumptions about human learning. Those theoretical ideas are the counterpart of the basic value judgment of the Fox project; the right of the Fox to make the important decisions affecting them.

Concurrently, a new dimension in Tax's acculturation hypothesis became explicit. Tax's recent idea, that the "core" of Indian cultures could in fact remain stable over great lengths of time and under extreme pressures, seemed to imply a neo-racism—an argument that these cultures could not change, no matter what. But, of course, there was much evidence that many cultures had indeed ceased to exist and that there was ample historical evidence of radical realignments of cultures in adaptation to changed circumstances. Also, the Fox project had recently had experiences and ideas about the effects of coeritive force on enclaved groups. From those two sources came the second main dimension of the new hypothesis, the idea of volition. The idea was first voiced publicly in a lecture at Harvard.
There, it was noted that most of the cases in which there had been acclimation studies were of instances in which cultural changes were being resisted and from such studies, culture was thought to be inherently resistant to change. But anthropology had made little use of cases in which societies had set out, of their own volition, to change aspects of their ways. Tax's impression was that, when a society does decide on innovation, the changes can be rapid and drastic. "Culture" isn't conservative—people are, or aren't.

This new acculturation hypothesis in its two dimensions stemmed almost completely from sources outside the Fox experience. In turn it entered into the thinking about the Fox community and importantly redirected our concept of that community and of what should be done there. This second dimension of the hypothesis caused observed Fox behavior to be viewed not as yielding to irresistible pulls only, but as adjustments to changed circumstances. White culture became an aspect of the environment. The focus shifted from outside the community to inside the community—even inside the several minds of the Fox. The "limits" of the Fox community ceased to be seen as the geographical limits of their 3300 acres; Fox wage labor came to be seen as an equivalent of buffalo-hunting and in those terms the apparent historical choice of the Fox for wage labor as against entrepreneurial activities or farming seems to make sense. Further, this dimension of the new hypothesis strengthened the tendency of the proposed activities in the Fox community to be centered in education. If it were true that the as yet undefined "core" of Fox culture remained and if the Fox had indeed throughout their history been adjusting and if that adjustment still continued while preserving that core, then it is true that the basic ideas underlying policy—shared by the society at large, by the government, and perhaps most important, by the local surrounding white community—is wrong and probably harmful. Fox cultural differences might not be "habit" or "inadequate understanding" as supposed by white society, but might be conscious, choice-ful, adjustable. If the white ideas are wrong and harmful they need correction.

Exhibit 44

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
Commencement Address at University High School
June 19, 1954
Sol Tax

The Freedom to Make Mistakes

When Mr. Seyfert asked me to speak, I told him that I was flattered to be asked; that I hadn't the faintest idea of what to say; but that since I surely would be here anyway, I couldn't refuse. Here is the case of a captive audience addressed by a captive speaker. I feel immensely honored to be up here but I should be happy indeed during the next twenty minutes to hear what any one of my fellow parents up here would say to all of us down there!

There is probably a pattern that one should follow in commencement addresses, but I do not know what it is. I think back to the evening of my own high school graduation and I do not remember a single speech. I remember mainly that I was sad and lonely, for those were good years that we left. And I know that you who are graduating today are leaving behind very good years, and your minds must be wandering back over them and you aren't listening sharply and won't remember what I say. Please let your minds go where they will—it doesn't matter—you are all through with examinations for a while!
But if you do care to listen, I tell you at once that my remarks are on a topic that I should probably stay far away from. Perhaps you have heard of the minister who was newly engaged to be pastor of a fashionable Fifth Avenue church. The chairman of the board was briefing him about his new job. When he came to the subject of sermons, he said, "Now, you can preach about anything you wish—except there are two subjects we do not talk about in church. One of those subjects is politics, and the other is religion."

On this occasion, our hall is filled with parents and their children, and with children and their teachers. And I am prepared to speak about the evils of paternalism and the habit of doing things to people against their will for their own good. This is a propensity not only of colonial governments insistent on civilizing the heathen, but it is a habit of parents and teachers as well. What I say now may, therefore, be even worse than preaching religion in church.

I want to talk about the problem that always arises when one person or group is in authority over another and has the power to decide what the other should do for his own good. I am concerned with communities who are under some authority, like a colony under the rule of a benevolent power which remains in power to help the colonial people prepare themselves for independence. I think especially of American Indian communities who are under the Indian service, which behaves in a notoriously paternalistic way. When we think of this kind of paternalism, we often say it is wrong because these people shouldn't be treated like children. But we ought to ask first what we mean by the phrase, "treated like children," and we ought to ask if even children ought to be "treated like children."

Let me begin by stripping the problem down to its bare bones. I shall start by using the formula, $A$ over $B$ ($A/B$). $A$ can stand for the parent and $B$ for the child; or $A$ is the teacher, $B$ the pupil; or $A$ is Queen Elizabeth and her government and $B$ is a colony in Africa; or $A$ is the Bureau of Indian affairs in Washington, and $B$ is a tribe of Indians on a reservation. $A$ has authority over $B$. Let us suppose now that this is a completely benevolent authority; that is, $A$ is in authority and sincerely feels a responsibility for the welfare of $B$. Here is the parent trying to do his best for his child, the teacher trying to do what is best for his pupils, the Queen sincerely interested in the welfare of the Africans, the Indian Service dedicated to doing right by the Indian tribe. Our model so far is $A$ over $B$, with no conflict of interest. $A$ and $B$ both want what is best for $B$.

Now suppose that $A$ and $B$ disagree about what is good for $B$. Mother thinks Johnny shouldn't eat too much candy; it will injure his teeth. Or the pupils in a class decide to chew gum, and the teacher forbids it—regretfully—for the same good reason. Or the Indian tribe decides it wants to have its own school on the reservation but the Indian Service says they should go to public school so they can learn the ways of the white man, for their own good. In each case $A$ and $B$ are interested only in the good of $B$. But they disagree on what is good. This now is the problem—who should have the final word? Should the child eat the candy? Should the Indians keep their own school? This is the stripped-down model of the question I want to discuss, and only this. I am excluding all other problems, and deliberately over-simplifying. Especially remember that there is only one $A$ and $B$. The model is quite different if we include Johnny's little sister, because then mother cannot worry simply about what is good for Johnny; maybe she thinks that what Johnny wants to do would be bad for sister May. To bring into our picture the rest of the family, or friends or neighbors, changes the model entirely, introducing conflicting interests.
To repeat: the problem I am posing assumes that A and B both want the good of B, and they disagree on what is good, and there are no other complications. If A is Queen Elizabeth and the British government, and B an African colony, we assume for the moment that the English government doesn't have to worry about France or Belgium or Portugal, who also have colonies in Africa, or other British colonies or dominions. Nor does the teacher of the class have to think of the other teachers or the other classes in the school. So here in summary is the picture with which we are concerned: A over B. A is in some position of authority over B, or has responsibility for the welfare of B. A wants to help B. Nobody else is involved.

This is long and labored, but as Senator McCarthy says, I want to make this very, very clear.

Now simply stated the problem is this: who gets his way, A or B? Does Johnny eat the candy? We have all been in this position, and it is, of course, never so simple as the model. But the principles involved now come out rather easily, and the model permits us to compare the problem of the child with the problem of the community. Let us take the case of the parent and child first.

Among the objectives that a good parent has is to protect the child from harm until he is able to protect himself. The younger the child, the greater the need for protection, but training for independence begins early and needs to increase rapidly. There is no single general rule to help a parent decide when and whether Johnny should have his way. The first rule is the quicker the better for any good influence on a child. There are two main limitations. One is safety; the parent cannot let the child do serious damage to himself. The other is more difficult. A child doubtless needs the feeling of protection that an authoritative parent may give him; but this is just the kind of protection he should lose as soon as possible. Aware of these two cautions, the parent ideally gives the child his head as early and as often as possible. Child psychology is not my field, but it is my understanding that no age is too tender—on principle—to begin.

The second rule is almost equally obvious, difficult as it may be to apply in practice. The child should be permitted to have his way only as he is able to understand the consequences of alternative decisions. Theoretically, for example, Johnny may be allowed to decide whether or not to eat the candy only if he knows the feeling of a dentist's drill. When this point is reached is difficult to know; and it is easy to be wrong in either direction. I suppose that the safe rule is that if there is no great absolute danger to the child of a wrong decision, then he ought to have his way even if the parent can't be sure he understands completely.

I have said nothing so far about whether it matters who is "right"—parent or child. It may seem strange, but this question appears to be beside the point. The parent and the child both believe they are right. If either one of them thought he were not right, there would be no disagreement. So we expect the parent to believe in every case under discussion that he is right, and the child wrong. The problem still remains, therefore, of the circumstances in which the parent decides to let the child make the decision in spite of his certainty that the child is wrong.

The point is this. If the child in our model case is to be free to make a decision, it means he is being permitted in the parent's view to make a mistake. Therefore, freedom to make decisions must mean freedom to make mistakes. This seems to me so true and significant, yet so poorly understood by so many of us, that I have taken for my title the phrase Freedom to Make Mistakes.
If freedom means anything other than to think dark and bitter thoughts—and every slave everywhere has that poor freedom—it must mean freedom to act. That implies freedom to decide how to act. And any decision implies the possibility of error. It is, therefore, a grievous mistake to deny a child the right to make the decision about his own action only because the parent—or teacher now, if you will—believes the child is wrong.

This is not only a matter of logic, however. Think but of the common phrase that experience is the best teacher, or that one learns from his mistakes, and it becomes evident that to deny the child the right to make mistakes deprives him of his opportunity to learn, to grow, to become independent.

The salient rule, therefore, remains that provided that emotional factors and real and present danger are not pressing—and provided that the parent is reasonably satisfied that the child understands the consequences of the decision—then the child must have it his own way. The same rule, exactly, applies in the classroom or in a student organization with an adviser dedicated to guide its activity. In the last analysis, the children have to decide for themselves, and they must be permitted to decide in a way that their elders know is wrong.

I would like to stress this again. If a parent wants to make the decision, he has the power to do so. But if he wants to perform properly the function of bringing up the child, he should never exercise the power except in the limits posed, and never simply because he is sure that he is right. As a parent I know full well that we cannot easily approach this ideal. Usually there is neither time, patience, nor opportunity for full discussion with the child. I want to emphasize that in practice it is difficult and often impossible to apply the principle. Let's not add unnecessary guilt to our overburdened consciences. But the principle is still there and important to use. I should think it proper for the parent to make the decision for the child because there is no time to understand the child's point of view, or no time for the child to understand all of the issues. These are human limitations. But it is wholly improper to make the decision on the grounds that mother—or teacher—knows best.

It is very easy for a parent or a teacher to use the subtle authority of his position and the respect in which a child holds him, and to let this satisfy him that they have discussed the matter fully and achieved agreement with the child. Within reason, this seems to be wholly appropriate; I have not suggested that any person is convinced only by reason, or that mother or teacher do not actually know better than the child. My only point is that if persuasion fails and the child continues to disagree, it is generally right to give in and certainly wrong to use force where persuasion has failed. And when I use the word child, I mean a teenager too. Perhaps these strictures apply especially to young adults with strong dependent ideas.

Let us return now to the formula A/B. What I have said should apply to every case. Parent and child; teacher and class; government and colony. I have used the first case because it is most familiar to us. I may well be wrong in some of my statements about children, because I can claim little special knowledge with respect to them. I am much more interested in colonies, and particularly in the Indian tribes under the authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Let us try now to apply our principles to these cases.

I think that the rule which we have established applies without any doubt at all. If the governor and the community disagree on a course
of action for the community, and he cannot persuade them, he must let them have their way. Whether or not the community turns out to have chosen a wise course of action is quite beside the point. Every people if it is free, is free to make decisions, hence must have the right to make mistakes.

Remember that in our model A/B by definition A is interested only in the welfare of B. The model therefore fits few real colonies, so the principle is not very applicable in most of them. Nevertheless to the degree that it applies, it is still the working principle.

In passing from the case of the child to the case of a dependent community, several important differences appear. First of all, and most important, the community is not a child, so there can never be the possibility that, like the child, the community is not yet intellectually able to make rational decisions. There are children in every community, but the community decisions here in question are made by the adults. Therefore there is much less excuse for somebody else to make decisions for a community even than there is to make decisions for children.

The second difference is that a community which has an opportunity to discuss an issue is likely to be wiser than the administrator. In the case of a child, one assumes that the parent or teacher, older and more experienced, actually has much to offer to the child in guidance. But a community has its collective adult wisdom, and if it pits its judgment against that of the administrator, the administrator would be wise to take their view seriously indeed. Therefore again, there is even less excuse than in the case of parents—children for A to make the decision for B.

The third difference is that in the case of a colony it is generally true that two different cultures are involved. In our first case the child is properly brought up by the parent in his own image. A single culture is involved. The customs, ideas and values of the children are almost the same as those of the parents. The colony or the Indian tribe, on the other hand, usually has a way of life different from that of the administering power. A not only has authority over B but is alien to B, and often has a different outlook on life. This difference makes communication very difficult, and the administrator is very likely to think he knows more about the point of view of the people than he really does. If he insists upon making the decision for them, it is very likely to be the wrong decision. If the administrator makes a wrong decision on behalf of a community, it may be a very serious matter which will affect their welfare for generations. The issue is much more grave than in the case of a disagreement between parent and child. The community builds up a distrust of the governing power, because of past mistakes, and communication is made even more difficult.

Therefore again it is even more important than in the case of the child that the administrator not exercise his power to make choices but rather permit the community to make its own mistakes.

This is rendered both more difficult and more important by the fact that most administrators in these positions are members of our dominant culture who believe our culture is in fact superior to other cultures, and they assume that the people of the colony are all naturally anxious to become like us. In the United States, our whole policy with respect to the Indians rests on the assumption that it is only a matter of time before Indians will adopt our ways, and lose their own ways; that some of them have made more progress than others, who are more "backward." The fact is that many Indians are not anxious to become like us; they are comfortable in their own culture; and it doesn't help matters at all to call them "backward." The result is a kind of passive resistance and complete
breakdown of communication and understanding. The administrator then imagines that the Indians no longer are "reasonable," so he feels justified in using force.

In fact, however, force does not work; not only may the exercise of force be ethically wrong, but it usually does not achieve the result that the administrator tries to achieve. I should like to relate an instance. There is a community of Indians in Iowa—the Fox, or Mesquakie—with whom several students and I have been working. They have an excellent school on their settlement, run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and they are very anxious to keep it. But the policy in Washington is to hurry the process of assimilation—remember most non-Indians just assume that Indians will disappear and are anxious to become white men. Therefore, two years ago the Bureau of Indian Affairs proposed to the tribal council that the Indian school be turned over to the state to be run as a public school. They asked the Indians to discuss the matter and said they would return in six weeks for the decision. Unfortunately they made it appear to the Indians that although they could discuss it freely, they would have to agree to the proposal in the end. The result was that the Indians among themselves never discussed the proposal on its merits at all. What was the Use? It was not too important to them who ran their school—an office in Des Moines, Iowa, or an office in Washington, D.C. But the fact that it seemed to be so important to the Bureau of Indian Affairs made them believe that there was more to the proposed change than met the eye. Therefore, they were all against it. But since the government seemed bound to use its authority, they just retreated into silence. When, after two months, the government officials heard nothing, they signed a contract with the state superintendent of schools to turn over the school. The next the Indians knew there was a meeting with the state officials who, for the first time, learned that the Indians opposed the transfer. The state superintendent then tore up the contract, figuratively, because she didn't want to manage a school against the will of the community.

So all the force and authority of the Bureau was useless. And the affair, in the eyes of the Indians, is one more reason for them to distrust the administration. It seems clear and obvious that nothing constructive can happen there until the Indians are permitted to make their own decisions. I am sure that this must be the case in all similar situations. And we are now in an era when, in many parts of the world, colonies which are not given the freedom to make their own mistakes, will take that freedom.

With respect to colonial territories, and with respect to Indians, we all in this hall are parts of the A in authority over a B. It may have seemed to you of the graduating class who have been in the position of B under parents and teachers that I was addressing the wrong people in the hall. The important point is that as individuals, in our lives we all occupy both positions. The lessons to be learned from this analysis are lessons for all of us.

"Freedom," empirically

In the summer of 1954, the field party consisted of Charles Callendar and Marie Furey Callendar, Joseph Marlon, Sarah Robinson, all students in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, and Eugene Fugel of the State University of Iowa. Polgar accompanied the field party to the field and remained with them about ten days. No "action" activity was undertaken by this party—the main aim was to acquaint new students with the Fox community to increase the manpower that would be available in the ensuing months and years.
In late July, Tax and Gearing, with Otis Imboden of the University of Chicago, and Ruppe and Dr. Alton Fisher of the State University of Iowa visited the Fox community to hold general conversations with the field party and to observe a national conference, in the Fox community of the Native American Church. The Native American Church, because they use the peyote button as a sacrament, was at that time experiencing a good amount of legal difficulty affecting their freedom to continue their mode of worship. It was thought that this was a unique opportunity to prepare a documentary film which would make clear the religious nature of the organization and their worship, which film would be useful to them in future defenses of their rights. Tax and Imboden arranged with the State University of Iowa to make available technical equipment and personnel necessary for making such a film and presented the idea to the assembled Church. Tax argued rather strongly for making the film. The assembled body turned down the proposal and it was apparent that they felt miserable in doing so. Tax's response, which in effect told them that they had been right in deciding against his suggestion, resulted in a truly remarkable reaction which is only dimly reflected in Imboden's report on the conference, Exhibit 45. That experience was a strong confirmation of the ideas of the Fox project about the use of power, and indicated an important difference between persuasion and more tangible force.

Exhibit 45
CONFERENCE OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH, TAMA, IOWA, JULY 22-25
A REPORT — by Otis Imboden

... As soon as the treasurer's report had been accepted, the next item of business was the discussion of publicity and of our plan for making a documentary film. Dale introduced the subject with only a few words, and then gave the floor to Dr. Sol Tax. Dr. Tax explained first the reasons for some of the difficulties which the Indians had had in the past with the white men, pointing out that lack of understanding leads to mistrust and showing that wherever men had a full knowledge they were willing to accept that which was strange to them. Dr. Tax made a comparison between the work that had previously been done to educate the white men to the ways of the Indian, to compare these with the bow and arrow, and was saying that what we need now is a stronger weapon, like a cannon or a gun, and brought forward the idea that if the Indians wanted, we could make a documentary film of the conference and of the ritual to prove that this was a church in all sincerity. After his speech there were several other speeches by the Indians, most of whom spoke in the negative but with great reservations. Charles Springer had a question as to whether this would be used commercially. We assured him that it would be the property of the University of Chicago and of the State University of Iowa and could not be used commercially even if we so desired. Several other members of the church rose to their feet and spoke at some length about the pros and cons of the question. The Indians seemed to have a fairly good grasp of the issues involved, and their reticence stemmed from first a personal uneasiness at having their pictures taken and distributed, and secondly, from a feeling that their religion and their tepee, their tabernacle as they called it, was much too sacred to allow filming within the walls. The major complaint was that they didn't feel they could do rightly, that they could pray and communicate with their God when they knew a camera was on them. They compared the peyote ritual with the Pow Wow, saying that the Pow Wow was for "show" and that it was all right to give that to the white man, but the ritual was one of the last things which they have which is still sacred and which belongs to them, and they didn't feel that it could be taken
away and put out for general consumption. Several of them indicated that they didn't think that a film would show people what the peyote really meant to them. I spoke briefly clarifying this point. It was my contention that our aim was not to educate the white man to the true mystery of the peyote and of the taking of the sacrament, but rather to demonstrate that the sincerity and the honesty with which this matter was approached was a far cry from the attitude which most white men had conceived concerning its use. My point was that though we could not teach anyone the truth, we could make a powerful weapon against the lies which had been told in the past.

As the discussion proceeded, each Indian seemed to speak along similar lines, using different topics and different illustrations, of course, but following a form which seems to be a part of the discussion format. Each Indian would stand and would first apologize for his inability to communicate in the English language, and then would clarify the position which he held, stressing the point that he spoke only for himself and that his point of view was a personal one and was not to be interpreted as being a view representative of anyone in his tribe or any group which he might stand for. At the finish of the discussion, Dale summarized the speeches that had been made before, recapitulated the issues, and spoke briefly from his own view, saying "If some of you other fellows would like to have your pictures taken, it is all right with me, but I just don't feel that I could do it and I don't think that the camera ought to be allowed inside that tepee."

The vote was taken and, of course, the answer was in the negative. Following the negative vote, Mrs. Dale, who had not spoken during the discussion, stood and made her speech, summarizing her feelings on the entire subject. I believe it was obvious from her emotion that they were quite sorry they had to refuse us on this point, feeling that this was something we wanted very deeply and that they had turned down a hand which had been offered in help. Her words were to the effect that she lay awake often at night wondering if they were doing the right thing and wondering if somehow they wouldn't make a mistake which would destroy everything they had gotten so far.

Following her speech, another Indian woman stood and said that she thought it was inhospitable of the Indians to invite us out on the promise of making a movie and then to turn us down this way. Dale saw that this was a wrong charge against him and against and quickly told her that this had all been tentative. Dr. Tax, realizing that this situation was a bad one, immediately stood and spoke to the effect that we could be no true friends of the Indians if when we wanted to help the Indians and discovered that we were trying to help in the wrong ways, if we should simply try some other way. This seemed to be very well taken by the entire conference membership. They were very happy to see that we were not angered by their refusal.

Since the discussion had lasted a good two hours or so, it was now time for lunch and the meeting was adjourned. It was obvious to me from the good feelings of the Indians toward me and the smiles and joking that I received as we washed up and sat down for lunch that the Indians were very happy to see that we did not take this as being an act of bad faith.

Today

The structuring of the ideas into the 1953 formulation made possible a new approach to foundations and, this time, there was success. In the 1954-55 school year a third phase of the Fox project began with the
long-term commitment made possible by adequate financing. In October, 1954, Rietz returned from Ft. Berthold and took the position of Field Director of the project. He will move to the Fox community about April 1, 1955. Tax continued as Project Director and Gearing became the Assistant Director.

Having obtained this basic support, an attempt was made to structure other necessary activities, which because of the emphases which the action program had come to take, were left in abeyance. The structure of the total program is outlined in the first document, Exhibit 46.

Since the organization of the total Fox activity around the action program, two important activities have been initiated. First, conversations have begun with sociologists at the State University of Iowa and the National Opinion Research Center in Chicago to set up the mechanisms for an independent evaluation of the action program in terms of its effects upon the communities involved. Second, a program was developed to provide the opportunity of professional education to young members of the Fox community; finances for that program are being sought. That proposal follows, Exhibit 47, as exemplary of the direction activities seem to be moving. A memo by Peattie, Exhibit 48, follows to exemplify the direction in which ideas seem to be developing.

Exhibit 46

MEMORANDUM ON THE COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENT FOR RESEARCH AT TAMA INDIAN COMMUNITY

Between University of Chicago (Department of Anthropology) and the State University of Iowa (Department of Sociology and Anthropology)
Based on Conference at Chicago, January 1954

1. It was agreed that the experience of last summer (1953), the first trial run, was positive and gratifying—that Ruppe and Couch contributed new information and a somewhat new approach to the ongoing project (as originally organized by the University of Chicago).

2. It was agreed that the joint project should be continued and expanded with the addition of outside, i.e., foundation funds, if possible.

3. It was understood that it would be advisable to divide the project into four aspects:

a. The primary project is the action program as hitherto developed, with the University of Chicago assuming prime responsibility and the University of Iowa participating in the way and to the degree that is practicable, but only in a relatively minor fashion. This project involves clarification of Mesquakie goals, guidance in achieving those goals, and the education of Mesquakies and non-Indians to greater understanding and appreciation of each others' aspirations and behavior. The aim is dual: to serve the community and, through engaging in that service to better understand the dynamics of cultural and social change. This project will be financed through a four-year foundation grant sought by the University of Chicago.

b. It was the consensus that the University of Iowa would organize research projects of a supplemental type based on a more orthodox social science approach and be immediately and directly responsible for their organization and execution, after consultation with the University of Chicago—such supplemental projects might include (1) a continuation of the research already initiated on the census of occupations and the process or problem of adjustment to urban-industrial
employment of Mesquakies; (2) exploration of Mesquakie history, tradition, and contact with other Indian tribes in contemporary scenes; (3) an investigation of the pattern of relations existing between Mesquakie community and the larger Tama community, and with the State of Iowa, including its constituent groups or segments; (4) a study of personality types and processes of personality formation or change among the Mesquakies, perhaps including comparisons with the Amish, members of the Amana community, etc. These projects, designed as the individual researchers and their advisors desire, will be financed independently and any foundation requests will be supported by both institutions.

c. Third, it was the opinion of the group that a special evaluative research project should be initiated, particularly to measure the extent of success or failure of the primary (action anthropology) project in the white community—in the conceptions of Mesquakies held by their white neighbors and the people of Iowa generally. Overtures were to be made to Clyde Hart of the N.O.R.C. to see whether or not they might be willing to participate in phase 3 (evaluation) using sample opinion survey techniques.

d. Fourth, we agreed that we should encourage a series of service projects, revealed as constructive by the "action" program, and undertaken by the several departments of SUI. Examples are: the preparation of materials on Indians for Iowa schools and stimulating their use, increasing the use of Mesquakies of normal state services relating to health and welfare and the development of educational radio, TV, and newspaper materials. Where necessary and possible arrangements for financing these several service projects will be made individually through foundation requests supported by the two institutions.

4. It was agreed that plans should be made for a four-year action project beginning in 1955, but the non-action projects need not be committed to or limited by the four-year period. The summer of 1954 would be devoted to (a) further exploratory investigation leading to more specific and more systematic research design, and to (b) perfecting or improving the field facilities and living arrangements in order to accommodate more effectively the field research staff.

5. It was hoped that the University of Iowa would invest in the 1954 program as much as, or more than, was invested last summer; also that the two institutions, plus N.O.R.C. perhaps, would join together in requests to research foundations, such as the Wenner-Gren Fund, to finance the non-action projects beginning in 1955.
tions expand or are impoverished as those experiences are constricted.

The "Indian problem" basically involves communities, not individuals. Indian individuals are free to leave their communities when they wish. For many years a fairly steady stream have left, and broken off their communal ties and interests. Still the communities persist; indeed, their populations are increasing. It is now apparent that Indian communities are "permanent" for the foreseeable future. Unless we wish to embark on a program of forced dispersion of Indian communities which would do violence to our democratic ideals, the "Indian problem" thus boils down to the question whether America can establish conditions under which these communities can be effectively related to the larger society in ways which will take account of their internal needs and provide for the growth of their traditions.

It is now proposed to undertake an experiment in helping to create such conditions by planning and working with one Indian community near Tama, Iowa. This small community of Mesquakie Indians numbers about six hundred. They live on 3,300 acres which they purchased, beginning in the 1850's. They pay most taxes and enjoy a degree of self-government. Their economy is based on wage labor in surrounding towns and, at least in these times of prosperity, their income is low but minimally sufficient. The social life is robust and the community is growing.

The plan is basically a priming operation. The aim is to create, during a period of ten years, full opportunity for higher education for all capable and interested members of the community. We anticipate that, at the end of that period about ten (and no fewer than six) persons will be fully trained and ready to enter professional occupations. Whether these will thereafter maintain their association with the home community is necessarily a question; but the experiment is set up in a manner to encourage this result, and our hypothesis is that most, perhaps all, of those persons will establish themselves near the present settlement and will maintain their ties there.

This Indian "community" has never been and is not now simply the physical limits of the tribal lands. In aboriginal times, the tribe travelled great distances in pursuit of a living hunting and trapping. Today they travel twenty-five to a hundred miles to their jobs; most commute daily or weekly, and some visit the settlement but occasionally. Still they are members of the community. They maintain their personal ties and participate in the community affairs. The anticipated outcome of this enterprise is that the newly-trained professional will also maintain such ties. If this is not the case and the successful students move into the larger society and break off ties with the Indian community, we would in failure have learned why (and we would still have succeeded in bringing to a number of worthy individuals a good education).

If we succeed, however, the results will be very important. The professional retaining identification with the Indian community will increase the respect of nearby white men for the Indians and will contribute to the greater competence of the Indian community in their internal affairs and in their relations with the white society. The diversified experiences of individuals are the material of which growing traditions are made; self-confidence and the respect of others are fertile ground in which they can flourish.

We foresee that, at the end of the ten-year period, through the community's experiences in the planning, through the educational experiences themselves, and most of all, through experiences in the professional occupations, higher education will have been permanently established as an
integral part of the life of this Indian community and that the effects will be an enrichment of the community life.

Further, the successes gained in this small community will have effects throughout other Indian communities. There are great amounts of contact among Indian communities across the land. The experiences of this community will carry lessons and inspirations to others. And, for Indians and white men alike, it will help demonstrate the fact that the adjustment of Indians to the dominant white society is effectively continuing and that successful adjustment does not require or imply for the foreseeable future a disappearance of Indian community life. Such a demonstration would help remove a great deal of defensiveness from Indian actions and much confusion, error, and frustration from white men's policies.

II. The context of this project.—The Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago has been actively and continuously studying the Mesquakie Indian community in Tama County, Iowa, since 1948. For the past two years the State University of Iowa has cooperated in these studies. This summer (1954), after five years of preparation, study and experiment, we embarked upon a four year program of action-research supported by a grant from the Emil Schwartzhaupt Foundation of New York City. That program is: (1) an experiment in constructively relating the Indian and non-Indian communities of Tama County to each other and (2) an attempt to achieve areas of general scientific understanding of such inter-group relations which will be applicable to all Indian groups in North America and less directly, to America's contacts with non-European groups throughout the world. The basic tool is an experimental two-way educational program which involves both verbal communication and the creation of learning situations.

The Schwartzhaupt Foundation program was designed to be the nucleus of numerous specific and semi-autonomous projects. One such project is here proposed. It will play an important part in the progress of the general program.

III. Why the project is necessary.—Today the Indians see clearly that the elementary and secondary education which they receive is an important tool in their political and economic adjustment to the white world. But their perception of higher education is less clear in that higher education is associated in their minds with the "white world" which many consider an alien and threatening world. So persons who strongly identify with the Indian community probably never even consider going to college. There is no sign that higher education is now destined to contribute to the enrichment of the community life nor can the people see what that contribution might be.

The first half of this century saw the introduction and the eventual wholehearted acceptance of "white" education in schools. In 1898 the federal government established a boarding school for the community in nearby Toledo, Iowa. At first the Indians interpreted the move as a threat to their family life and to their ways. A few of the most marginal of the white-oriented families sent their children, but on the whole the people resisted. Gradually, as the students returned to the community with their knowledge of English and reading and writing, it became clear to all the people that education could be a tool for coping with or adjusting to the demands of the white world and need not entail an across-the-board adoption of white ways. At the time that realization was emerging, the government decided to open an elementary school within the community. Very soon, the Indians—progressives and conservatives alike—were openly in favor of this education and school attendance became almost universal. Now virtually all Mesquakie children finish grammar school.
In the years which have followed, the general acceptance of education has meanwhile been extended from primary to secondary education. In increasing numbers parents sent their children away to government vocational schools for Indians, and when high school education became easily available in nearby Tama, it was readily and almost universally accepted. Today, of fifty-three children from the ages of sixteen to eighteen, forty-one are in school.

Now the community is on the verge of extending its acceptance of education still another step; it is groping with the sundry problems associated with higher education. But higher education is, to them, a new and less clear-cut matter. In all their history only twelve members of the community have ever entered college. Last year, one young man received a B.A. from a small Iowa college; he is the first college graduate. One young woman has just completed, very successfully, her first year at the State University of Iowa; she is the only member of the community currently in a non-Indian college.

It will be more difficult for the community to accept higher education than it was for them to accept grammar school and high school. There is, first, the matter of expense. College educations are a heavy burden for this low-income community, even where tuitions are low or waived. More complex is the community's difficulty in seeing, in the absence of direct experience, how higher education can be made to fit the present life of the people, especially their economic life.

Originally, these people lived by hunting and by the produce of small gardens maintained by the women. After 1900, when contact with the white world started to become increasingly intimate, the community had to choose between wage labor and farming as a means of subsistence. They choose wage labor. Today, Indians travel to unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in Iowa towns as far away as 75 miles, commuting daily or weekly. Their community serves as the center of their social and religious life, in much the same manner as the suburbs of America's cities. In ways which are as yet little understood, wage labor fits the tempo of life in the community well; farming does not. The people will, in the future, move into new and different jobs in the general economy as quickly as their increasing skills and the state of the economy permit. Because skilled and professional occupations carry prestige and greater economic rewards, they are attractive. However, it probably appears to many that entering such occupations means cutting their ties with the community. The young graduate referred to above has moved out of the state, and the student at the State University does not intend to maintain her ties. Because it is not yet clear how one uses a college education and, at the same time, maintains ties with the community, persons who have not decided to leave the community have not entered institutions of higher learning in pursuit of skilled or professional occupations.

There is no physical reason why a doctor, practicing in Waterloo, could not maintain his interest in and ties with the home community; or why a lawyer in Cedar Rapids could not be active in politics of the Indian community; or why an engineer could not work out of nearby Tama and Toledo. We propose to find the means to extend and enrich the present economic adjustment to include a wider variety of occupations, including the professions.

There is available today some little scholarship help for Indian children who wish to go to College; the money is raised from year to year by interested civic organizations for particular individuals, generally those individuals who are taught that they must leave the community and build their lives as white men in a white world. Desirable as that help
is, it has not served to enrich the community life. What is required now is to make higher education generally available. The present proposal is to train fully for highly skilled and professional occupations a substantial number of Indians, including those who see their future as tied to the community. In a period of ten years, by this plan, higher education can become an integral part of the life of the Mesquakie community.

IV. The Plan.—A supervisory committee of anthropologists and educators of the University of Chicago and the State University of Iowa will be created. Their job will be three-fold:

1. They will develop, with leaders of the Indian community and with the parents of the high school children and the children themselves, the project in its necessary details. The intention of the committee will not be to impose a plan, but to develop one with the help of the people concerned.

2. They will undertake a survey of professional opportunities in a seventy-five mile radius around Tama, and establish relations between students and communities where they might practice their professions.

3. They will continue the joint planning with the individual Indians who will become involved, especially the students, through the several educational careers and in later job-placements. The essential task here is to learn and to help others to learn in greater detail how these new occupations are affecting Mesquakie community life.

Beginning the academic year 1955-56, tuition and maintenance will be provided to the extent of seventy-two student-years in the following ten-year period. The object is to bring to full professional status ten persons, with an average of six years' schooling (total: 60 student-years). The remaining 12 student-years will be used to add to the education of one or two persons now partly educated (e.g., a semi-skilled worker in a Des Moines tire factory who wants to get into the chemistry department of the factory), and to take account of the inevitable losses of persons who will begin and not finish. The losses could prove higher than we anticipate; however, we are confident that no fewer than six, and more likely ten, fully-trained professionals will result.

It is important that the program be established at a single institution. The mutual support the Indian students can give each other if they are gathered at one university will play an important part in increasing the likelihood of their individual successes. (At the University of New Mexico, Indian students who come from the several populous tribes in the vicinity formed an association which acted as a social and self-help organization.) The non-aggressive, non-competitive behavior of the Indian community is built into each new generation long before they are of college age. The demands of the white world more often than not run in quite the opposite direction. The adjustments those students will be called upon to make will be difficult but will be made somewhat easier if there are others, having similar experiences, to talk with.

It is important that the institution be in Iowa. The primary aim is to serve the Indian community rather than the several individuals. If the students are within the state during their training years, they will make important contacts with other Iowans and those contacts will make it easier for them to establish themselves in their chosen occupations within the state and hence maintain their ties with the Indian community. Nevertheless, for postgraduate work in some fields another university might be required, and, of course, permitted by the Committee.

No selection of individuals is planned other than the normal
academic selection processes of the participating universities. The problem is to develop in qualified high school students a belief that they can and should become professionally trained, even though their identification is with the Indian community.

V. Anticipated results.—Individuals who successfully enter the program will profit from the increased status in the eyes of the white world which their occupation carries and by the greater economic reward of that occupation. They will also be able to enjoy an increased sense of service to the community.

The advantages to the Indian community are more complex and more far-reaching since they affect not only this generation, but future generations as well.

An immediate advantage to the community will be an increased respect in the eyes of the white world which will spring from the recognition of the substantial numbers of the young people seeking college training. Increased respect will arise similarly when members of the community take up their prestigious occupations. The greater income of the community will have further effect in the same direction.

As members of the community enter into high-status occupations, they will acquire intimate understandings of the workings of the white world and, by comparison, of their own community. These understandings in turn will be passed on to members of the community and serve to increase the political competence of the community, both in its internal affairs and in its relations with the white society.

Both these advantages—the greater respect in white eyes and the greater understanding of white society and of their own—will in turn serve to increase the sense of worth and the self-confidence of the whole community. For generations the Indians have lived as subordinated people under great pressures to reject their traditions and their communities. As a result, they have suffered a basic loss of nerve which greatly hampers their attempts to better adjust to the demands of the white society. A renewed self-confidence would have far-reaching and perhaps unimaginable effects.

Also, it is anticipated that, as the recipients of this program enter their occupations they will see the desirability of creating similar opportunities for others. Indians value "generosity" to others. In effect, the money spent may well become a revolving fund, available to future generations.

Finally, and of greatest importance, the experience of this project will hold lessons and, we trust, inspiration for other Indian communities and for the American public. It may even give insights that will help our nation formulate those of our policies that affect and are affected by peoples of different cultures.

VI. Budget.—The project will require an average of $8,750 a year for a period of ten years.

1. Scholarships: tuition and maintenance

72 student-years at average $1,200

Medical years would be more expensive, liberal arts years less; if students have to go elsewhere than SUI, for graduate work, perhaps more; this average seems reasonable. $86,400
2. Administrative costs: travel, clerical costs, etc. of advisory group:

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<td>First 4 years at $2,000</td>
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<td>Next three years: $1,000</td>
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<td>Last three years at $200</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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3. Total, ten years: $100,000

Of the total amount, SUI agrees to contribute the tuition of students. Fifty of the seventy-two student years can be counted on as the minimum at SUI. The average of a year’s fees at SUI is calculated at about $250. Therefore the SUI contribution for fifty student-years totals $12,500.

The total requested from the Foundation is, therefore, $87,500 for ten years, or an average of $8,750 per year.

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On August 27, 1954, Mr. Ben Jones, the superintendent of Schools of Tama, Iowa—from whose schools virtually all the candidates for scholarships would come—offered every cooperation; he will probably agree to serve on the advisory committee. Mr. Jones has received a copy of this proposal.

In an early conference with President Virgil M. Hanocher of the State University of Iowa, agreement was reached on the outline of this joint project. On the basis of that agreement, President Hanocher asked for and received approval of his Board for the necessary tuition remission scholarships. In that early conference it was also agreed that the planning committee created under this project should have as members several appropriate members of the faculty of the State University. President Hanocher has received copies of this statement of the proposal. It is planned that the State University of Iowa administer the funds allotted to students, as they administer other scholarship aid to students. The University of Chicago, if granted the funds, would simply transfer to SUI each year the amount calculated by the administering committee to be necessary to maintain the chosen students. The University of Chicago would directly disburse the funds for the administration of the project, at the direction of the administering group, in its usual manner.

Exhibit 48

MEMORANDUM: Lisa Peattie—February 1955

I have been thinking lately about the directions in which anthropological theory is likely to be developed by action anthropology. You will note that the possible additions to or modifications of theory suggested below are quite separable from the additional skills which the action anthropologist must add to the skills (teaching, written exposition, etc.) traditionally acquired by the anthropologist as part of his professional development.

It appears to me that the differences in theoretical approach required by action anthropology, as distinguished from academic anthropology, arise out of several sorts of general weakness—for action anthropology—of our general anthropological theory.

1. As social anthropology has tried to become a generalizing science, in the Radcliffe-Brown sense, it has tried to develop concepts suitable for putting the facts of particular cultures into broad general categories. But, as Sol [Tax] says in his "Individual Differences and Ethnog-
raphy," "the problems of inducing change in a situation are mainly problems of the particular and not of the general." Thus the action anthropologist must move in the direction of developing theoretical constructs suitable for analyzing the particular, rather than in the direction of constructs more suitable for putting the particular into a general category.

2. Anthropologists have traditionally dealt with groups which were small, relatively homogeneous, and relatively slow to change. Such concepts of anthropology as "culture" and "model personality" reflect this fact. They stress pattern, uniformity and integration rather than diversity, change, historical discontinuity. But as we come to deal with groups which are less homogeneous and which are changing more rapidly than the Andean Islanders—and this of course is the case for action anthropology—we need to develop concepts which can handle individual variation and gross change in terms other than "deviance" or "cultural breakdown". When the Indonesian government, after gaining independence, announced that it wanted no more anthropologists, it was expressing, I believe, a legitimate distrust of a certain conservative bias in the conceptualizations of anthropology.

The groups with which, historically, anthropologists worked were also relatively weak. They were acted upon by history, both in the sense that their own historical tradition dominated the present scene described by the anthropologist and in the sense that when they changed, it was because the outside—Western expansion—acted upon them. The concepts of anthropology also reflect this fact. They tend to take man as acted upon, e.g., as shaped by his culture. They tend to take cultures as wholes as acted upon. But the action anthropologist is no longer working on people; he is working with people, and characteristically with people who have some sense of their own destiny, and a desire to make their future in an image more pleasing to themselves. Again Sol suggests this point in the paper above cited: "The new knowledge required concerns particular people, and it particularly concerns their expectations, their wants, their values." It follows that the action anthropologists will tend to develop concepts which express more strongly man as actor, as valuer, as—to use Childe's phrase out of context—"making himself." This point is of course closely related to that made just above.

I believe that future work in action anthropology is likely to change and develop anthropological theory in at least three ways.

1. We will tend to go even further than we have in incorporating into our theory concepts of social psychology and group dynamics. We have already found that in talking about the problems of Fox "factionalism" and of leadership among the Fox we were getting into an area not conventionally in the focuse of anthropological theory, but of crucial importance for us. We will have to go further in this direction, and to develop more precise conceptualizations for dealing with social relationships not covered by the conventional cultural categories.

2. We need to develop better concepts for talking about the social situations with which we deal in the short run. By this I mean to suggest such terms as the "mood" which Redfield has suggested as a useful name for a people's "temporary set, or 'stance' ... toward circumstance, fate and other people than themselves." Rietz talks, similarly, of "a climate" of freedom. Or in speaking of Indians we hear of a "situation of dependency." These things are not culture. They are not in the traditional anthropological dictionary. But these words, or words referring to items in the same area of experience, become important for action anthropology.
3. Finally, as I suggested at some length in a paper written a few years ago, we need to develop a set of terms which focus on the evolving, directional, self-creating and self-altering aspects of societies, groups and individuals. In the aforementioned paper I suggested as a useful beginning an analysis centering around the term "aspirations." The connotations of this word seemed to me right, and its content close enough to our traditional notions of culture to make possible a bridge between the two.

Aspirations have a number of possible dimensions:

a. **Locus.** E.g., aspirations can be thought of as being for the material world for other individuals, or the collectivity of individuals, or for the self. In this framework, we can say for instance that the Indians do not characteristically locate their aspirations in their self, as whites do, but rather in the state of the collectivity or in certain material resources.

b. **Direction.** Some societies seem to characteristically direct their aspirations forward into the future, some into a past "golden age," some into the present.

c. **Intensity.** Some aspirations are held more strongly than others.

d. **Duration.** Some are held longer than others.

e. **Incidence.** Some aspirations are cultural universals; some are specialties; some are idiosyncratic.

I am not suggesting, of course, that action anthropology has to adopt this particular set of terms; this outcome seems unlikely. I merely suggest that terms filling this general function seem indicated.
SECTION II

Edited by Robert Netting

In 1955 the first volume of the documentary history of the Pox Project appeared. The last four years of activity and thought have contributed substantially to the theory of action anthropology and its concrete embodiment in the work at Tama, Iowa and elsewhere. This section merely extends the assemblage of relevant documents through 1959, following a plan of selection and organization similar to that established by Gearing in the original work. It is hoped that the publishing together of the two sections will make the source materials on "Action" more readily available for the use of students, social workers, government officials, and others concerned with community development as well as theorists in anthropology.

Because of the very nature of action anthropology based on a clinical approach and the systematic doubting of predictions, it is not possible to deliver here a final evaluation of the Pox Project or even to present a consistent and concise summary of its progress to date. Beginning with the symposia before the Central States Anthropological Association in 1955 and 1956, the practice and concepts of "Action" have been presented to a wider group of scholars. At the same time, other anthropological investigators such as Holmberg and Spillius have been working along parallel lines which stress both the practical results of intervention and the new learning which is possible in such situations. A symposium which summarized these various efforts and considered their common problem of values was held at the American Anthropological Association meetings, December 1957, and the publishing of these papers in "Human Organization" provoked requests from around the world of further material. The great increase in programs of planned change and their major importance in underdeveloped areas has lent urgency to these requests. Some evaluations of "Action" as exemplifying a significant new trend in anthropology have already appeared, and it is unfortunate that larger and more accurate sources of first-hand data were not available to their authors. In order to remedy this lack in some small degree and to maintain the communication and exchange of ideas which any science must have to thrive, we have gathered over forty additional documents, joined together with a running commentary.

This second section of the history is divided into five parts. The chronological order was not strictly preserved in the order of the documents. It was thought that the grouping of documents by subject would be more helpful to the reader, despite some overlapping in time of the sections. Part V involves the recommendations submitted to the national government to official Indian bodies, and to the public by anthropologists whose concern in contemporary American Indian problems had been stimulated by their participation in "Action" projects. Part VI contains the symposia presented in 1955 and Gearing's 1956 article, both of which evaluate and at the same time publicize the Pox Project. The changing program of the project during 1956 and 1957 is outlined in Part VII through papers written by its directors, the reports submitted to supporting foundations, and correspondence concerning community problems. Part VIII includes various considerations on the place of "Action" in the total field of anthropology as it appeared to different observers from 1956 through 1958. Action Anthropology as theory is the theme of Part IX which bring together material from 1956 and a series of recent statements by project field director Robert Rietz.
PART V: "ACTION" AND GOVERNMENT

The following documents, while not dealing directly with the Fox Project, demonstrate how the understanding of contemporary Indian communities gained in this and similar programs was being made public in an effort to stimulate action on the part of the government in its capacity of administrator of Indian affairs. Just as one of the major concerns of the Fox Project as shown in Part IV (above) was to improve understanding and communication between the Mesquakie settlement and its neighbors in Tama and the state of Iowa, so it was natural that policies of the national government which affect all Indians should be examined and questioned.

Exhibits 49 and 50 do not fall within the time range of the other materials of this collection, but they are useful as an example of the recommendations made to government and to Indians by an anthropologist employed by the Indian Bureau to investigate a specific situation. In this letter regarding immediate problems on the Ft. Berthold reservation, Rietz raised the question of termination of federal trust responsibilities as opposed to Indian self government with a continued subsidy. He submitted an evaluation of Indian opinion, listed the factors to consider in drafting new legislation, and suggested certain definite programs. Though limited by his official capacity to supplying information and advice, Rietz went considerably beyond "if A the B" formulation advocated by applied anthropologists such as Barnett.

The statement by Tax, Exhibit 50 was presented in May of 1957 to the Central States Anthropological Society and shortly thereafter read into the Congressional record by Rep. Barratt O'Hara of Illinois. Following the basic value position established by the Fox Project, Tax argues that termination as advocated by Congress and the Indian Bureau is in effect an attempt to coerce Indian communities out of existence and violates both Indians' rights of self determination and the democratic principles of the country. He cites as an example the psychological paralysis of the Mesquakie community threatened with social death by government withdrawal. Tax's suggestion for a positive policy embody the thinking on separation of control and subsidy which had developed out of both the Tama and the Ft. Berthold experiences.

In a book review of The Indian in Modern America written in late 1957 Tax considers the opposing views, not only between government and anthropologists but among anthropologists, as to the wisdom of the termination policy. He concludes with a concise statement of the position at which he and his co-workers at Chicago had arrived. In all three of these documents, the right to speak on public affairs as a social scientist, both to criticize and recommend as well as to analyze, is implicitly asserted.

Exhibit 49

Monday, Nov. 29, 1954
905 E. 55th St.
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Ralph: [Superintendent Ft. Berthold Agency]

I'm sending this off to you now only because you may have some immediate use for it in discussion. After I have had an opportunity for more systematic thinking and analysis of the data from Fort Berthold, I'll probably come up with a report that will differ in some significant ways.
The term "Administration of Indian Affairs" itself suggests a burdensome, demoralizing and undemocratic restriction over those whose affairs are so administered. On this point there is agreement between the stated opinions of the governing body of the Three Tribes and of the Bureau and the Congress of the United States. It is the stated intention of the Congress to discontinue such destructive restriction as soon as possible.

However, among many of the Indian people and their friends, there is a fear that such discontinuance will mean the end of needed special assistance, as well, and that the "termination of federal supervision over trust and restricted property" will only mean the disintegration of the Indian community and its way of life, under conditions that it would be impossible willingly to accept.

Since there is obligation involved in the "trusteeship" of holding land in trust status, federal supervision has grown in land management for Indian reservations. It has been the contention of the Bureau and of Congress that with the responsibility of trusteeship there must be authority and control—supervision—in order to adequately discharge the trusteeship obligation. From the tenor of some recent termination bills, it would seem to be the opinion of Congress and the Bureau that in order to put an end to the unwanted and unwarranted administration of Indian affairs it is first necessary to fully revoke the trusteeship, and the terms "paternalism" and "dependency" are used to emphasize the ill effects of this trusteeship.

"Withdrawal" seems to have become the primary goal of the Bureau and of Congress, but withdrawal seems to refer only to withdrawal from the trusteeship responsibility, as if this is presumed to be either the only way or the quickest way to do away with the paralyzing effects of the administration of Indian affairs involved. However, where there is a program of rehabilitation and continued assistance which, it is implied, will accompany such a bill, it seems to be assumed that such a program will proceed under the same type of deadening and intolerable "administration" that made the "withdrawal" necessary. Obviously, such a move could make a bad situation much worse than it is now.

Also, it seems to be assumed that land must change from trust to tax status, under withdrawal. Current bills do not suggest the alternatives of tax-free, patent-in-fee land status, and simple management of their own affairs using earmarked funds of federal subsidy, for those reservations felt by Congress to be ready for a withdrawal program. Yet, the reason usually given for withdrawal is the admitted destructiveness and undemocratic nature of any administration of Indian affairs by other than the Indians themselves.

Both the idea that land should go from trust status to tax status and the idea that current types of supervised programs should continue for those people who are to have land in trust status in the future, are consistent with the linking of a static idea of trusteeship responsibility with that of incompetence. All sorts of difficulties have come about in attempting to judge "competence" and relinquish trusteeship under this philosophy, as well as from attempts to devise means of legal severance of membership in a tribe, and in legal distinctions between enrolled and non-enrolled members of tribes.

Yet, I hope that the federal government will have a continuing interest in the welfare of an indigent ethnic group of an alien culture, however the present relationship may be resolved. We can assume that the dispersal of such a population through forced sales of land or through loss of land through trickery of one kind or another will only leave a residue of social problems and public chargee. We can further assume that
programs for those reserved as yet incompetent and which continue the same administration of Indian affairs as do those now current will be practically unworkable while remaining just as morally indefensible. Under these circumstances, it is hard to see just what is to be gained by dividing a tribe with finality according to those who say that they are competent and those who do not, or according to degree of Indian blood.

Obviously, what is needed, and what we hope is being aimed for with withdrawal bills, is a climate of freedom for individual and community development together with means and opportunity to realize it. This will not be possible with either continued administration of Indian affairs or with premature abandonment of assistance responsibility by the federal government. Nor could it be accomplished very well if the land resources of a group needing assistance are dissipated or prematurely disposed of. Yet, these three impossible conditions are precisely what some current withdrawal bills would tend to bring about, through such abandonment of "competents" (whether indigent or not) or persons of some degree of Indian blood, with continued suppression of individual and community development through more administration of Indian affairs for the so-called "incompetent" (whether indigent or not) or those of some certain degrees of Indian blood.

With this background discussion in mind, let's consider the proposed bill for Fort Berthold. To do this, it seems evident that certain key ideas or factors have to be disentangled from any too-hasty association with one another; competence must be disentangled from the idea of indigence, the idea of membership in an alien culture, the idea of tax-free status of Indian land, the idea of individual degree of Indian blood, the idea of trusteeship, if the general problem is to be clarified.

For example; under the present Fort Berthold health program, a so-called incompetent receives free medical care if he is indigent, but not if he is not, whatever his degree of Indian blood or the status of his land, and the same thing is true for so-called competents. Under this set-up, the special federal services involved has actually been terminated under conditions acceptable to almost everyone involved, for those most able to afford such a change, and the problem has been sifted down to one of relative medical indigence, and this without the fanfare and crude disregard of some enforced withdrawal bill.

With respect to Indian consent to the proposed bill:

(1) Most reservation folks would like an opportunity to their own affairs free of the regulations and the restrictions upon individual freedom that go along with any administration of their affairs by others.

(2) Most reservation folks feel that they have a need for and have a right to expect further federal assistance and want it, and are fearful of being deprived of it.

(3) Most reservation folks feel that the money that is coming to them from the Garrison Dam settlement is their money, as distinct from money that is given to the Bureau to use in the provision of needed special services.

In view of these attitudes, I do not believe that the proposed Bill, as written, will be accepted by the people of Fort Berthold, unless it would be under such conditions of sorrow and anger as no one would want to countenance. I do not believe that they would go along with any Bill that makes a per-capita payment of their Garrison Dam settlement monies contingent upon a statement of competence involving the loss of assistance needed because of indigence, inexperience, and cultural differences, and the forced sale of tribal lands. (Also, the program mentioned is not explained and is like the proverbial pig-in-a-poke).
I do believe that the people of Fort Berthold would welcome a plan that recognizes their problems of indigence, inexperience and cultural differences, and that aims toward termination of the need for special assistances as soon as possible, even though this implies that individuals would not be eligible for free access to special services unless they were unable to afford them. This is saying a great deal, but I believe that the people of the reservation generally would appreciate a plan that would include minimizing the administration of their affairs by others and that recognized their basic problem situation and faced up to it. This would mean that a Bill to serve this purpose would be written around terms recognizing need rather than competence or incompetence, or involving considerations of degree of Indian blood.

We have, as some major factors to consider:

(1) A small group of members of an alien culture with quite literally a different way of being than we have, for, some, and which cannot be expected to maintain themselves and develop a degree of self-sufficiency without assistance, due to the very great social, political and economic forces brought to bear upon them in their community and which narrowly restrict what they can do, and which are not too well understood either by them or by ourselves.

(2) A political definition, "the Three Tribes," which lumps together people who differ over a wide range of acculturation.

(3) Membership in a social group, the "tribe," which is biologically and traditionally derived.

(4) Federal trusteeship, and the trust status of property of tribal members.

(5) Reservation resources inadequate for individual and community development to self-support.

(6) Relative indigence of a large proportion of tribal membership.

(7) Administration of individual and tribal affairs of tribal members to a degree that is destructive of initiative, expression and development of individual and community.

(8) Federal provision for special community services.

(9) A land-ownership problem of such dimensions as to prevent the use of Indian lands except under powers of attorney and extensive supervision and service by some agency or agent.

(10) The fact of general Indian unfamiliarity with the management of institutional arrangements for adequately administering community services, and the consequent lack of a community structure that could provide, support and select for such institutional arrangements.

(11) The reservation attitudes previously mentioned.

(12) Certain members of the Congress and the Cabinet anxious to put an end to the whole problem situation by "withdrawing" from it.

(13) A state and its local political sub-divisions unable and unwilling to take over a financial responsibility in the provision for needed community services that is quite properly a problem for disposition by the federal government.

(14) A preference for the principle of democratic action on the part of those effective in Indian affairs in the Government of the United States and a dislike on their part of the idea of undesignated administrative powers over the affairs of any group.
What we are after is a Bill that will set into motion a planned section that will make the two distinct features of Federal supervision and federal special assistance unnecessary, and that will yet take the above listed factors into account in the process and that will do this as quickly as possible.

We may be able to count upon further, as resources:

(1) An adequate placement and relocation program
(2) An adequate education and scholarship program, making higher education and vocational training freely available for Indian students.
(3) Federal Funds providing for needed community services not otherwise possible.
(4) Temporary federal funds (loan source; access to credit; reimbursable, not expendable, funds) for exploiting existing reservation resources.
(5) Temporary federal funds for the establishment of small reservation resources.
(6) Technical advisory personnel provided through federal or state funds.

How much a plan of action is operated is at least as important as what is provided for through it. Without the climate of freedom it is very doubtful if the goal could be reached at all, much less be reached soon as possible. We are working toward the elimination of a special need. Within reasonable limits, what sort of way of life or type of culture is enjoyed by a people after such an end is reached is one of our business.

The crux of the problem involves the extent to which both assistance and control are required. The former must be adequate, the latter must be as little as is at all possible, consistent with the success of the plan.

The provisions for assistance for essential community services must be recognized as based upon the existence of a temporary and special need, much as are health services at Fort Berthold now. However, such need cannot be regarded as something shameful or as evidence of the inferiority implied in judgements of incompetence, but must be recognized as an aspect of a temporary special problem and one that we are all attempting to meet in good spirit.

In the case of community services, institutional arrangements can largely be patterned after those of the state. For day schools, for example, school districts could be formed from the Indian community and the educational plants turned over to them, lock, stock and barrel. Advisory personnel are available to work out estimates and annual budgets in cooperation with representatives of such districts. Federal "controls" involved would be limited to approval of such budgets and the earmarking of funds so as to restrict their use to the approved purposes, much as is done for other schools of the state. School personnel and operation would be provided for through the action of the school district, according to the requirements for teaching, etc., required elsewhere in the state.

"Free" access to such services could depend upon relative indigence, that is, upon need, but in no case would an individual be required to contribute in excess of that amount required from citizens of the county which he resides in support of similar state institutions or services.

In the case of provision for exploiting of the natural resources of
the reservation, a similar minimizing of restriction and regulation would be essential, while the complicated problem of land status must be met as well. In addition, minimal temporary safeguards would have to prevent defeat of the plan that would otherwise come about from excessive loss of land-holdings by Indians.

At Fort Berthold, these could be accomplished through creation of a temporary federal corporate fund (loan fund, revolving credit fund, etc.). It would be an immediate necessity to lift the present burden of the tribal credit program from the tribe as a whole and the tribal council, and relate it to the fund. This would require an initial payment from the fund to the tribe in an amount equal to the present indebtedness of credit clients, and a subsequent repayment by the tribes to the government.

Such a fund would operate on the basic of security and/or reasonableness of program, and definitely not upon supervision and restriction of cattle or farm operations. Educating and helpful advisors, without administrative authority, could be drawn from extension and other sources. The same procedures in credit operations as are practiced by local banks financing farm and cattle operations in the state should be employed, with perhaps some greater liberality in terms of rates of interest and length of term for repayment. Examples are easily obtainable. The administrator of such a fund should be just that, and nothing more.

Such a Fund could serve many functions:

1. It could buy up undivided interests and fractional interests for cash.
2. It could lend funds to individual borrowers and voluntary groups on the basis of security and/or reasonableness of program for any type of productive enterprise.
3. It could provide for a long-term credit resource, needed for a special problem.
4. It could accept as security for a borrower collateral offered by any member and including undivided and fractional interests.
5. It could recall land acquired through purchase or forfeit on long-term repayment schedules to individuals that could use them, and make possible the development of adequate economic units.
6. It could make possible the assignment of trust property as collateral in a manner that would not involve loss of trust status until desired, and that would tend to prevent loss of their land base for the Indian people which an otherwise indiscriminate selling of Indian lands would bring about.
7. It would stimulate the drift of land ownership into the hands of those Indian people who could and would use the land most productively and who prefer to be cattle-men or farmers.
8. By its neutral administrative nature and through its loans to groups whereby the work of one credit client has direct bearing on the welfare of his colleagues, and together in conjunction with Indian administration of local community services, a climate could be created which would result in the development of local community organization capable of selecting people and means of meeting the essential needs, not possible under an over-administered program.

Along with establishment of such a fund, termination of government
land management regulations and restrictions could be brought about, together with termination of the present Bureau-provided leasing and allied services.

However, the Bureau, Congress and the Indian people are worried about the nature of the obligation that is implied with "trusteeship" of Indian trust property, and about the restrictions of individual freedom and regulation of individual and community affairs that has developed under administration of the trusteeship.

What is indicated now is a mutual re-evaluation of this relationship, and a mutually acceptable modification of the obligation, responsibility and authority involved in the discharge of this trusteeship, on the part of the Indian people, the Bureau and the Congress. This is a reasonable alternative to the present undignified and destructive hassle over competency resulting from the efforts of Congress and the Bureau to get out from under a trusteeship obligation, statically conceived, and while offering no other basis for further temporary assistance.

One alternative is a concept of limited trusteeship to be thus mutually agreed upon, of something like the following three levels:

1. Full trusteeship: Land in trust status and tax-free, and with restrictions and regulations over the use and disposal of such property through government land-management, as is not the case.

2. Limited Trusteeships: Land in trust status and tax-free, but with trusteeship responsibility limited to the regulation of the manner of disposal of Indian lands, and not to include land management or other restriction or regulation over the use of Indian trust property. Some such regulation as these would come under this category, for example:

   Tribal Councils not empowered to sell tribal lands without referendum approval.
   Restricting the sale of Indian trust property to only sale to other Indians.
   Providing for tribe to have option to purchase trust land for some stated period after individual notice of trust land sale by tribal members.
   Trust land sales to be conducted through advertisement and bidding.

   Other such regulations of the limited type.

3. Limited trusteeship: Patent-in-fee and tax-free land status: not to be transferred through sale, gift or inheritance without concurrent lifting of tax-free status, unless recipient is:

   the federal government,
   a non-taxpaying institution,
   an individual Indian or tribal group that has been granted the privilege of retaining present reservation land in such status, by name.

I believe that it is an extremely important point that the type of trusteeship responsibility to be exercised can be defined and become legal and binding as an integral part of any Bill. So can new methods and provisions of operation.

It is obvious that it would be under something like type "2" of the suggested limited trusteeships that the Fort Berthold development plan discussed would fare the best. It is assumed that not such Bill would be enacted into law without the participation of the Fort Berthold people in its development and their approval of its final form. I believe that this provision and the nature of the proposed plan would serve to reconcile some presently conflicting purposes and responsibilities such as are involved in serving both the husbanding of Indian resources and the development of Indian opportunity and ability.
Under this type, the people of Fort Berthold would have their per-capita payment, as a matter of course, and I believe that they should get it. The biggest obstacle to understanding and agreement about this now seems to be the fact that continued federal assistance is made to be related to "competency" rather than to practical problems of the present situation of the Fort Berthold people.

One more necessary feature of an adequate Fort Berthold plan needs to be included. That is the provision for a small-scale local reservation industry. Since this industry is necessary because of a special need, it should be of a special type to fit that need. It would have to be of such a nature as would not require rigid performance and production schedules. It would need to provide employment for brief and irregular periods. It would need to provide such employment for both sexes and for persons over a wide age range. It would need to provide these things to be the ideal type of such industry. It might not be possible to develop the ideal type.

Such an industry would provide employment for those not able or not inclined to be cattle-men or farmers. It would provide temporary employment for cattle-men and farmers who were having financial difficulties and provide a little safety valve in this respect that would help prevent loss of an enterprise through temporary failures in management, perhaps avoiding serious pressures on credit regulations at times. It would make it progressively easier for more industrious reservation people to relieve themselves of the handicap of providing for indigent relatives and friends, where this is difficult to do in the face of culturally driven inclinations and expectations. It would serve to do away with the demoralizing general assistance program of the reservation almost completely, and allow any social workers that may be granted the group an opportunity to work on genuine problems of rehabilitation for which they have been trained, it could serve to strengthen the concept of individual responsibility to a more reasonable relationship with the cultural requirement of sharing. It could serve as a training ground in preparation for other permanent wage-employment.

The commissioner has recently mentioned the possibility of research on the problem of development of local reservation industry. At Fort Berthold, clay deposits could possibly be harvested and utilized in the manufacture of articles that would represent mandatory purchase items for other government institutions. The garment manufacturing at Flandreau is a precedent.

The spirit of mutual purpose and accomplishment that could come about through open development of such a plan by the Bureau, the people of the reservation, and, ultimately, the Congress, would represent an invaluable lift to reservation morale.

Sincerely yours,
Bob Riets

P.S.

Ralph, I'm sending one of this to you c/o Aberdeen and another to you at the Agency.

Although I have marked this "personal" and "confidential," this is purely for your own convenience. Please feel free to use this letter in any way that you like and with whom you like.

With every good wish for your good luck, and with best personal regards to you and to your family.
Dear Folks:

Been kind of figuring that some of you would be coming through Chicago on your trips to Washington, sooner or later. The old coffee-pot is still on, in case you do. Blackie and Ben stopped by at my place on their way. They said that I should write an "opinion" on the Termination Bills, and on the general situation. Since I was hired four years ago as a "Community Analyst" to help out in the moving and the social reorganization, they said that I owe some kind of a report to the people of the reservation, and I have never given them anything like that. They got after me to report to you Councilmen, about what I might have learned. Martin Cross and I had talked about something like a report too, when he and I were in Chicago, over a year ago, but we were both kept pretty busy at that time and I never did anything more about it.

Well, I haven't got anything all figured out and written up, but if you want some kind of a report, let me know and I'll try to write one up. About all I have handy is a copy of a letter that I wrote a little while ago, and you can have that; a copy is attached. In a nutshell, here are the main points:

1. The Indians want a per-capita payment of their damage money.
2. The Indians want to be able to make a living, and to be able to provide for the community services that they need.
3. Because the Indian culture or the Indian "Way" is a different culture than the American or European Way, the Indian needs help with money and experience-training for adjustment, until he can get on his own feet.
4. On account of this, the U.S. Government has been paying the bills. This is OK so far as helping out with the money is concerned, and it is appreciated.
5. But the Government has been too much into the "Administration of Indian Affairs," and so the "experience-training," which is the other main big need, has mostly been left out, for the Indian.
6. The Congress realizes that it is a bad idea to have somebody else administering the Indian's affairs for him, and wants to get out of the business.
7. This is OK too, as far as it goes, but if the Government pulls out now, the Indian won't be getting the money or the experience-training either.
8. Through no fault of the Indian, the Indian land-ownership situation is in an awful mess. This would have to be cleared up before the Indians or anybody else could do very much about getting to be self-supporting on the reservation.
9. The kind of Trusteeship responsibility that the federal Government has now means that the Government almost has to administer the Indian's affairs for him, in order to carry it out. This means that this "Trusteeship" would have to be limited by law (Congress), so that the Indian could still get the help of the money, without the Government over-management that is spoiling things.
10. The Indians want and need the protection of Trust and tax-free land status, for a while yet.

Those are the main points that come to my mind, on the basis of my experience at Fort Berthold, and on the basis of my studies of the history and cultural background of the Three Tribes. I believe that it is possible to write a rehabilitation "Bill" that would cover those main points. Here are some short notes on what a "Bill" like that would be like. If you folks want a lot of details about it, let me know and I'll write up something for you.

1. The Per-Capita Payment:

Seems like this is justified on account of the relocation. The amount is pretty small, and would easily be used up in a family getting settled and started off in a farm or ranch operation, or some other way to get settled and make a living. The per-capita payment would naturally follow with a "Limited Trusteeship," anyway.

My personal opinion, however, is that it would be foolish not to use some of the money for "Health Insurance." You could get a Blud Cross policy to cover a 25 year period, pay for it, and at least stop worrying about this very serious problem.

2. The "Limited Trusteeship":

Under the old "trusteeship" idea, government representatives have been saying that either the government will have to keep on managing the Indian's affairs for him, or they will walk out entirely. That's what the big per-capita argument is all about. What the Government representatives are saying is that if the people get a per-capita it is because they can manage their own affairs, and if they can manage their own affairs then the Government will get out entirely. But this is not the only two choices that you have to make. You can ask for a "Limited Trusteeship" and a chance to earn a living on the reservation, with some help in footing the bills for schools and roads, and so on, for a while, if you can't make the money right away to provide those things for yourselves.

The Congress and the Council could agree that the Limited Trusteeship should cover only certain things. Here is a list of some examples:

a) Indian land in Trust Status and Tax-free.

b) Government Trusteeship limited to regulation of the sale or other disposing of Indian Trust land, but not including the management or regulations over the use of Indian Trust land.

c) Restricting the sale of Indian Trust land so that it could be sold or the ownership otherwise transferred only to Indians.

d) Land sold to or taken up by a Federal Credit and Land Pool, to be resold only to tribal members, and to keep Trust Status.

If necessary, the Trust and Tax-Free status could be marked off for a certain number of years. Twenty-five years, for example, would mean that a baby born now would have the chance to grow and learn under the new set-up.

3. Federal Subsidy for Community Services:

This way that it is now, federal appropriated money is set up into different "accounts" to be used only for certain purposes. In other words, it is "sarmarked" to be spent only for certain things.

The people of a segment could be given the money they do not have a chance to get any other way yet, to run their own school and road system.
on the basis of ear-marked funds like that. This means that the Government would have just enough control so that the federal money would have to be spent according to a budget, and not wasted or spent on things that are not supposed to be done with it.

It would be up to the people of a segment themselves to run their own school outfit, for example, and not up to Council members from some other segment, the Agency, or anybody else. This means that the people of a segment would need to elect a Board of Commissioners, a Segment School Board, or something like that, of their own. The Government buildings and equipment could be given to this segment, outright, in Limited Trust status and tax-free status. The money to run the outfit for a 25 year period could be appropriated by Congress and ear-marked according to an approved budget.

The people of a segment would hire and fire all their employees, through their elected Board. The qualifications for school teachers, school superintendent, bus drivers, mechanics, cooks, housekeepers, ma-trons, or whatever they might have, would be part of the budget agreement, and would not need to be any different than those that the State has. This means that Civil Service status would not be necessary, and mostly people from the segment could be hired. In this kind of an approved-budget set-up, money ear-marked for school books, for example, could only be spent for school books and not for something else. It could easily be set so that only the same set of school books would be used that the State schools are using, (or some such regulation).

The school could be free to all residents of the segment who were not able to pay for their children’s education, but never would anyone be asked to pay more than he would be required to pay as a member of some other county of the State, for the same thing. This would let the people of the segment keep right on having white kids in their school just the way they do now. This would also reduce the budget allowance by any amount that was collected from such payments, as far as federal money is concerned. If a man who could afford it didn't pay up his rightful share of the cost, this could be a prior lien on his land for the Segment people, and collected when the land might happen to change hands.

An education "Advisor" to countersign checks, inspect, help out with advice and suggestions and in getting up an approved budget, with his clerks, would be about all the federal employees that you would need to have around.

Some arrangement like this would give the Indian community the kinds of experience they are in need of. It would also make for change toward a real community pride and spirit, and changes in the general social situation, that would be good.

4. Federal Credit and Land Pool

A Pool like this could be set up to straighten out the complicated land-ownership mess, and to make loans for farm and ranch operations. The money in this Pool could be loaned to enrolled members of the Tribes on the basis of security and the reasonableness of a farm or ranch program. After a period of say 25 years, the thing could be reviewed, and either the Pool money returned to the federal treasury or the operation extended for some other length of time. Three million dollars would seem like a reasonable amount for this pool.

This Pool could buy undivided and other fractional interests in land, for cash, and hold this land interest in Trust Status. It could re-sell land with clear title, in Trust Status, back to individuals. This
kind of revolving operation would give the Indian some chance to use the land that belongs to him, without taking it out of Trust Status or making it taxable.

Loans could be made on the basis of security, like land, with very liberal and long-term repayment terms. If a farm or ranch plan failed, the man would lose his security, which would be taken up by the Pool, and that way the Three Tribes would not lose their land. Such land would be available for reissue, in Trust and tax-free status, as part of a loan agreement to any Tribal member who could use it. The very same man who lost it in the first place could be set up for another chance, if this was possible.

It would be better for a group of operators to stand good for loans as a group. This would give kind of an insurance, in case one man had a bad year and couldn't pay up. Also, this would mean that a man would feel more like putting out some real work, if he had a chance at a good plan and his neighbors were going to be counting on him and backing him up.

Loans would have to be big enough so that a man could make it. People could put up their fractional land interests as security for themselves and one another, or could sell them to the Pool outright. With this kind of a set-up, the Council wouldn't have to be butting into somebody's private business, because no tribal money would be involved at all. The first thing that the Pool could do would be to pay back to the Tribes all the money that is now loaned out in the credit program, so that loan clients would then be dealing with the Pool direct. That way, you would never have to worry about your private ranch and farm business getting to be a political football.

There would need to be an "Administrator" for the Pool—preferably somebody attached to FSA, and his clerks. A land man would be needed to keep track of the deals involved in the complicated mess that the land-ownership situation is in. You folks would be needing no other "approval" for land deals, from anywhere. It could be mandatory for the Pool Administrator to go through with any land deals that did not conflict with the "Limited Trusteeship" that you get set up, or conflict with any loan agreements that had the land already tied up. He could operate on a "first come first served" basis, in other words, according to his instructions. Congress could appropriate enough money to carry out the job of such an office for the next 25 years.

You already have other "advisors," and good ones, in the Extension people that you have, to help people in working out and carrying good farm and ranch plans. You wouldn't want to spoil their chances by making them bill-collectors, or credit judges.

5. A Reservation Industry:

One more thing. The first few years of a plan like this one, so far, could be kind of rough going for some. If people could sweat it out, they would have a very fine thing. However, it is natural for people of the reservation to help one another out, and to share with one another, and this is very good, of course. Sometimes it makes it rough on the man who is hard put to it to make his own operations pay off and work. Also, every once in a while, some operator is going to get caught short. Maybe he could have done a little better than he did, or maybe he got a few bad breaks. It would help if he had the chance to earn a little cash money to tide him over or to meet a payment. It would also help if the people who were backing him up could be able to tell him that he better go to work where he could get the cash he needed, to keep going. Besides all this, local jobs will be a little scarcer after the dam is finished, and it doesn't do a man much good just to give him a few bucks outright, if he doesn't have the chance to earn something.
For these various reasons, a small reservation industry would be a very important part of a general plan like the one we are talking about. This means that a man could come in on any day and for as many days as he wanted to, and be paid at the end of the day. It would be my own idea that the wages might have to be a little lower than the prevailing wage in the area outside the reservation.

After a 25 year period, if the plan had worked itself out all that was essential by that time, the Tribes could have a prior option to take up and land that was left in the Pool, on a long-term credit purchase, so that no land would be lost to the Tribes. The Tribes could also take over the reservation industry.

Well, folks, that's about all I can rattle off, right now. Let me know what you Councilmen think of all this, and if I can be useful in some way, I'll be glad to try. Use this letter in any way that you want to.

To keep everything open, copies are sent to the people listed. A big "hello" and the best of luck to you all.

cc: Agency Superintendent
F. B. Stock Association
Dr. Galen Weaver

Bob Rietz

Exhibit 51


(Extension of remarks of Hon. Barratt O'Hara of Illinois in the House of Representatives, Monday, May 6, 1957:

"Mr. O'Hara of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an address by Dr. Sol Tax, chairman of the department of anthropology of the University of Chicago, at the meeting on May 4, 1957, of the Central States Anthropological Society at the University of Wisconsin, at Madison, as follows:"

Need of Positive Program for American Indians

Termination Versus the Needs of a Positive Policy for American Indians

When we discuss Indian Affairs we seem always to be asked to be for or against some symbol. In this case the symbol is "termination." I am asked to be for the past century of keeping Indians dependent, or for ending the assistance which the Federal Government has considered an obligation to the Indians. As an anthropologist I am against magical thinking and false dichotomies alike. I must refuse to accept either horn of the dilemma as it is posed.

The anthropologist applies the knowledge he has of all the facts in the situation that he studies, attempting to find the solution which best suits the whole. In the case of our Indians we have to consider (1) the general culture of the United States, with its conflicting values; it is neither uniform nor changeless; (2) the social, cultural, and political situation of Indians; it is far from uniform from group to group, and within any group there are conflicts and differences; (3) the views of the Congress of the United States; and (4) the views and politics of our oldest Bureau, the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs.
For the past years the study of these problems has been a consuming interest of a growing group of us at the University of Chicago. The results we are getting are products of many minds. Gradually the whole scope of the problem has unfolded. We have been a problem-solving group, our research directed to discovery of all the factors, but also at any point the best way in which they might all be reconciled.

Our present conclusions are embodied in this discussion. I should like to emphasize that these are not our opinions or personal preferences; they are what we conclude are, as of May 1957, the constructive answers to problems. We believe in them, of course, because we believe in the best answers to problems. But they should be thought of not as our personal preferences—we hope we are honest scientists—but rather as our assessment of the total picture as we analyze it.

Obviously I cannot develop whole complex propositions in these few minutes; I shall simply do three things:

1. Mention briefly the kind of dilemma the United States democracy has always faced with respect to American Indians;

2. Mention briefly the major problems faced by Indians, so that we can ask how in any local instance Federal or State policies do or do not lead to constructive solutions; and

3. Indicate the direction we conclude must be taken if we are ever to reach constructive solutions.

Through all our history, States as well as the Federal Government have been frustrated in their efforts to solve the problems of the American Indians. We have vacillated between (1) a policy of starving the Indians into throwing in the sponge and getting lost in the general population and (2) a kinder policy of helping them to get themselves ready to leave Indian ways and get lost in the general population. In either case they would be off our consciences, and finally out of our pocketbooks.

Both policies have failed. When we have followed the first policy and throw them into the water to sink or swim, we have found that the Indians neither sink nor swim; they just float and remain the same problem. When we have followed the second kinder policy, we have found that Indians do not in fact do the things that will lead to their disappearance. They do not want to get lost.

The kind policy will only work if we have the patience to continue to use our resources to help Indian communities to adjust to the national economy freely and in their own way. But their own way might not be to get lost at all. Every man and woman has the personal problem of deciding what sort of person he wants to be. Some Indians may want to become white men in their allegiance and their way; this ought to be their right. But many Indians want to maintain their Indian values and allegiance, and many Indian communities want to maintain for their posterity the identity and heritage that were given to them. In the American system this equally is their right.

It is not for any white man, or Congress, or the Indian Bureau to demand that Indians either remain Indians or stop being Indians.

It is a challenge which has never been met in the United States to help the Indian to adjust economically and socially to American life so that they actually become financially independent. We cannot begin to solve the problem unless we first recognize that Indians have a right to make this adjustment as Indians.
Leaving them free to make their own choices removes the great block to constructive change. What folly it has been to demand that Indians cooperate in plans for making them into something they do not want to be. What an interesting challenge, on the other hand, once the block is removed, to develop with them ways to that greatest freedom which comes with economic independence.

The Indian policy that has most recently been with us has been the sink-or-swim policy, the way less in accord with our democratic morals, the way that has never worked and never can. It does not get Indians out of our pocketbooks; indeed this un-Christian policy (as President Eisenhower once called it) requires more money rather than less—and it certainly doesn't get them off the conscience of the Nation.

The present policy, aimed at the disappearance of the Indians, is a double-edged sword. The Government, like any overprotective parent, demands that the Indians manage their own affairs, but on the grounds that they do not know how never let them try, and becomes more than ever sure that they are incompetent to do so. The Government says to Indians, in effect, "As long as we pay the bills, we shall manage your communities. If you think you are competent to manage your own affairs, then cut yourself off from the financial assistance as well. Money to live on, or freedom; you cannot have both, so take your choice." But the Indians have not the resources for the medical and educational and developmental needs of their communities. So they must choose the continued governmental interference in their local affairs. This satisfies nobody and gets nowhere. Congress, frustrated, then attempts to use force or bribery to induce Indian communities to make the other choice.

The title of this discussion is "The General Problem of Indian Termination." It is put forward as a controversial subject, like those we hear discussed on Sunday TV programs. It is like a discussion of the subject, "Should we repeal the Taft-Hartley labor bill?" To the participants on the program the Taft-Hartley bill is a symbol of either a great reform in labor relations or, conversely, a symbol of oppression. To the prounion members of such a panel it represents everything bad—legal strikebreaking, a less advantageous bargaining position for unions, and so on. To the more conservative members it represents everything good—the right to work without interference, reform of labor racketeering, etc.

The word "termination" is just such a symbol. To its proponents it represents a great reform in Indian affairs. To its opponents it represents a dangerous trend. Those Congressmen and members of the Indian Bureau who have recently been proponents of termination see it as a way to free Indians from control by a Federal bureau and give them an opportunity to integrate with the rest of the country. Indians and others who have been opposing this recent trend in Indian affairs view termination or withdrawal as a symbol of everything bad: the breaking of treaty rights, the loss of land, and the destruction of the Indian as a distinct people.

Since, as social scientists, we are supposed to think analytically and not symbolically, we must ask just what the word "termination" means in this discussion. Does it mean freeing the Indian from control of an outside agency? Does it mean the taking away from Indians of needed services? Does it mean giving up Indian self-government and coming under State jurisdiction? Does it mean land allotment? One could go on for an hour listing items, but the main point to get across here is that we need to get back of this vague symbol and really define what we are talking about when we speak of termination.

Now, just as it is not profitable to talk about the Taft-Hartley
law without talking about the economic structure of capitalism and the whole context of labor-management relation, so it is not profitable to talk about termination without talking about the whole context of Indian affairs. One salient feature of this context seems to those of us who have studied the situation to be of overwhelming importance: that is simply that the American Indian tribes still in existence are communities that have existed for a long time and will probably continue to exist. Moreover, they want to continue to exist; usually they want this very strongly.

It is not in the American tradition to deny the right of a community to exist if it wants to, nor to deny it a fair freedom to live as it wishes. When the chips are down, the American democracy will insist that if the Indians want it that way, Indian communities should be allowed to exist as self-respective, distinct communities with distinct values and ways of life provided they maintain a reasonable standard of health and of living and are no threat to others.

Any particular termination program should be measured against this general problem of the maintenance of the Indian community. I have listed seven problems of the Indian community that any program must deal with. Let me run through these seven points quickly.

1. Land: Does the termination program leave the community an adequate land base? Every time termination is mentioned to Indians they see before them the specter of the land swindler. An adequate land base means not only land as an asset in the economy, but land as a base for community life. Does the program provide a way for the community to hold land and still permit individuals who want to leave the community to do so, with a share of the tribal estate, but in such a way as not to endanger the rest of the community?

2. Civil rights: Does the termination program allow the individual Indian the same civil rights as any other citizen? When the Bureau of Indian Affairs withdraws, will some other agency be administering to and making decisions for "incompetent" Indians as before?

3. Services: Does the program fill the needs for education, health, etc., which appear necessary on the principles established in modern society that these are services which must be provided for any community, independent of who pays the bill?

4. Economic development: Does the program provide for development of the resources of the community so Indian families wherever and wherever possible can live at a decent standard of living in their home communities? Again on the accepted principle that this is not simply for the benefit of the Indian communities but for the good of the larger society, which cannot tolerate very many economic "black spots"?

5. Community affairs: Does the termination program allow the people of the community to run their own their own affairs? Will they be permitted to make themselves all of the decisions that American individuals and local communities normally make in the course of time? Will the Indians or some outside agency have the last word in a tribal development program? Who will make the ordinary day-to-day decisions: to hire the janitor for the local school or the doctor in the clinic; to take care of the school bus and hire or fire the schoolteacher? To put the question in reverse, but meaningful terms, does the termination program assure that when a teacher in the Indian school sets out to build a career she will seek to please not some outside agency, but the Indians of the local community?
6. Way of life: Does the termination program allow a community to keep its own way of life to the degree that it wishes within the broad limits permitted all groups in a democracy? Will they have the same right to their religion and cultures as the Poles in Chicago or the Cajuns in Louisiana?

7. Self-determination: Does the termination program allow the community to decide its own destiny? Besides the fact that in America self-determination for individuals and communities is a strong value, this is perhaps the overriding question to ask because it is very unlikely that any program can succeed if the people involved do not understand and like it, even if administrators work wisely and carefully with the community and even if the program is otherwise good.

So here are seven questions to ask about the so-called termination program. For a program to be good it must fill these criteria and seem likely to provide the best answers to the general problems of most Americans Indian communities. Does the termination program provide for an adequate economy? Will the program allow the people of a community to run their own affairs? Does it protect civil rights? Does it provide for needed services to the community? Can a community maintain its own way of life under the program? And, finally, does the program allow the people of the community a voice in deciding the destiny of their own community?

If not, not only will the program not help matters but it will add a new tragic chapter to our history of mistakes with respect to our American Indians. Perhaps the major disastrous effect of the denial of the right of a community to make its own decisions is the psychological immobilization of the people. At Tama, Iowa, where we are involved in a project, just such a situation has arisen. To the Mesquakie Indians the relationship between themselves and the Federal Government is a symbol to them that they, the Mesquakie, will survive as a distinct community. Government withdrawal means withdrawal of recognition of the tribe and its death. This is so threatening that it is hard for the Indians to think of any change or any program because any move might lead in the direction of Government withdrawal. They are "stuck on high center," so to speak. A good example of great harm done to a people by tampering with their destiny is that of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma. From a prosperous people working out a satisfactory adjustment with the white man they have, in 50 years' time, become a poverty-stricken, threatened people who withdraw from the white man. This condition was caused by a hasty and clumsy termination program. We cannot afford to repeat such mistakes.

It is clear that at least the Menominee and the Klamath termination programs do not fulfill these conditions. Therefore, they are harmful. But is the alternative to go on as before? Do we simply return to the policy of paternalistic Government management of these communities? Indians and friends of the Indians have been so committed to fighting against termination that all their energies have been taken up in negative proposals. But it is not too much of a choice between termination in its worst form and the present system.

We need an entirely new approach. We need to separate the two problems, the money which the Indians need for their community services from the way the money is used.

I doubt that responsible Americans will want to interpret our policy as one which is importantly influenced by a desire to say money to the detriment of our Indians and in violation of our traditional and moral obligations. It has been and should be our policy to make it unnecessary to provide special services, hence to make Indians independent. But until
this is accomplished, the money must be provided because it is needed and because it is part of a historical obligation that our people have always recognized. Therefore, the first plan of any policy must be to assure Indians that we shall continue to provide in the Federal budget the money needed to continue present Indian services.

Our studies show first that most Indian communities cannot provide themselves with needed social services; and second, that most Indians are afraid of being under State jurisdiction and most States are not eager to take over such a financial responsibility. It follows that the first part of a constructive policy is that Federal financial assistance must continue. But with one great change: Indian communities should be allowed to run their own affairs, to administer their own social services as every local community does. What the Federal Government has done over the years is manage local Indian affairs from outside, and on seeing the inevitably bad results of such folly we now impatiently attempt to dump them in the laps of the States. This solves nothing, and indeed the threat is paralyzing. The truth is that if Indian communities are ever to develop and make satisfactory adjustments, they must be helped to manage their own affairs.

Congress does not like the idea of Indian communities being controlled by a government bureau. Neither do the Indians. At the same time, if Indians cannot pay for their own social services, someone has to—whether State or Federal governments. But why, if we want to get rid of the overcontrol of Indian communities must we, also, cut off needed subsidies. In some manner the administration of and and subsidy of Indian community services (like health and education) must be separated. Just as farmers who receive large subsidies from the Federal Government are still permitted to run their farms and make their own mistakes, so could it be with Indian communities. If then, finally, we (1) stop frightening Indians by threatening to dissolve the symbolic relationship so important in Indian eyes between the Federal Government and themselves; (2) continue Federal subsidies where necessary; but (3) remove the traditional over-administration and control of Indian affairs (even if this takes drastic revision of Federal Indian laws) and allow Indian communities to decide their own destinies, it seems to us certain that there will occur an Indian development and adjustment of a kind we have never seen. Should it surprise us that the right way turns out to be the way that fits American values of freedom and local self-determination?

Exhibit 52

Integration and the Indian: A Review

Sol Tax

In the light of present governmental policy, aimed at the disappearance of Indians as a distinct and separate cultural group, The Indian in Modern America is a remarkable little book since it shows so well the two opposing views concerning the conduct of that policy. Five good men came together at the Historical Society in Madison during the University's Centennial in 1954 and had what should have been a good quarrel, but which was probably a polite affair. The record in this book is a transparent patch over wounds nonetheless inflicted. There are no signs of healing.

1David A. Baerreis, ed., The Indian in Modern America: A Symposium (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1956. Pp. xx, 70.)
The chairman of the meeting was Kent FitzGerald, one of the most capable fieldmen on the staff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, now charged with helping Navaho Indians relocate in cities. The first speaker was E. Adamson Hoebel, an anthropologists who is a leading authority in the field of Indian law, now chairman of the University of Minnesota's department of anthropology and the current president of the American Anthropological Association. Hoebel presented the moral, legal, and historical case for Indian communities to maintain their existence as communities if they wished, and argues that no good can come of the present haste to "liberate" the Indian from his legal rights and protections along with the bureaucratic tape that annoys him.*

Hoebel was followed by Willard W. Beatty, a leading educator who was, during most of the Roosevelt-Truman era, the director of education of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He describes the flexible program of Indian education during nearly twenty years when government policy was to support and even nurture Indian communities, but also to integrate them into the institutions of the general society where it seemed advantageous to Indians; and he concludes that what the Indians "need most is the strengthened right to self-determination which ... began a slow growth under John Collier, and which was brushed aside by Dillon Myer and which is being completely disregarded by the present administration."

The third paper was given by two anthropologists of the University of Wisconsin faculty, Milton L. Barnett and David A. Bahrres. Unlike Hoebel and Beatty they start not with the moral and legal rights of Indian communities, but with the social position of Indians as individuals and the changes that will have to be made to achieve the "social goal which involves the integration of the Indian into the rest of the population."

Using as examples some of the less organized Indian groups in Wisconsin—particularly the Ojibwa and some Chippewa groups—they argue that Indian cultures are largely lost and that the problem is one of social discrimination. The Indian has "minority status" like Chinese-Americans, Catholics, or Jehovah's Witnesses. "Only to the extent that the status of the Indians as a minority group is redefined by the dominant group, so that the Indians will be able to broaden the horizon of their life activities ... will that other goal of the Federal administration be reached, successful integration of the Indian into the rest of the population."

These three papers were revised for publication in this book. The chairman has added an introduction and the editors a short foreword. The papers divide sharply between Hoebel and Beatty on the one side and Barnett-Bahrres on the other. The first two take as a point of reference Indian communities, presumed to have not only rights but wishes (and even cultures) which might be articulated in American society as parts of a garden; the present policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (and the Congress) are decried, not accepted. Barnett and Bahrres ask how to implement the prevailing policy: they do not say if they like it as well as accept it. In answering the question of implementation they by-pass questions of the rights or desires of Indians, except as individuals who are presumed to want nothing but to become like white men. The arguments are therefore at cross-purposes, well reflecting the state of the debate in Washington. "Integration" is a good word, and so is the "self-determination" of communities. What if they are contradictory? Those Indians who value their ways and their communities interpret attempts to end their "segregation" as attempts to end their corporate existence and community life; they are likely to object to "integration." They have been prey long enough to suspect the pleasant invitation into a spider's parlor. Presumably they will not be blamed if they choose continuing discrimination as against ethnic death, any more than we blame our ancestral religious minorities which chose survival against all odds.
In his introduction to the book, Kent FitzGerald clearly takes the side of Barnett and Baerreis, perhaps because he, too, takes for granted that the present national policy is to be implemented rather than fought. He recognizes that the issue is that of the legitimacy of Indian communities for those Indians who want them, and he uses an interesting argument against them. Although he recognizes as "scholarly and basically accurate" Hoebel's argument that Indian communities have historic status as "domestic dependent nations" with whom our government should deal as communities, he argues for overriding such status not only because it "impedes the progress of the Indian" (to which it could be replied that this may be a legitimate choice for Indians to make), but also because Indian tribes are "an anomaly in the American political system"—a kind of vermiform appendix that ought to be cut out. Difficulties arise for Indians because treaty-maintaining tribes are not parts of an orderly hierarchy from school district-to-county-to-state-to-nation. The argument seems not unlike one that aged parents-in-law ought to be liquidated because they have a difficult time in what would, without them, be a simpler system.

So in this country we argue rather fruitlessly about Indian problems. Somehow the two "sides" must stop talking past each other; one choosing to emphasize a single value of the American creed (like equality of opportunity) and the other another value (like community self-determination). One concludes from this book that the way may well be simply to (1) remove all legal and financial threats to the continued integrity of Indian communities, and (2) allow these communities to become more functional by permitting the Indians to administer their local community services, regardless of how these may be subsidized, at the same time that we (3) provide the fullest opportunities for Indians as individuals to participate freely in the larger society. In order that these ends not conflict it is necessary in the case of each community that policies grow out of negotiations with, and the full consent of, the Indians. In each instance there will result some different combination of community integrity and individual participation in the larger society.

PART VI: THE ONGOING EVALUATION

In introducing the Fox Project as a program in action anthropology to a wider professional audience, a number of Chicago students under Tax's direction prepared a symposium for the Central States Anthropological Society meeting in May 1955. Callender, Marlin, and Furey demonstrated the relevance to "Action" of traditional research techniques such as genealogy collection, historical study, and the analysis of factionalism. Fred Gearing for the first time formally presented the "vicious circle" hypothesis as a means of directing the current strategy of the project. By attempting to plot the interrelation of the various prejudices and fears characterising Fox-white relations, he was able to demonstrate various points of attack and the priority of each in breaking the circle. While avoiding the deep-seated white belief in Fox laziness, Gearing planned through education to counter the opinion that assimilation is inevitable and also by verbal communication to reduce the Fox' own fear of failure. The second prong of attack was to meet the fact and fiction of the Fox as a burden by changing the situation and decreasing Fox financial dependence. In this connection, Gearing discussed the threatening situation of government withdrawal which Rietz and Tax considered in the preceding section. Lisa Peattie's paper on the failure of the ends-means scheme is a general methodological comment based on Diesing's 1952 article (Exhibit 26 above). By stressing the way in which we and the Fox discover goals and simultaneously help to bring them about and by minimizing the extent of anthropolog-
ical knowledge and control, Peattie pointed to the philosophical differences between action and applied anthropology. Tax's discussion of the prospects for new knowledge through "Action" again emphasized the continuing theme of learning as a coequal goal with helping. He illustrated the way in which action increases the frequency of events of which the anthropologist is aware. Often a crisis situation forces choices and decisions which reveal subtle things about a culture. Since the anthropologist's interpretations are soon tested by events, he must himself develop a special sensitivity and caution. It appeared to Tax that action research has focused attention on volition as a factor in acculturation which anthropologists have generally neglected. Thus the final resolution of the value question which absorbed so much thought in the early days of the Project hinged on the recognition of the major importance of self-determination.

Selections from Gearing's 1956 article in the University of Chicago Magazine comprise Exhibit 54. The title "First, They Listen" refers to the permissive attitude and primary attention to the aspirations of the community itself which characterized the anthropologist's method at Tama. The reasons for the failure of the farming cooperative (previously discussed in Exhibit 32 and 33, above) are discussed in terms of Fox values. In explaining this situation, Gearing comments significantly on the inability of the anthropologist to construct a value hierarchy apart from real evidences of choice on the part of the people involved. An integrated society is one in which public decisions are made as to the application of competing values, and it is just this process which is disrupted by forced innovation. Neither members of the society nor the social scientist observer can proceed successfully on the basis of a simple before-the-fact system of "deep values."

Exhibit 54

Symposium: The Fox Indian Project, A Program of Action Anthropology
Central States Anthropological Society, May 5, 1955

Introduction: Sol Tax

May I call this meeting to order. This is a presentation of a program of research and action among the Fox Indians who live near Tama, Iowa. They call themselves Mesquakies and we may occasionally use this name for them. We prefer the term Mesquakie the use of which would cut through a confusing situation. The French called the Mesquakies Reynards, which the English and Americans translated into the term Fox. When the Americans first dealt with the tribe they happened to be allied with the Osaukie who were generally called Sauk or Sac. The United State government made treaties with the allied tribes under the name Sac and Fox; although much water has since flowed under many bridges, the Mesquakie who now live in Iowa are officially called "Sac and Fox." They are as homogeneously "Mesquakie" as most Indian groups are homogeneously whatever they are. But we shall follow the literature and call them Fox rather than Mesquakie, since this term is generally familiar to anthropologists.

You have on your seats 5 sheets of paper. The top one is a revised program. The 2nd is a map—the Iowa River; highway U.S. 30 and two main line railroads go through the settlement. Toledo, the county seat, and Tama, a railroad and business and factory town, are within three miles. Large cities—Marshalltown, Waterloo, Cedar Rapids, and others—are within an hour or so by car.

William Jones was the first trained anthropologist to visit the settlement, between 1897 and 1906. He was followed by Truman Michelson of
the Bureau of American Ethnology who collected material over a period of 20 years until about 1930, collecting texts mainly of ceremonies. I spent two summers there in 1932 and 1934, working out the social organization. Natalie Joffe in 1937 made here one of the acculturation studies that appeared in the book Ralph Linton edited on *Acculturation in Seven North American Tribes*.

In 1948 the University of Chicago established among the Fox a place to give our students a first field experience as part of their training. That summer six students went out under my direction. We have been there ever since. This is the eighth year. We are now entering a new phase of the program.

In the first year, for better or worse, we committed ourselves to a program of action research which, as it developed, seemed to us somewhat different from other programs we read about. In order not to confuse issues we called ours a program in "action anthropology" and I published a paper by that name which attempted to define this peculiar activity. It was easier to say what it was not than what it was not than what it was. We were not doing pure science—we thought we ought not to use the Indian community for purposes that were not their own. But neither were we coming to apply our anthropological skills to develop a plan or program. We have been steering a delicate course that includes both, or does neither. In the first paper on our program, Charles Callender, Joseph Marlin and Marie L. Furey will show you that of course we know we have to do just about all the kinds of research that anthropologists usually do in the field. Gearing's paper will show what we do in addition—in the way of action—and Peattie's paper will show why we do it, why we can't say either that the research or the action is a means to the other, and give our philosophic rationales. Then at the end I shall try to indicate the sort of theoretical contributions we hope to pull out of this for anthropology.

During the past six or seven years we have been feeling our way toward the sort of program that Fred Gearing will describe. As soon as we thought we knew what we wanted to do—that took six years—we asked for money and the Schwarzhaupt Foundation gave us enough for a four-year experiment. We are now just getting started. We wish to report what we are doing and what we plan to do. We want your counsel. We are grateful for this opportunity, and look forward eagerly to your comments. We plan therefore to be as brief as possible; we hope to finish our presentation by 4 P.M. to leave a full hour for questions and comment.

We assume you are aware that the Fox are an Algonquian-speaking tribe living in Wisconsin at the time of first contact, who moved south and west to Illinois and Iowa during the English and American periods and were moved to a Kansas reservation in the 1840's. Ten years later they purchased 80 acres of land in Iowa and obtained the protection of the government of the new state. They purchased more land through the years until now they have 3300 acres. It is owned by the tribe. Five hundred acres are rented to a white farmer, who pays the tribe enough for them to pay taxes on the entire tract. The Indians are proud of this history and of their independent status.

Iowa is rich farm land, but the Indian settlement is not a good sample. The river bottoms flood; much of the land is rough and wooded hills. The Indians are not farmers and do not depend on the land for much of their living. A geographer who looked at an aerial photograph could easily see the boundaries of the reservation even though they were not marked. The Indian use of their land is of course in sharp contrast to that of their white neighbors. The whites in Iowa who assume that people living in the country must be farmers never cease to wonder—3300 acres and not a cow on it; No
pigs either for that matter. Only about four families do any farming
worth mentioning.

There are in the world some 600 Mesquakies—men, women, and chil-
dren. About 500 live more or less permanently on the settlement and earn
most of their living from wage labor in nearby towns. Some of them live in
the other towns for periods of time, and return to the settlement only on
weekends. Some are farther away and return only for special occasions, like
the annual Pow Wow in August.

The tribe is very much a going concern. Anthropologists express
surprise at the persistence and virility of old cultural forms; the so-called
clan ceremonies and the kinship patterns, and the like. Even a casual visi-
tor notes striking differences between the ways of Indians and of their
neighbors. Where a white woman might sit on a rocking chair on the porch of
her house, Indian women sit casually on the ground. Boys play on the basket-
ball team one evening and dance to the rattle and drums in a clan ceremony
the next, quite without embarrassment. There is an American Legion post on
the settlement—all Indian—and the Legion hall is the scene of Indian dances
on most Sunday nights. Only a small minority are Christians; more Indians
join in the peyote rituals than in the hymns in the church; most reject both
and keep the older religion. Virtually every child learns the Indian lan-
guage first, and usually doesn't begin English until his first grade in the
school which the Indian Service maintains on the settlement. Most of them
nowadays go through the Tama high school and a few are beginning to go to
college. But so far all maintain contacts with the Indian community as well
as the white towns in which they work, do their shopping, go to movies, and
the like.

The people of Iowa generally are aware of the Indian community; news
dapers frequently run feature stories on them. Probably they are interested,
curious, and sympathetic and continue to maintain the impression they get
about Indians in the movies. But in Tama county there is considerable am-
bivalence about the Indians. The Indians on the one hand are interesting,
and also customer, and they bring many tourists for the Pow Wow. But they
are too close to permit romantic ideas, and there is some prejudice. Also,
the Indians are a lower economic group who threaten always to be a financial
burden on their white neighbors.

The tribe organized under the Indian Reorganization Act in 1937. It
elects a council which acts for the tribe in relations with the government.
The council has a chairman whom the government treats as a chief, but meet-
ings are conducted in Indian fashion, with long and deliberate discussion
and eventual agreement. The chairman can only express the sense of the meet-
ing. Perhaps you saw Walter B. Miller's article in the April Anthropologist
in which he argues that the Fox do not recognize vertical authority so that
no council can really act for the tribe. In addition, as you will see es-
pecially in Marie Purey's paper, there are factions which interfere with
smooth operations. But another difficulty is the traditionally confused
relationship with the Indian Service. The federal government provides the
school and pays tuition to the public high school in Tama; it also pays a
Tama physician who keeps a morning clinic on the settlement. These are the
only services the government provides; the Indians think these and more are
their due. They were promised much more. Joe Marlin will describe their
views in a few minutes. The Indian Service on the contrary threatens to re-
move even these, and recognizes no legal obligations. The peculiar paternal-
istic relationship long established paralyzes any satisfactory resolution, or
even discussion, of issues.

But enough introduction. We turn to the first part of our exposition.
The question may be asked whether in our action program we see the need of the kinds of research that other ethnologists and social anthropologists normally do. Of course we do. The problem is how we might use them differently from others—whether sometimes we need to extend studies in traditional areas farther or less far because of the needs of our case, or in different directions. We offer only two or three examples. First, Charles Callender will talk about the ways in which we find genealogies useful.

Studies of Fox Genealogies: Charles Callender

In this paper I am going to show how the project uses the results of one traditional pursuit. The particular example is that of collecting genealogies.

There are several reasons for choosing this as an illustration. First, and perhaps most important, I'm familiar with it. But in addition to this, we happen to have rather a lot of information in this area. Our Fox genealogies cover the whole tribe, and do so in some depth! Most family lines can be traced back for seven generations, and certain ones as far back as the beginning of the last century. Finally, we do use the information they contain, although so our our potential use of them exceeds our actual use.

Genealogies in themselves are perhaps not very important to the project. But combined with other data that we have they are relevant. They are part of the general knowledge upon which we can draw, and they help to explain other parts of that knowledge. They furnish a check upon certain theories, and they point to directions in which these theories may be extended. In these respects, they can be brought to bear upon three different areas.

First, they have an immediate practical value. Among the Fox, the kinship system is still functioning in full strength. More than any other factor, it determines behavior and association. If we are working in a community where kinship ties are of such importance, we have to know how individuals are related. This doesn't need much elaboration. We also have to know how these relations manifest themselves. Now among the Fox, children are usually terrified by the presence of their mother's brother, who acts a role described as that of a bogeymen. Seing this happen, and not knowing what it is, one could mistake a pleasant innocuous man for a bully. Corresponding errors could arise from seeing a man badgering his brother-in-law, or a woman addressing her sister's husband as her own boy friend. And there have been times when stylized Fox behavior was completely misinterpreted. This is particularly important in the case of those individuals who tend to extend joking relationships—mild ones—to anthropologists working among them.

A second area to which the genealogies apply is that of certain specific issues within the community. To some extent, these are bound up with factionalism, a problem another paper will deal with, and so I shall not go into detail on these. They are mentioned here because a knowledge of the genealogies is indispensable for understanding and evaluating them. They include, first, the question of the succession to the chieftainship, which remains the core of the factional split and gives it its chief continuity; second, a group of tenets held by one faction, to the effect that they are the actual owners of the land because their ancestors purchased it. They argue that the State of Iowa gave their ancestors and no other Indians, the right to reside in the state. They hold almost all other members of the tribe, except those allied with themselves to be interlopers.
Another issue is that of the division of the tribe into so-called real Mesquakies and half-breeds, a category which includes anyone whose descent in the male line is not entirely Fox. It is related in part to the factions, but in part it crosscuts them, and its ramifications extend in many directions. This is an important issue. Several years ago a Fox couple borrowed copies of our genealogies. They have repeatedly explained to us that these are "dynamite" and have, in fact, never returned them. Last summer we received complaints about a pamphlet written by members of the project and published by the local woman's club. It contained among other photographs, one of a Fox farmer standing beside his plow, and another of the championship dancers at the last pow-wow, who were sons of his. We were told, "This is called 'The Mesquakies of Iowa.' The people in these two pictures are not Mesquakies, they are Potawatomie." Again, last summer, an attempt was made by the tribe to petition the government to remove certain individuals from the settlement. These were persons who legally had no right to live there, and whose expulsion was desired by most of the tribe. The movement failed. The causes of this were complex, but one of them was fear on the part of some, and intimations on the part of others, that the petition would be extended to include all half-breeds. So it is important for us to know who the half-breeds are.

Finally, there is a third area to which genealogies are applicable: this is the historical development of Fox culture. For instance, through a study involving them, we have decided—conditionally—that the so-called clan are actually rather vague name groups and ceremonial societies, with no sharp demarcations between them. This conclusion may seem irrelevant to action. But it is going to affect our interpretation of the culture today. The name-groups today are very weak as units in the social or political structure and important only as ceremonial societies. If our interpretation of them is correct, they were never much stronger; the lineage emerges as having always been the most important large unit within the social organization; and that organization today is not so different from that of the past.

This point may be clearer in another example. Today Fox marriages tend to be unstable and illegitimacy is rather high. This could be assessed as a breakdown of the social structure and therefore a social problem. But the genealogies indicate that marriages were often unstable. They do not show any significant increase in illegitimacy. These conditions seem to be an old pattern in the culture. Now it is still necessary to decide whether these practices have the same meaning today. Perhaps they continue while the attitude toward them has shifted. Perhaps the present condemnation of them is made for the benefit of whites. The genealogies do not solve anything in themselves, but they do add another dimension to our analyses of our observations.

Another problem is that of leadership. Much has been written about the type of person who becomes a leader in Fox society. I think a relevant question is how much leadership tends to be inherited; and how much present leaders may think of themselves as carrying on a family tradition.

For a number of years, the leader of the politically conservative faction was a man named John Tetaposh. He married rather frequently, and accumulated many stepchildren. I think it is no coincidence that a number of his stepchildren developed into leaders of his faction. One of the notable features of Fox politics today is that of persons who are perfectly capable of making their living in American Society on the same terms as other workers. They are, superficially, "aculturated." They have taken over much of American culture, up to a point. But they are, politically, inflexible conservatives. Part of this anomaly lies in misconceiving the factions as really being "progressive" and "conservative." But part of it,
I think, likes in the fact that their grandmother married Tetaposh, and that they were brought up in his tradition.

Most of the problems in this area are frankly theoretical. Yet they are important for the project. They are necessary to understanding Fox society. This understanding, in turn, can lead into practical bases for action.

TAX: Thank you, Charles Callender. Clearly the action anthropologist needs to study the social structure for even more reasons than any other anthropologist. I suppose that the more one has to deal with people in research the more he must know about them. Let's see what uses we have for documentary history.

The Relevance of History to an Action Project: Joseph R. Marlin

History as the term is used here refers only to the history of the relations of the Fox Indians to the government of the United States. The period in this history that I am interested in at the moment is limited to roughly the first half of the last century. By the end of this period the Fox had ceded all of their village sites and hunting grounds, had ceased to be involved in inter-tribal affairs, and had re-established themselves on their own land in Central Iowa. In short, much of their life as we know it now, had begun.

One can inquire into the history of the Fox during the period under discussion in three ways: one might ask a white farmer or businessman of the Fox; one might also go to the Fox themselves and inquire of their history; and lastly one might consult the documentary record. Upon doing these three things, we of the Action project have done so to some degree, we find each of these accounts of Fox history is in some ways significantly different. A brief examination of each of these accounts will indicate something of these differences.

A nearby white might tell us the following: "Well, the Indians were hunters, you know. They wandered over a lot of territory when they went hunting, and they used to do a lot of fighting with other Indians. When the settlers came they had to have the land to farm. The Indians didn't want the settlers coming in but they couldn't do anything about it. I guess this was true for a lot of Indians. The Fox for one tried to get their land back during the Black Hawk War, but they were defeated, and they lost all of their land. I guess that's the way it goes. The Fox have some kind of treaties, but most of them were broken so they don't mean much, do they? I guess some of them got tired of being pushed around and came back here. They've been here a long time, almost a century now. They are changing. When the kids in school grown up—why the Fox'll be almost like the rest of us. That's about it."

This view of Fox history, shallow in detail, treats the Fox as another example of the general history of the Indians, with their uniqueness being only in that they are nearby.

To some Fox, however, their history is viewed as the meeting of two groups of people, the Indians and the Americans, both political equals, and both responsible to the same supernatural power. One Fox informant tells us:

"The old men say that long ago when the white men came here, and they agreed with the Indians to be allowed to use this continent, they made themselves sort of a blood brotherhood, and they say that when the Indians ask for their rights and what's coming to them, that if the white men didn't give them what's coming to them and live up to their promises, something would happen to them . . . these white men would die. . . ."
If we ask those Fox who accept this statement what these promises were, the answers would be vague. The fact that there were promises, and they were broken, has taken on deep symbolic value. According to this statement, if the white men do not keep their promises, supernatural repercussions will follow. Each must hold to his share of the agreement.

Another informant, a representative of a pan-Indian movement, tells how the Indians, that is the Fox Indians, may keep their part of the bargain. The method is by the maintenance of the sacred ceremonies. He says: "Before the white men came there were only Indians here. The Indians knew the white men were coming. They knew they would be friends. God told them. The white men knew that they both talked to the same God.

"A lot of people don't know this now. Only a few. They have to be told about it. The old men knew that as long as the Indians believe and go to ceremonies, there will be no war here. There may be overseas, but not here. If the Indians don't go to ceremonies they don't know what will happen."

The Indians too have to maintain the bridge of faith. The ceremonies as interpreted by this person, give the Fox the strength to carry out their promises to remain at peace, although they feel that the government has not equally carried out its part of the bargain.

The documentary record of Fox history fills in the details that the first two versions lack. We might add here that all Fox leaders, whether they would accept the above view of Fox history or not, do have some knowledge of the details that a sketch of the documentary history would include. The sketch of Fox history offered here is for the purpose of contrast with the first two accounts, rather than for its substantive value. It tells us that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Fox were somewhat allied with the Sac Indians, with the latter living at Rock Island, Illinois, and the Fox living north of this spot on the Mississippi. The treaty of 1804, the first of fifteen or so treaties with these tribes, provided for the cession of large tracts of land in Missouri and Illinois. During the War of 1812 we find that the Fox were predominantly neutral, although not all of the Sac were. The Fox, although they did not always meet government officials and settlers with open arms, were only infrequently overtly hostile. One might say that they made the attempt to co-exist, an attempt in which they have achieved no little success. Even before the Black Hawk War in 1832 the Fox withdrew from the Mississippi to Eastern and Central Iowa. Between 1824 and 1842 the Sac and Fox had signed six treaties providing among other things for the cession of land in Missouri and Iowa. During 1845 they were removed to Kansas, returning to Iowa again in little more than a decade.

The question posed is, "What is the value of the study of the documentary record of Fox history for the action program?" It is valuable in several ways.

First, by studying the documentary record we gain a greater time depth into and a more accurate account of Fox history than we are able to gain from either the Fox or their neighbors.

Second, we are able to evaluate the First two accounts more accurately, and see the distortions and shortcomings of each. We see that the white view of Fox history neglects the influence the Fox tribe once had, and minimizes the present power position of the Fox. It also sees the Fox as temporary, regardless of the long history of Fox contact with whites. We see on the other hand that some Fox have grandiose notions of their own history and that they feel they have power that in actuality they do not possess. The Fox view of Fox history presented here functions largely to
veil the feeling of helplessness that many Fox have. In contrast to the white view, the Fox, if they think about the matter at all, see no real end to their existence as a tribe, although they may have some vague fears about its future.

Third, armed with a knowledge of Fox history and the two distortions of it, we can give both the whites and the Fox a more rounded view of this history. We might tell the whites that they forget the Fox have legal rights, reinforced by various treaties, and that contrary to what they might think, the Fox were never conquered. We can tell the Fox much about their own history that to most of them is now forgotten, or has become partly mythical. In making their history public, as it were, we can invalidate to some degree the notion of each Fox political faction that it has in its possession information about the Fox past unknown to the other faction. Indeed, an anticipated adult education program in the Fox community will be partly devoted to a discussion of Fox history.

TAX: Thank you, Joe Marlin. Evidently the action anthropologist needs to understand not one history but three histories.

The examples given of documentary history and of the use of genealogies are but two of many that could be offered. Clearly, the more we know about the cultures and societies in contact, and what goes on in people's minds, the more effective we are. Is this only a case of the more knowledge the better? Yes, but there are two qualifications one would have to make. In the first place, somethings are more relevant than others and economy dictates that they should get more attention. For example, the Fox language. The more we work, the more we see we have to control the language. This would be useful for practical reasons. More important, we need to deal with problems of thought patterns that we think distinguish the Indians from neighboring whites, and we can't do it without the language. Because of the short term people have been in the field, none of us has yet mastered Fox. We are now in process of correcting this. On the other extreme are items of material culture, and much things as dance forms; it would be good to study them—they would be useful even to the action program—but compared with other things they have low priority.

The second qualification is that the process of obtaining information is not free. It costs time, and hence money. But it also uses our credit with the Indians. We can take only so much of their time and energy. Moreover, there are somethings that would cost us more in rapport than the information is worth. For example, we have not gotten into ceremonials partly because Michelson published so much in this area, but also because the Indians are touchy on the subject. If the content of ceremonies were important enough to the action program we presumably could show the Indians why it is necessary and thus free ourselves to do it. Similarly we have shied away from personality testing, and the like, and have had to depend largely on informal knowledge of people.

But virtually any knowledge of the kind obtained by other modern anthropologists is grist for our mill too.

One aspect of the local situation—the factions—is particularly difficult to handle, but is so important to our action program that we make every effort to understand them. Marie L. Furey will talk about them now, describing them briefly and indicating the ways in which they must be taken into account.
The Problem of Factionalism in Relation to an Action Program

Marie L. Furey

As Dr. Tax pointed out a few minutes ago, Fox society today is a well-integrated whole in many respects. Unlike many other Indian tribes, the Fox have maintained their language, religion, kinship system and other cultural ways which provide strong, cohesive bonds. But at the same time, largely due to external pressures, they are beset by internal dissensions.

You are familiar with the phenomenon of political factionalism, on the American Indian scene. I shall not attempt to define these particular factions. To provide you with an orientation I shall just mention that the leaders of one group wish to restore the hereditary chieftainship; the leaders of the other group, presently in power, supported the new tribal Constitution of 1937 which followed the Government's Indian Reorganization Act.

Naturally, we are interested in the factions as part of the political organization with which one must cope in an action program; we are interested in them as they interrelate with the social structure, as they reveal aspects of the culture, and as they point up the conflicts and aspirations of the community.

Let me mention one or two instances showing how these factions inhibit community action and how one inevitably becomes involved with them.

In 1944 the Government drafted an ambitious, laudable ten-year improvement plan for the Fox settlement. They proposed paving the roads, doubling the land area, establishing a retail store, and raising the economic level generally by practicable means. These were projects that almost all the Fox would like to see in effect. The Government embarked upon a mild promotion campaign, but only with Tribal Council members. The Council voted it down. For the Council, with the support of only a section of the community, is afraid to act and is virtually immobilized. And, of course, acceptance by the Council without community support would not be enough for implementation of such an undertaking as the Government put forward.

Another example concerns the publication of a pamphlet about the Fox, written by project members as part of a campaign to educate Iowa whites. A good number of Fox approved the pamphlet, but it caused some disturbance in the community because the pictures in the booklet did not represent a balance number of persons from both factions, and neglected to include a picture of the Tribal Council.

Now, what can the factions teach us about other aspects of tribal life? First of all they have made us look into the political structure, the nature of the leadership role, and the relations with the Government of early Fox society, in hopes of grasping the present issues. And, the present partisan issues give up insight into the past. For example, one of the tenets of the politically conservative group is that a large number of their political opponents have no legal right to reside on the settlement, because they are not descended in the male line from the original purchasers. We know that the land is tribally owned, and we had assumed it was purchased in the name of the tribe. But, examination of the papers the conservatives have, sent us running to the law books to look up the original documents. We found that the first land title had been put in the names of the individuals delegated by the tribe to make the transaction. This historical incident, or accident, as I think it was, shed considerable light on the conservatives' position, and as you might imagine we emerged with a new respect for the Fox concept of history.
Of course, as anthropologists, we are interested in the aboriginal social structure. The Fox have an Omaha type kinship system, which, as you know, strongly reflects the lineage principle. But the name groups are only weakly patrilineal. As Mr. Callender mentioned, we are not sure that they ever were patrilineal clans. However, the factional disputes over who shall be entered on the tribal roll, and who are the "real Mesquakies," have made us aware of how strongly patrilineal they are in figuring ancestry. This gives at least some substance to the lineage principle exemplified in their kinship system.

A study of the factions also helps us to assess the nature and direction of cultural change. Formerly, the break between the factions might be symbolized by a line demarcating politically and culturally progressive families from the intrepid conservatives. Today, although we use the terms progressive and conservative for the groups in a literal political sense, we find no correspondence with their degrees of "acclimation." Two of our most valuable informants on the old ways are elderly leaders of the politically progressive group; and one of the conservative leaders is a woman of college background who commutes to an office job, is all in favor of material improvements such as electricity, but devotes her energies to the restoration of the hereditary chieftainship. Today the factions are better symbolized by two series of intersecting concentric circles, each with a fairly stable nucleus of leaders but surrounded by shifting bands of allies.

Education has ceased to be an issue, whereas fifty or sixty years ago it was a rallying point. Nowadays most people are all in favor of high school and even college education for their children. If we could trace the development of this change in attitude it would help us to understand by what means the tribe comes to accept innovation without experiencing disruptive effects.

One of the cultural patterns that remains traditional is the role of a leader in Fox society. Not only does the culture discourage and disapprove of aggressive leaders, but also, anyone who steps forward to organize a social group, for instance, is liable to be suspected of serving the partisan ends of one or the other political faction.

Another principle still adhered to is that of unanimity. The Tribal Council traditionally acted in concert—there was not overruling of a minority by a majority, but rather discussion was pursued until agreement was obtained, or else no action was taken.

What are the implications of all this for a positive action program? An experience last summer furnishes an example of the limitations imposed both by the factions and by the leadership pattern. The Committee in charge of the annual Pow-wow had agreed to sell the pamphlets, that I mentioned to you earlier, and the profits were to go for a scholarship fund for Fox children. But despite the original agreement, the pow-wow committee, which represented both factions, divided on the issue along factional lines. The Committee Secretary, who was trying to promote the sale, and who is very friendly to project members, began to avoid us. We then sensed that all was not going smoothly on the Committee, and we knew that the Secretary could not coerce the other members. The sale at that time and place was not the most vital issue at stake. From this point on, we limited our action to good-natured inquiries. After the three-day Pow-wow was over, and not a booklet had been sold, we had to reassure the Secretary and the others who had argued for the booklets, that we did not feel that they had let us down. Their uneasiness of this score was obvious. Had we put on pressure, the pamphlets would not have been sold anyway,
we should have made enemies, and should have contributed to the feelings of inadequacy of those who had tried to cooperate with us.

It is our problem, then, to know the personalities and the issues, to understand the difficulties of leadership, to maintain open and good relations with both sides. Factionalism itself partly is the result of the inability of the community to cope with the pressures to which it was long subjected by the government. It is for an action program to understand and attempt to reconcile these disputes with all the knowledge and tolerance that anthropology can provide.

TAX: Thank you, Miss Furey. A comparison of the cases presented by Marlin and Furey shows that there is difference in the thoroughness of the study required in various factional areas. In history we perhaps stop short of very detailed understanding; with respect to factions, there is almost no limit to what we need to know. I suppose we have said enough now of the stage, or the theater, within which we shall perform whatever actions are called for in the next years. It is time now to hear the script. Fred Gearing, is about to tell us what our strategy of action is, and why.

Before I call on him however, one thing needs to be said about a major characteristic of our program. Part and parcel of our method is the circumstance that we have no power in the situation. We are not administrators with the power to make decisions for the Indians or anybody else. In this circumstance we can only persuade; but we are dealing with very complex situations. Persuasion requires that we know more about it than the people we persuade. But part of the situation—may be the most important part—is their own perception of the situation. We therefore have to understand what the people themselves want. This is particularly difficult with the Indians in the situation because as the central actors their views are both most important but also most mixed up and difficult to learn and analyze. The result if not only that we have no power, and know it, but that we develop a great permissiveness in our relations—particularly with the Indians. Of necessity we take the view that any planning we do must be in terms of their ends, not ours. How do we know their ends, their goals? Essentially we find that we can know their ends only as they act them out. They however do not see their acts as means to other ends. The things they do are valued for themselves. At this point we of course realize that we are part of their situation, and our own acts also are good or bad themselves, and have their own consequences. This only makes it the more imperative both that we do our best both to know their ends, and not to inflict our own, and also that as far as possible we stay out of positions of power and don't persuade anybody to do what he doesn't really want to do anyway. This seems difficult and it is; you will now hear from Fred Gearing the kind of program that we hope fits this need.

The Strategy of the Fox Project: Fred Gearing

We will be acting in the Fox community and in surrounding white Iowa communities in the coming years. Our plan of action derives from a hypothesis about the nature of the Fox problem. We see that problem as residing in the relations between the Fox and their neighbors. We think the Fox and nearby whites have slipped into a vicious circle.

The total activities of the Fox project in the coming 3 or 4 years will be a refinement and test of that hypothesis.

I will first characterize that vicious circle. Then I will outline the strategy in our coming attempts to break into that circle and change its nature.
THE VICIOUS CIRCLE
in FOX-WHITE RELATIONS

WHITES BELIEVE FOX ARE TEMPORARY

GOV'T SERVICES

WHITE BELIEVE FOX ARE A BURDEN

FOX SELF-ORGANIZATION

WHITES BELIEVE FOX ARE LAZY

Point of second attack

FOX RESIST CHANGE

FOX FEAR FAILURE

Points of first attack

Fox authority system
You will find in your programa a schematic diagram of the vicious circle. It will probably help if you follow that diagram.

I enter the vicious circle, in this description, from the left. You see a circle reading: Fox self-organization and a square reading: Whites believe Fox are lazy. Items in circles refer to behavioral phenomena (or inferences from them); items in squares refer to more purely mental or verbal phenomena—ideas and attitudes. Where the two overlap as in this instance, the meaning is that the idea springs, in important degree, from the behavior. So, I begin with a behavioral item, the Fox self-organization, and a belief item, Whites believe Fox are lazy.

Deep-seated psychological differences between Indians and non-Indian Americans have been suggested by scores of students. Most often the difference has been characterized by the terms shame and guilt. Our strong impression is to accept the contrast. We descriptively characterize it in terms of self-organization. In terms of self-organization, Anglo-Americans seem to adopt as they mature a personal, ideal self. That self is a more or less consistent collection of virtues. The life careers of white men are, ideally, a ceaseless effort to make the real self coincide with that ideal self. Restated in terms of ethos, a—perhaps the—primary ethical principle of Anglo-American society is virtue. In spite of individual and class variation, and in spite of the doubtlessly true reports of decreasing inner-directedness, and in spite, even, of variation within the Fox community, contrast with the Fox is striking. The Fox individual does not seem to create such an ideal self; he does not see himself as becoming at all; he is. Restated in terms of ethos, the primary ethical principle of the Fox in harmony.

The effects of that contrast are great. White individuals, if psychologically healthy and not self-consciously marginal, can age in a sustained effort in a single direction over a long period of time, and—here is the crux—they can do so more or less independent of their group. In contrast, a Fox is guided almost exclusively by his moment-to-moment relations with others; he bridle under long-term, rigid work schedules; he becomes listless in situations requiring isolated self-direction.

Whites who know Fox Indians almost invariably interpret the contrasting work patterns as laziness, and unreliability. And, omitting perhaps the value judgment bound up in that English word, it is laziness. (But conversely, of course, the Fox look at white men and say they are aggressive and selfish.)

When white men make the judgment that the Fox are lazy, that is devastating enough to the relations between the groups. (In white society it seems to be far worse to be lazy than stupid, for instance.) But the effects of that judgment are compounded by the added fact that—moving now to the right on the diagram—the Fox are seen as a burden on honest, hard working taxpayers. The federal government does finance two services in the Fox community—education and, minimally, health. Most whites exaggerate the facts considerably and see the Fox as living off some sort of dole. The idea of lazy people living off of taxpayers' money is something less than tolerable to Iowa farmers when they think of it, which is fairly often.

Because the situation is intolerable, there is a strong disposition to see it as temporary. America has had the experience of the melting pot. (You will see that I am now arguing the connection to the second element of the vicious circle on your diagrams.) But America also has a tradition of cultural pluralism. There is a very wealthy colony of German pietists less than 100 miles from the Fox—the Amanas, who made freezers
until they sold the name for a fabulous sum. Iowans do not feel that
that German colony is temporary, or that it should be. But an Iowan
simply does not entertain the idea that the Fox are here for more than,
as they put it, another generation.

Once the idea is intrenched, that the Fox are temporary, impor-
tant actions follow (the third element in the circle). If there is an
inevitable process of assimilation under way, then, if one is to do
anything, he will attempt to speed the process. Whenever debates arise
as to what to do, argument is over whether to spend money in order to
create opportunities for the Fox to move upward, or whether to quit
spending anything at all and thereby force them to move upward. And,
of course, Fox individuals are evaluated according to how far along
that imagined line of progress they seem to have individually traveled.

The Fox live in very close contact with the neighboring whites
and they are in intimate contact with the government. So the effects
of that continual pressure from whites are great. The effects are a
marked degree of resistance to change. (I have now moved to the lower
right hand corner of the diagram.)

On one level, that Fox resistance to change reflects a posi-
tive evaluation of a life. But it is much more. It reflects a sense
of threat. The Fox value their school and wish not to lose it and
wish not to have it merged with schools in nearby towns. They want
their lands to remain in protected status. They are instantly opposed
to any suggested changes—in their school system, in their trust status,
in the jurisdiction of their law and order. They oppose the idea of
change, irrespective of the substantive details which never really get
discussed. They do this because they fear failure—generically.

They fear failure because they have often failed. They have
often failed because white society demands, in effect, that the Fox do
things the white way. And there are basic structural reasons why the
Fox simply cannot. The Fox can undertake the tasks—they run a pow
wow each year which clears several thousand dollars and involves the
co-ordinated efforts of at least 200 persons. But they must do it
their own way.

Those basic structural reasons are the Fox authority system.
In Fox social organization, authority roles are all but non-existent.
As Miss Furey has said, the Fox cannot effectively choose a course of
action except in the absence of all overt opposition.

Fox tribal government under the Indian Reorganization Act is
based on majority rule. Majority rule means that majorities exercise
authority over minorities. It doesn't work. Whitemen have gotten the Fox
started on co-operative handicraft production and sale, based on major-
ity rule. That didn't work. The pow wow organization has, on paper,
a host of grand-sounding, authoritative positions such as president,
treasurer, etc. But the organization actually functions the Fox way—
by leisurely discussion until overt opposition disappears. That works.

On the whole, white-initiated activities have been organized
in a hierarchical arrangement of authority and the Fox have failed.
Failing repeatedly and having mixed feelings about what the white man
calls progress in the first place, the Fox have settled down to a grand
strategy of holding the line. Having set on that course, they tend,
through time, to become more of a financial burden. So the beginning
of the vicious circle is rejoined.
Turn now to what we plan to do about it. The word attack connotes much more aggressiveness than we are likely to exhibit. But in the upper right hand corner on your diagrams you read: points of first attack. We have the hope that something can be done by simple verbal communication—education. Education is the first attack.

One prong on the diagram points to the white belief that the Fox are temporary. The historical record makes a pretty good case, we think, that one cannot assume the Fox, or any Indian group, is inevitably temporary. We hope that, if we say that often enough and to enough of the right people, it will have detectable effect. Further, some of those people can be affected by pointing out the undesirable results on the Fox when white men act as if the Fox are temporary.

But, according to the vicious circle, white men believe the Fox are temporary because, in part, they believe the Fox are lazy and are a burden. I will return to the Fox burden later. What to do about the belief in Fox laziness? We intend to do nothing directly. Rather, by talking about certain other facets of Fox life, we hope to reduce white man's preoccupation with that laziness. We imagine that it would be futile to tell almost any white man that laziness is only culture. After all, we white men hold that work is a virtue; and faith in that is extremely basic in the operations of white society. But there are other areas of Fox life which are now understood and positively valued by the neighbors of the Fox. And there are still other facets of Fox life which, though now misunderstood by whites, could come to be understood and positively valued with relative ease, we think. Iowans say, for example, that the Fox are poor farmers. We think Iowans could be interested in learning that the Fox aren't farmers at all.

In short, we have our focus on the white belief that the Fox are temporary because, in part, they believe the Fox are lazy and want to correct that. In order to do so, we will try to draw the attention of whites away from the highly resistant belief that the Fox are lazy and toward more easily valued aspects of Fox life.

Now, turning to the second prong of this first attack, we will attempt, again by verbal communication, to reduce the Fox fear of failure. Some success has already been recorded when we have experimentally talked to Fox individuals about so-called failures in terms of their authority system. Almost invariably the failures occurred because some Fox wasn't authoritarian; he wasn't authoritarian because it would have been indecent to be. The Fox value those patterns of authority highly; they usually combine them with other things under the term, freedom. In one recorded instance, we had written something about the authority patterns, and a Fox had read the article and he came to us quite excited about it. It was apparent that the Fox individual had made the logical connection between that valued freedom and past failures he had experienced. This, no doubt, for the first time; and quite obviously, to his great relief.

To the degree that such understanding becomes general and internalised, the Fox should be better off. That understanding will help relieve their anxieties about past failure and help them to better select future undertakings. It should help restore their self-confidence.

The Fox will best come to understand their own social structure through contrasting it with that of white society. We plan such activities as an informal adult education program as alluded to by Mr. Marlin. This would be in the Fox community and would cover the history of their relations with the federal government. The subject is of intense interest to them. In examining with them such things as particular treaties,
there will be ample opportunity to attempt to explain Fox and white behavior in terms of culture and social organization. This may be the first time an adult education course on civics has been attempted in an Indian community.

In these first, verbal, attempts to break into the vicious circle, we expect uneven results. The Fox will probably learn more about whites (and about themselves) than whites will learn about the Fox. Fox interest is more pressing. However, the very failure of whites to understand should present further opportunities to demonstrate to the Fox the nature of white society.

One footnote before turning to the second point of attack. I should not leave the impression that all the learning is going from us to them. We expect to learn much more than we now know about both societies by the very act of discussing the contrasts between them.

The second point of attack will begin soon after the first and continue concurrently with it as shown on the diagram, the main focus here, is on the fact and fiction of the Fox burden. We intend in this second approach to restructure certain situations so as to create learning experiences. In some instances, the new situations will be designed to demonstrate facts about Fox or white behavior. In others, situations which are threatening will be altered if possible so as to create a better atmosphere for learning.

As an example of creative situations which demonstrate facts, we tried, with some success, a small experiment in co-operative farming. The experiment demonstrated to the participants (including us) some facts about co-operative endeavor under the Fox authority system. I spent many hard hours in a hot Iowa corn field and I cannot discover any subconscious sabotage on my part. But I would mislead if I did not admit to some secret pleasure in the low level of economic success of the project. The lack of economic success confirmed an important hypothesis—and confirmed it as much for the participating Fox as for us. In the future, in regard to such situations which demonstrate facts, we plan to encourage undertakings which seem workable ones, and assist in the implementations when asked. So much for situations which will demonstrate facts.

The threatening situations have more pervasive effects. And more hinges on our hopes to alter them. The matter of government health and education services are especially damaging as they stand today. It is unlikely that the Fox will have sufficient tribal income in the foreseeable future to pay for those services. The federal government's withdrawal policy has created great anxiety among both the Fox and nearby Iowans. The Fox fear they will lose the services. The Iowans fear the costs will be shifted to them. Furthermore, you will recall the important effects, in the vicious circle, of the white man's picture of the Fox as a burden. We think that the fact of government subsidy could be altered in a way which would remove those bad effects. The threat of withdrawal to both Fox and Iowans, and the picture of the Fox as a burden could be greatly altered by establishing a permanent tribal fund large enough to pay the costs of those services income from the fund. We are willing, if and when the Fox are ready, to undertake political action with them to the end of getting such a fund appropriated by Congress. The odds are clearly not great. We do not rule out the possibility of Fox self-sufficiency without such a fund but the prospects are very remote.

In summary, we have hopes of breaking into the vicious circle and, through trying, of reaching a moder adequate and precise analysis
of the relations between the Pox and their neighbors. We will undertake two sets of actions in the attempt. Through education, we will try to alter certain ideas; our focus is primarily on the white belief that the Pox are temporary and the Pox fear of failure. Through changing situations, we will attempt to assist the learning processes; our focus here is primarily on Pox financial dependence.

You perhaps have noticed that throughout we have left the resistant white beliefs, such as the idea that the Pox are lazy, alone. We do not intend to come directly to grips with them. It is felt that one or both of two things will happen to them, assuming a degree of success in our other efforts: Some will become less important and some less true. As for the ideas about Pox laziness, we count more on the first. The idea will be less important because it will be no longer joined with the idea of the Pox being a burden.

A key index of success will turn on how much we are able to increase Pox self-confidence. That self-confidence and its most basic element—the greater Pox understanding of Fox and white behavior—should make it possible for the Pox to adjust their own behavior sufficiently to cope with the white world, especially in the economic sphere. By adjusting we mean self-conscious actions—acting—doing things deliberately for desired ends. It is clear that this sort of change differently from the basic change that would be required of whites—to recognize that work is not an absolute virtue. It is clear, too, that the changes we expect of the Pox are not the sort of basic changes that are generally thought of when one speaks of acculturation.

TAX: Thank you, Fred Gearing.

I think you have made it evident that like all anthropologists we develop hypotheses to test, and in this case it is a rather complex hypothesis. Can we really test this in one stroke, and demonstrate once and for all the propositions that are implicit in it? If we could, we might have something at least as useful to society as a new vaccine. Is this what we are trying to do? Are we scientists under the skin, only using our action program as a means to the end of developing new general propositions? Or for all this scholarly window dressing, are we really do-gooders interested in getting only such knowledge as we need to do a service job? Is science the means or the end? As Lisa Peattie will now explain, we have deserted this way of looking at the matter. In all of our activities we argue (as does the code of ethics of the Society for Applied Anthropology) that the end cannot be used to justify means. We take this seriously, as an ethical principal; but we go farther and give up altogether the way of looking at something as a means or end. Much of the thinking in our western culture is couched in terms of means-ends; in fact most of our science seems to depend on it. So we frequently have difficulty explaining this part of the philosophy of our program, which is one of the things we have learned in the program. So we give it special attention on this program. Lisa Redfield Peattie, who is one of the six original members of the project—she was in Tama in the summer of 1948—will speak on our abandonment of the means-end formulation.

THE FAILURE OF THE MEANS-ENDS SCHEME IN ACTION ANTHROPOLOGY

Lisa Redfield Peattie

What I am going to say amounts to a general methodological comment on the strategy which Fred Gearing has outlined. I do not plan to discuss any part of this program. Instead, I want to call attention to a characteristic of the program as a whole, one which seems to me rather
different from a good deal of applied anthropology. This is a difference not so much in what we do, as in how we have come to think and talk about what we do and plan. I hesitate to sound as if I were talking philosophy—that is not my field—but I think that this difference can be stated most clearly as follows: We have come to talk about social action in ways which lie outside the usual means-ends scheme which our culture prescribes as usual for this subject.

This difference was first suggested to me in a paper on our Fox project by a philosopher, Paul Diesing. In this paper, Diesing distinguishes two sorts of planning which are applied to social processes. The first type of planning sharply distinguishes ends and means. In Diesing's words, it "consists of first deciding what one wants to do, and then finding out how to do it." This is evidently the classic type of applied science, including social science; writings on the application of science to solving social problems generally presuppose some such scheme. "Applied anthropology," as generally discussed, also follows this means-ends scheme. The anthropologist here sees himself as a kind of social technician. He takes some goal, perhaps one set for him by an administrative agency, occasionally one which he sets for himself, and discovers means to bring it about. His analogue is the technician of the physical sciences. Just as the electrical engineer reports to his company on how to build a certain kind of switchboard and estimates the cost of building it, so the applied anthropologist may report to an administrator the most effective way of getting a cattle-raising tribe to reduce their cattle herds, and on the social costs of making the change. So in the early days of the Fox project we talked about means to get the Fox to farm more efficiently. This way of thinking, which sharply distinguishes the "end" to be achieved from the "means" to it, is familiar to all of us.

However, it is not the only possible way to think about planning and social action. In fact, our "action anthropology" enterprise tends to follow lines something like an alternative scheme put forward by Diesing in his paper on the Fox project. Diesing speaks of this scheme as one in which "neither ends nor means are regarded as given at the start, but both are determined in a single inquiry, each by reference to the other." The action anthropologist is not so much involved in the application of theory to determine means to a given end as he is in "the development and clarification of goals and the compromising of conflicting ends and values." The action anthropologist, with his coordinate activities of action and research, thus becomes involved in a three-fold process. Our action research among the Fox is the process by which we discover the facts—those relevant to action and to the setting of goals for the Fox community, as well as those relevant to general scientific hypotheses. It is secondly, and at the same time, the process by which we and the Fox together set and clarify the goals of the action program. Thirdly, and simultaneously, it is itself the action which is to help bring about those goals. In this three-fold process, ends and means can no longer be distinguished from each other.

When the action anthropologist states his goals or "ends" they tend to be open-ended objectives like growths in understanding, clarification of values, and the like, rather than fixed goals like the quotas in a five-year plan. They are not properly speaking "ends" at all, for they can never be said to have been reached. They are more properly modes of valuing—modes of valuing all stages in a continuous and infinite process.

This scheme, which deals with a continuous process of discovery and action and valuing, rather than with ends and means, is by no means
unique to action anthropology. Readers of John Dewey's *Theory of Valuation* will recognize that it has a respectable status in American philosophy. In practice, it has an interesting analogue in psychotherapy, in which the process of discovering the nature of the patient's illness is at the same time a process of curing that illness, and a process of re-defining what the patient wishes to become—in other words, what the "ends" of the process are in the particular case. But although the parallel to psychotherapeutic practice is particularly clear, I suspect that it is not unique. In fact, it seems likely that much more social planning follows the model I have described than one would suspect from writing on the subject of applied social science. But however much all of us may in practice fail to keep our "ends" and "means" separate, this is not the model which we usually follow in our thought.

I think there are a number of reasons why even in America, the home of pragmatic philosophy, discussions of applied social science usually follow the traditional means-ends scheme rather than the Deweyan form which the Fox project has come to adopt. In the first place, our group's way of thinking runs counter to a general technological bias of our culture. We Americans like to conceive of action on the model of the machine, action directed as efficiently as possible to a clearly-defined purpose. In the social sciences, such action is less clearly possible than it is in physics or mechanics. But we social scientists tend to hope that it is possible, even to act as if it were possible when we are not sure that it is, hoping against hope as it were; such seems to be the entry to respectable status among the family of sciences and applied sciences. Secondly, the whole structure of our language and thought presupposes a scheme where one acts and the other is acted upon the technician, the action anthropologist acts on society, on people. Thirdly, to the extent that only one agent is acting to determine ends, a definitive setting of goals, and the control necessary to achieve set goals, is made more possible. This situation is approached when the anthropologist works for an administrative agency with a good deal of power—for example, a colonial government. Historically, this has been the classic type of situation in which the applied anthropologist has been found, and the discussions of applied anthropology tend to reflect this circumstance.

Finally, a real difficulty of our "Deweyan" way of planning is that it carries with it a need for new methods of evaluation. In the traditional means-ends scheme, the mode of evaluation is clear. Have you done what you set out to do? But we reserve the right, in fact, assert the obligation, to modify our particular objectives (e.g., setting up a clinic) at all stages of the action process. Thus the simple test of determining whether the plan has been "fulfilled" can be applied only to small, even trivial steps in the action process. As for our more general and permanent objectives, such as increasing the areas of mutual understanding between Indians and whites, these are so general that they are hard to give operational definition; in any case, they are practically infinite in character, so that no matter how much has been accomplished it could always be argued that more could and should have been. But evaluation is clearly necessary. In fact, since our way of working conceives of every stage of our action as both means and end, we must evaluate each stage as well as the whole process; nothing can be treated as a mere utility, a means. Methods for doing this kind of evaluating with any rigor have yet to be devised. Again it is interesting to compare our problems with those of psychotherapy. The psychotherapeutic "cure" is unique to each case, and the therapist may not know what it is until the end of the therapy. How much and what kinds of change may be considered success? I note that the therapists have
not answered this group of questions very effectively either.

In view of all these difficulties, the obvious question is: Why have we adopted this philosophically interesting but otherwise slippery and complicated way of looking at our activities? This question has to be answered first historically. Such changes in ways of thinking are rarely made by logical decision at one point in time; certainly this was not. We came to think in this way, and made the change before we knew that we were making it; then we saw that we had come to think in a new way. So our conceptualization has a history first, rather than a logical reason. But the history has its own logic of functional utility. The change came about because the new way of thinking was more useful to us.

In the first place, we have in general had a role in which we were discussing with, rather than acting on, people. In contrast to the traditional role of the applied anthropologist, as adviser to some administrative body, in our Fox project we had no power position whatsoever; we could only counsel with both Indians and administrators, and neither was under any compulsion to accept our counsel as having weight. It would have been futile for the action anthropologists to set long-term goals and programs if only because they would have no way of causing these to be executed. As they could affect the actions of the Indians or of the administrators only by education, discussion, persuasion which necessarily must proceed step by step, their operations were necessarily of a step by step character. They placed more emphasis on the clarification of goals and on mutual understanding, than on rapid program towards some set objective. The Fox progress thus became one of "interacting-with" rather than "acting-on" people. And this way of acting, developed historically, has now become for the project a method of choice; we would now act in this way even if there was no need in the circumstance of our action.

In the early days of the Fox project there was a good deal of discussion among the anthropologists as to whether the ultimate goal of "assimilation" or of "non-assimilation" would be most desirable as the ultimate end for a program in that community. No agreement was ever reached on this point. But at the same time the anthropologists did agree on two other points: that certain forms of action would be helpful, regardless of decision on this ultimate choice, and that the action should in general take the form of increasing the areas of free choice available to the Indians, and of helping the Indians understand better the choices available. The general outcome was a program which might be styled a kind of non-directive counselling for a community.

Further, I note that one reason for our use of Deweyan ends-means scheme is that as a group we tend to be sceptical about the degree of positive predictive knowledge and control available to us from social science. The setting of ends in the traditional mode of operations supposes that at least sometime pretty early in your program you know enough of what your goals mean and what our means involve in the way of further consequences so that you can set a long-range plan and act according to it. We of course make such predictive judgments at all stages of our operations. But we tend not to trust them too much, we would rather not have too much at stake on our "scientific" predictions.

Finally, and I think most importantly, this treatment of means and ends in our own work has also kept pace with a change in our view of Fox culture which has clearly represented a healthy development. In the first months of our work in the Fox community we were struck by a
gap which appeared to exist between the goals of individual Fox Indians in the material sphere—such things as better housing, cars—and the cultural means available for their realization—in other words the means for making a living, and the social machinery of corporate action. This led us to think of culture as a system of means and ends: the means, technology, social organization, and so on: the ends such material items as food and clothing and such non-material one as "a sense of being respected." For some purposes, this is a useful scheme. But if you try to work within a culture it gets you into difficulties, and as we tried to work with the Fox we were led to abandon it. For a culture cannot be so neatly separated into means and ends—not even our own which believes in the separateness of means and ends, and probably less so in most other cultures. Technology and social organization are not merely means; they are valued, and therefore also ends. As we came to have a view of Fox culture which saw all the parts as valued and as therefore both means and ends we came more to drop the ends-means distinction in our own work; correspondingly, as our own work lost the distinction we came less and less to see it as a useful axis for an analysis of Fox culture.

It is not true of course that in our program we have abandoned the ends-means distinction altogether. We often find it possible to separate out one part of our action program, and to conceive of it in the traditional means-ends form. Thus we have separated out the problem of providing better dental care for the Fox, and sought means to get it. Now would we argue against the traditional means-ends scheme in general. It is only that we have come to find our way of thinking more useful in an action program which tries to work as we do within a complex social situation. It has a kind of "fit" to the pattern of causality in such a social situation, in which all the parts are equally causing and being affected by the others. It has a "fit" to a view of culture in which all parts are both means and ends to the participants. So despite the difficulties, we find that on the whole this is the way we find it more congenial to think—because it is knowledge and control, because it helps in thinking of culture as a valued whole, rather than as a system of separated parts.

Thank you Lisa Peattie. Perhaps it is now clear why we are so skittish about means-ends, scientific method, and the like—and some ways in which action anthropology differs from the usual applied. The question still remains whether out of this activity we get some general knowledge.

From the point of view of anthropology, is what we get worth the obvious difficulties? Is there enough that we hope to learn that can't be learned much more easily in more orthodox ways?

Needless to say, if we didn't think so we would not have continued through the years. I suppose that everything we learn in anthropology we learn from experiences—things that happen—events. One special thing about action is that it greatly increases the frequency of events of which the anthropologist is aware. It is not, however, only the frequency that increases. The quality changes; the quality of the events for the anthropologist is quite different because they are important to him. Every ethnologist in the field faces crises in social relations, when he is himself involved, and indeed when his own fate is somehow in balance. Perhaps he is accused of sorcery, or the officials try to decide if he shouldn't be forced to leave the place. As the events transpire, the ethnologist hardly needs a notebook. The events are seen by
him in the intensity of a white light; he sees more and he sees clearly. It seems to me that he has a tool to see new things comparable in many ways to the microscope of the bacteriologist.

Let me cite an instance from my own experience last summer. It didn't exactly concern our Fox project, but it taught me something that is worth reporting. The national convention of the Native American Church happened to be held on the Fox reservation. The president of the church invited me to come; he asked me to bring David Aberle and J. S. Slotkin too, because the church was in trouble and needed the help of sympathetic whites. Aberle was in Cambridge, Slotkin in Mexico, so I was alone. It occurred to me that it would be good for the cause of the Peyote group if a documentary film could be made of their entire convention, ending with the ceremony itself. The movie would show that this was a legitimate church, convention and all; and that far from being an orgiastic ritual, the ceremony in the tipi is sober and highly sacred in character.

There was only a week's time and no money, and the prospect of organizing such a thing was appalling; but luck was with me. I knew a young moviemaker at the University who helped me in all technical matters; we went to the State University of Iowa and interested the extension division in supplying a sound truck, crew, and all supplies. The convention started on Thursday; the ceremony was to be Saturday night. These arrangements were made on Wednesday night; the first meeting was on Thursday. There was no time to ask any of the Indians. I told the movie people that they should be prepared to come on Friday; I would telephone when I had approval of the Indians. My technical friend was named Otis Imboden; we were both excited and enthusiastic at the prospect. All Thursday afternoon and Friday morning we were part of the business of the convention. There were Indians from many tribes. The speeches were necessarily in English. On Thursday I explained at length and carefully the possible importance to them of the film, and the unusual good fortune that made it possible at no cost. There were questions and discussion, and a night to sleep on it. We were optimistic. The next morning the discussion resumed. Again I made explanations and answered questions. I promised that they would help edit the film and would have to approve it before its use. I said it was up to them. Then followed speech after speech, some for me and some against me. I promised that they would help edit the film and would have to approve it before its use. I said it was up to them. Then followed speech after speech, some for me and some against me. It became clear that everybody thoroughly understood that the film, perhaps shown as evidence in court, could some day establish them as a legitimate religion and peyote as the sacrament they felt it to be; otherwise the church seemed to them in danger. The rub came in the prospect of filming their sacred ceremony. The ritual itself would be inevitably disturbed by technical problems, but perhaps more important they could not picture themselves engaged in the very personal matter of prayer in front of a camera. As one after another expressed their views, pro and con, the tension heightened. To defile a single ritual to save the church became the stated issue, and none of them tried to avoid it. Not a person argued that perhaps the church was not in as great danger as they thought; there was no suggestion of distrust of me; they seemed to accept the dilemma as posed, as though they were acting out a Greek tragedy. I sat in front with the president and his wife, facing the assembly. Fascinated, I listened to the speeches, and gradually the realization came that they were choosing their integrity over their existence; that although these were the more politically oriented members of the church, they could not sacrifice a longed-for and sacred night of prayer. When everybody else had spoken, the president spoke,
and said if the others wished to have the movie made he had no ob-
jections; but he begged then to be excused from the ceremony. Of
course this ended the movie, and the sense of the meeting was clear.
It was over, and then the realization seemed to come over the Indi-
anes that I must be hurt; for all my good and unselfish intentions,
and high hope, and hard work—my reward and Otis' was a clear rebuff.
They had suffered through their dilemmas, and had made the painful
choice that should have relieved their tension. But they realized
now that their peace with themselves had been bought at our expense,
and they began speeches painfully to make amends.

They were wrong, of course. As their decision was being
made I understood that what I had proposed was akin to asking a man
to deliver his wife to a lecherous creditor to save the family from
ruin. Now, therefore, I arose to speak, and could with genuine sin-
cerity apologize for having brought so painful an issue to them. I
had meant to be a friend, but had hurt them. I agreed with their
decision. I would be a poor friend indeed if I resented their decid-
ing an issue for their own good.

Relief was great; the euphoria was instantly restored; and
it was evident then and in the days that followed that they were more
genuinely grateful to me than any Indians had ever been to me for
any material or moral help, and felt closer rapport with me.

What I learned that day about the Peyotists' view of their
ceremony, about the nature of group discussion in an Indian assembly
faced with a real issue, and about the sensitivity of Indians to a
situation of aggression against an individual could come in other
ways. But never I believe so convincingly. In anthropology we can't
prove interpretations of the behavior we see; but in this incident I
was so overwhelmingly convinced—and so by the way was my young friend
Otis—as to remove the doubt to quite another level.

An action program like ours implies the participation by an-
thropologists in innumerable critical events like this. Each one
determine future action. We play for keeps. We make mistakes, and
learn from them painfully; but we learn subtle things that to learn
with equal conviction by other methods would take yeare, if they could
indeed ever be so learned.

In action the interpretations are not lightly made, since they
are acted upon, and are cumulative. For the same reason they are often
tested soon; the anthropologist give himself a great deal of trouble
with a bad hypothesis, and before long becomes extraordinarily sensitive
and careful. Perhaps without an action program some anthropologists
can do as well. Most of us, I believe, play poker less carelessly when
the stakes are high. In action at every point we play for keeps.

Out of these experiences—among the Fox and at Fort Berthold—
we are sure enough of the validity of the hypotheses that Fred Gearing
mentioned, and many others, to act on the base of them. We know they
shall have to be modified, and we look forward to learning in a hun-
dred crucial instances the respects in which they will be modified; but
we build a structure of convictions.

Robert Rietz was to be here this afternoon to talk about some
characteristics of Indian culture, as contrasted with our own, which
he has learned and tested in two seasons with the Fox project followed
by four busy yeare on the Fort Berthold reservation in North Dakota.
He is now back at Tama to take direction of the field work of our new
project. He will have ample opportunity to test his conclusions in action
to discover if as we think he has demonstrated some characteristics that
apply also to the Fox. He sees a concept of the self among Indians that
contrasts in fundamental respects with the concept of the self which is
general among us.

When this is demonstrated, we shall probably come much closer to
understanding why the American Indians still present a problem, and may
give inner substance to the hypothesis, which has become compelling to me
on other grounds, that the American Indians have been adjusting to Ameri-
can society with greater or less success without changing their basic ways
and values; and that they may well continue to do so for an indefinite
period.

No general hypothesis depends upon a case—it wouldn't be general
if it did—no one can never say that such a hypothesis could be suggested
only be a particular set of data. Nevertheless the Fox (and Fort Berthold)
cases have been instrumental in suggesting to us some subtle and important
characteristics of Indian culture, some hypotheses concerning the self-
defeating nature of pressure on Indian to be different from what they are,
predictions of the conditions necessary for constructive adjustment of
Indian to the larger world. The experience has also pushed me to suggest
that the element that anthropologists have generally neglected in our theo-
ries of acculturation is that of volition. If for some reason a people
want to change their way of life, either knowing or not knowing the conse-
quense, or not caring, they can and will do so with such speed that all
our notions of the conservam of culture are rudely denied. Things
called "national aspirations," and prestige, have changed the face of
things in many places in Asia, and left anthropologists far behind. On
the other hand we have falsely assumed that when a native culture is in
contact with our, acculturation may be slow, but it is study and inevit-
able—and obliteration is its destiny. Again this counts out the human
spirit, never more unpredictable than in its group manifestations, and
never firmer than when its symbols involve different groups and cultures.
A successful precinct captain learns to take into account the human spirit;
so does the action anthropologist. In the form in which we bump against it
in Indian communities it is too obvious to be ignored, and when it cannot
be ignored it suggests the lesson that universally the human spirit is the
part of social man that, more than contact and more than outside pressure,
will determine how this culture will change, and when it won't.

It seems to me, at least, that demonstration of propositions of
such kind may well be worth the trials of action anthropology.

EXHIBIT 54

Gearing's "First They Listen" (extracts from University of

How do these anthropologists help a community? Not by moving in
and showing the native population how we do it. Their role of observer-
helper is much more complex than that. First, they listen.

Robert Redfield, Robert A. Hutchins Distinguished Service Profes-
sor of Anthropology, once said, "If you want to get things done in under-
developed areas, it is listening that counts."

These anthropologists are discovering that listening well does
indeed count and that it is not easy. They have relearned an old truth:
You can be helpful only in terms of the aspirations of the community
itself.
Nor are they alone in their concern with listening. Client-centered therapy has decided it is listening that counts. Sociologists are attempting to devise workable methods of assisting communities which feel a need for basic re-direction of efforts—such as southern Illinois mining communities where the mines have closed. In such cases, sociologists watch very closely the expressed wishes of sections of the community and how such wishes get reconciled.

Small-group theorists want to learn about the same processes, as do the adult education people and others.

The common feature of all these activities is permissiveness. Sensitive, perceptive listening is important because the attitude of listening sets up a good relationship between the scientist and the community. If you are psychologically set to listen, you are less prone to act precipitously; and if you act less, the people themselves are prone to act more.

Most of the world now knows that innovations imposed on peoples by foreign powers have boomerang effects. Some the people simply reject the innovation at the first opportunity; more often the innovation gets established but with unexpected and disastrous side-effects.

Anthropologists have been accused of being apologists for the status quo and often the accusation is warranted. They have been in a position to see most often and most clearly the frequent bad effects of imposed innovations among the primitives of the world. They have imagined that "don't touch!" can be a policy.

Such anthropologists made their mistake when they supposed that bad effects occurred because cultures by their nature were conservative. The rapid spread through Africa and Asia of the idea of equality, and the drastic changes which have followed that idea are putting to rest the notion of inherent conservatism of cultures. More probably, the forced imposition was the point at issue, not the innovation itself.

The great difference lies in who does the innovating. Anthropologists have advised colonial administrators: Don't abolish the bride-price because this, that, and such will come tumbling down. They would have done better to have said: Don't you change the bride-price.

The major point is that the people themselves often have to discover what their aspirations are. And where an item from one culture is being considered by another, the chances of error are great. The Indians might want a "factory," a word not too meaningful to them. After experiencing a factory they might very well say, not that. Or they might decide uncles and nephews will have to behave differently. So listening involves more than hearing words. For example, it might involve creating opportunities for testing a variety of occupations—creating learning experiences.

On the whole, the Fox are a vital community. The population is growing rather rapidly.

These, then, are the people whom Tax's group set out to help, with the suggestion that they set up a cooperative farm.

The plan proved useless except as a springboard for learning. Fortunately, the plan was not turned over to be administered, by the Indian Service, for instances—the group stayed around to learn from it. In the ensuing years three shortcomings in the plan became visible.

For instance, the Fox actually do not care for farming. They
talk approvingly of farming in the abstract, but given the choice between farming and wage labor, they apparently would choose the latter. In spite of great efforts by the Indian Service over the last generation and in spite of being in the center of the most prosperous farming area on earth, they have never acted very enthusiastically about farming. Iowans are prone to say disapprovingly of them: "Three thousand acres and not a cow!" The Fox have had gardens of corn, beans, and squash since before the white men came, but little cash farming.

Among the reasons why the plan failed, is a Fox idea which, not familiar to us, went little-noticed. The idea was "harmony." Indians elevate harmony to a major principle. The Fox embody in the word an idea about the relation between man and nature which is the polar opposite of ours. We set out to conquer nature, subdue it, wring energy from it, and turn the energy back upon it. The Fox live with nature. They imagine a universe of reciprocal rights and duties—a balanced harmony among parts. The Fox are but one part. All the parts must maintain that harmony if the universe is to persist.

The 3,300 acres which are home to the Fox present some remarkable contrasts to the lands which surround them. A geographer once looked at an aerial photograph of that section of Iowa and to his trained eye, the boundaries of the Fox settlement were easily visible. Years ago Indian service workers cleared and fenced much of the Fox land according to the sharply geometric patterns of Iowa farms. Many of these acres are now covered with brush and trees. But even the sections of Fox land which have remained under cultivation were distinguishable from surrounding farms—through the years fence lines had become wider, corners more round. Fox farmers seem less intent in keeping nature in check. The Fox have not become prosperous Iowa farmers.

The plan for a farming co-operative proved impractical for a second reason. The Fox do not really want a co-operative; at least, they do not want a co-operative such as the one envisaged by the plan. Co-operatives, as we think of them, are too authoritarian for the Fox. The Indians talk about co-operatives quite favorably and often they do cooperate—under certain conditions they cooperate at extreme lengths. What they will not permit is majority rule.

Walter B. Miller was a member of Tax' first field party in 1948. He became interested in the ways the Fox handle authority. In 1950 he returned and completed his analysis. Grossly summarized, Miller discovered that the Fox consider the exercise of authority indecent. In the 1700's the Fox made decisions unanimously or not at all; group co-ordination occurred through voluntary co-operation or not at all. People were nudged into agreement and co-operation through gossip and other diffuse sanctions. But central loci of authority did not exist. The same rules still apply in 1956.

It is not enough to say that the plan for a co-op farm was drawn before sufficient analysis had occurred. The Fox all thought they wanted a co-op farm. That in itself is a relevant fact. It would have been no better had the field party said, "After studying you, we discover you cannot have a co-operative farm."

The fact is that the Fox must themselves discover what the alternatives are and make the choice. The choice in this instance was not only between having money and not having it (and of course
there are many other thinkable ways the Fox could make more money). The choice was between making money and being indecent toward man and toward nature. And neither of the sides of the choice point can be taken, by the outsiders, as "given." It may be highly probable that the Fox will choose to retain their definitions of decency; but they could choose to alter those definitions and become co-operative farmers.

I spoke of the spurious Fox aspirations for a co-op farm. In discussing that desire I spoke of Fox ideas about decent relations among men and between man and nature; those Fox ideas are values. Values are not spurious. They tend to be very clear to the people and very stable over time. The only trouble is, in every society, including Indian societies, values conflict and compete among themselves. To date, the values of a society have defied adequate characterization. It has been obvious that values of a society stand in competition, even conflict with one another, so many anthropologists have supposed that each society has a hierarchy of values, a rank ordering of precedence. But such value hierarchies have proven very elusive.

The writer is willing to assume such a hierarchy does not exist. The Fox value material goods; they also value non-authoritarian inter-personal relations. When the anthropologists drew up their plans, the Fox became publicly aware of the possibility of co-operative farming. A co-op farm coincided with the first value and conflicted with the second. But those two values were not already ranked. They were not items in a hierarchical system of values waiting to be applied by the Fox to this new activity. The Fox could have selected either one. The Indians had to make a choice.

In an imperfect sense, the Fox have decided that the rules about proper personal relations take precedence in this instance. The decision is imperfect and might still go the other way. Robert Rietz reports that, since November of last year, the Fox have been feeling their way into the production of such things as greeting cards and decorative tiles, using designs by Fox artists. The Fox idea, again, is that this work will be organized as some form of co-operative. But the details of interpersonal relations will work themselves out slowly. It is very likely that, with success, the Fox will come to consider certain kinds of delegated authority as perfectly proper. They did so before, in their war parties.

So the decision for or against a co-op was a true choice, not some latent cultural fact waiting to express itself. As a choice it has that degree of arbitrariness and that great degree of unpredictability of all human choices.

But why is it that the choice need be made by them? Anthropologists have long asserted (intending various meanings) that cultures are integrated wholes. Small face-to-face communities usually rely heavily on gossip and other diffuse methods to maintain a necessary conformity. If gossip and the like is to be a sufficient control, there must be a broad base of public consensus. For that reason such choices among values must be public. The decisions need not occur at town-meetings. But the need is for thorough public airing of the question. In effect the people decide that one value is to apply and another is not to apply and another is not to apply. The result is that everyone knows, then, how their shared values apply in this instance. The process has to occur for each new instance and it
The result is an integrated culture—not integrated in the sense that all the activities mesh in assembly-line fashion or that all the values are harmonious. But integrated in the sense that everyone knows how the competing values apply for every important life activity. Having such public knowledge of right and wrong, in all the particulars, small societies can maintain public order through gossip and the like.

It is just that crucial process of public decision-making which gets circumvented when innovations are forcefully imposed by outsiders. In its place stand very different considerations. A faction usually appears which is for the outsider or for "progress," or some other abstraction. A second faction is against. The imposed innovation itself is seldom seriously discussed in its own right—it is good or bad, depending upon whether you are of the faction that co-operate, as general policy, or of the other faction. In many Indian communities the two factions are literally called the "yeses" and the "noes." Once an innovation gets established without the public airing and without the public agreement as to how the values are to be assigned, the group is henceforth unable to provide its own co-ordination. Now there is gossip in at least two directions.

One value of listening well is that it enables you to hear what to do. More importantly, it forestalls the forced imposition of both good and bad innovations. Both, if imposed, are likely to boomerang. If listening well reduces the possibility of precipitate actions which impose innovation, then it does count. But paradoxically, in order to listen best, the anthropologist must also talk and even create possibilities for new learning experience. In that way, new ideas occur to societies and new ideas are the raw materials of the behavior we are really trying to hear.
VII: THE CHANGING PROGRAM

The 1959 Symposium at the Central States Anthropological Society meeting provided an opportunity to outline and explain the current activities of the Fox Project. Gearing detailed the events leading up to the creation of a scholarship program, the initial proposal for which is Exhibit 46 in Section I. The immediate acceptance of the plan by the community seemed to indicate that going to college did not constitute rejection of all things Fox. The development of the Tamacraft industry, designed to serve the community in a variety of ways, was also enthusiastically received by the Fox. Their participation in the cooperative allowed identification with prestigious groups in the larger society at the same time that it provided new function relationships with other Fox. Gearing made it plain that the continuation of these two endeavors and the dropping of other ideas was based solely on the reaction of the Fox—that no certain way exists of determining beforehand that the Fox would find these particular activities rewarding and practical innovations. Rietz, who as field director of the Project had helped to initiate the crafts cooperative, presented a refined diagnosis based on the new dimensions of identity added to traditional Fox character structure. He demonstrated the way in which current projects could help Fox individuals exchange the role of dependent and day laborer for more rewarding roles such as educational chairman of council, Indian artist, and worker in a socially meaningful crafts industry. Recognition of these new roles by whites would do much to displace the harmful stereotypes which constantly color their behavior toward Indians.

Further information on the evolution and organization of the crafts project as the major focus of Project activity is supplied in Exhibit 56, an excerpt from Gearing's chapter on Action Anthropology as Field Program in the 1957 ms. of A Reader in Action Anthropology. The methods of avoiding the pitfalls of previous organizations supply fascinating evidence of Fox values relating to authority as they are in fact expressed (cf. Miller, Exhibit 21). Incidents illustrate the effective functioning of the new group and the accommodations to Indian cultural requirements which the industry must make.

Exhibit 55

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO—Symposium: The Fox Project
Sol Tax, Fred Gearing & Robert Rietz
(Given at the annual meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society—Spring, 1956.)

Sol Tax: Diagnosis for Action.—In the summers of 1932 and 1934, I first visited the settlement of Indians near Tama (Iowa) about 70 miles northwest of here. These are often called Sac and Fox, but they call themselves Mesquakies. I studied their kinship and social organization, and came away with the impression that they were remarkably well organized in terms of Indian forms and adjusted as a community, even taking account of an old factional split. Needless to say, they were poor, but in the height of the depression of '32 and '34 I suppose everybody was, and I didn't notice any particular hardship. They seemed to be a "going concern" in terms of their ancient cultures. This was surprising, since they were a small community of Indians in the middle of Iowa, and the only Indian group in the state. After 100 years of peaceful living within the larger white society, one might have expected the Indians to have become pretty much like other Iowans. But they had maintained not only their
identity, and pride in their own history, but also a large core of their traditional culture.

In the summer of 1948, mainly to provide opportunity for field training, the University of Chicago sent to the Mesquakie six students to study various problems according to their interests. Through the years, between trips to Guatemala, I had kept in touch with my Indian friends, in a casual way, but I did not know what had happened to the community since 1934. The depression had turned into the New Deal and WPA and CCC and other projects in which the Indians participated. There was also the new Collier and the philosophy about Indians with the Indian Reorganization Act. And then had come the war. Many veterans returned home and had difficulty re-adjusting to life in the Indian settlement. We therefore expected many changes from 1934 to 1948. It turned out that the community had increased in size from about 400 to 600; more people were graduating from high school; more people were working successfully in a greater variety of occupations in more communities in Iowa. But the community was as distinctive as before, and perhaps as proud. If there was a great difference it was that the Indians felt a greater sense of problems; they wanted their local security, but they also wanted things from the world.

Or perhaps anthropology had changed with the depression and the war, and we noticed the problems more than I had earlier. Surely, we became concerned less with the traditional aspects of the culture than with the ways in which the community and the people were dealing—or not dealing—with their internal factionalism and with their relations to whites. We accepted the problems of the Indians as problems for study. In 1948, we began to try to understand in this local setting the processes of acculturation, adjustment, community organization; and instead of observing from the outside we began to do what every physician does—learn while helping. Ever since we have been developing a program of what is now called Action Anthropology.

It is not our purpose today to discuss the kind of enterprise this thing is that is called Action Anthropology. My job today is only to introduce what we call the Fox Project. I shall tell what the problem is as we diagnose it; we view that diagnosis as a hypothesis. Fred Gearing will then give certain facts about two of our action programs which tend to confirm the hypothesis. Finally, Robert Rietz will show how, as we engage in these programs, the initial diagnosis is becoming more precise and, potentially, more applicable to other cases.

The initial diagnosis gradually developed out of our group's discussions—at least a dozen students were heavily involved from 1948 until 1954. We then thought we knew enough to seek funds from a Foundation for a four-year project which would at once test our hypothesis—or the way we sized up the situation—and (we hoped) substantially better the situation of the Indian community. We got the money and are nearing the end of our second year.

Here is a map of Iowa. Highway 30 and main lines of both the Northwestern and the Milwaukee roads run through the Indian settlement. Thirty-three hundred acres, 3 miles from Tama and Toledo which together have 5,000 people. Tama is the shopping center; the Indians go to Tama high school. They have a day school run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs—about 130 children. This is the main service the federal government provides. There is a contract doctor who keeps clinic hours in the school. The total cost of these federal services are about $60,000 a year. Six or eight Indian families get relief through the county like other people
who need it, except that the county does not pay its share; the State pays both its own and the county's shares to match the federal contribution. This is the sum of services actually provided by any government agencies. I suppose there are other potential or occasional resources provided to the Indians as to others, but they are neither substantial nor in people's consciousness.

The Indians once bought this tract of land. After the Blackhawk War the U.S. assigned a reservation in Kansas to them. The Indians scorned it and with permission of the territorial government purchased 80 acres in 1857 which have grown to 3300 acres of partly floodlands and woods they now hold—communally. They do not farm much—the land could not support the population of 600-odd anyway. They lease to a white farmer the best piece of land for enough income to pay taxes on all the land; they do not pay a school tax, and taxes on the land, if fully assessed at normal county rates, could not possibly support the education, health, and welfare services for the population. The Indians believe that in exchange for giving up their lands in Illinois and in Iowa and coming under U.S. supervision, the government committed itself to provide such services as long as required.

The Indians earn their livings by working as unskilled and skilled laborers and artisans in the towns around, commuting from the settlement each day, or else living in town and returning to the settlement on weekends or on special occasions. In their work they are like other citizens—they pay income tax and sales tax; vote; and so on. But they have strong ties to the moral system and social customs of their people, and they rarely break off ties and give up their Indian identity. There are a few marginal persons who cannot live either inside or outside the Indian way, and this is symptomatic of a more general problem which affects everybody in some considerable degree. The Indians see their problem as one of factionalism—not being able to get together—and as lack of education and resources, and as discrimination against them. There is a stone house on the highway once erected for the community to use as a shop to sell Indian crafts to passing tourists. It stands empty—a symbol to some of Indian ineffectiveness. But on the other hand the annual Pow-Wow proves that in some circumstances the community operates very well with respect to the wider community. What then is the difficulty?

We see the problem as embodied in a complicated set of factors which we simplify as a vicious circle. (A) is a complex something like this: Whites believe that the Fox are a financial burden. Most Americans exaggerate what Indians get from the government, even imagining they are on a dole. This carries over locally; the Tama county people avoid taking on the financial burden, and fear that the Indians may be dumped on them. At the same time they probably think they are already paying bills. If they ask themselves why the government has to provide these services, they answer it is because the Indians are lazy and therefore cannot take care of themselves. In fact, the moral values of these Indians are such that they act in ways that Whites define as laziness. The Indians are not competitive and not only have no interest in pushing ahead of the next person, but usually think that it is immoral to do so. Besides, these Indians do not live for themselves in the future as middle class whites characteristically do. The Indians see themselves more as incomplete pieces of a whole, their good behavior dependent upon the interests of their kin and their fellows, and their perception of what Whites, too, expect of them. They cannot operate easily in many of the jobs they can get. In the definition of the White culture, their behavior is interpreted as "lazy."
The Whites, thus seeing the Indians as a burden, suppose wishfully that this cannot go on forever. Whether for this reason or otherwise, (B) they believe the Indians are "temporary." This is a general tendency in the U.S., and has been throughout our history. Either we say they are unassimilable, and push them out of sight and feel justified that no attempt is made to help them adjust. When this is the dominant mood, Whites don't act at all—rather, they wait for the Indian to "die out." Or else we say the contrary—that assimilation is inevitable and the problem is to get them over a temporary hump until they get lost in the population. When this is the dominant mood, Whites act, but (C) act to speed the inevitable assimilation, the disappearance of the Indians into the population at large. A current example is the present policy of the federal government in attempting to withdraw from what the Indians consider obligations long incurred. It is based on the notion that if the Indians are tossed into the water they will learn to swim. The sink or swim policy has of course occurred before—somebody has quipped that when the Indians are tossed in to sink or swim, though, they float everybody. They float. At any rate, Congress finds it difficult to think of its obligations to Indians as perpetual, so it adopts the slogan—eventually, why not now? This leads to a complicated reaction (D).

The Indians are frightened—even paralysed—at the prospect of losing the few services they have, and especially the school. It is not only a matter of principle and policy—they do not want withdrawal because the present arrangement implies to them an earlier mutual agreement, recognition by the U.S., that the Fox are a sovereign historic community. The implication of breaking the treaty unilaterally is that the Fox are no longer a community. Many Fox object to their possible disappearance. Further, we see an objective necessity for Indians to oppose the threat of withdrawal. The local White community already fears that the burden of a depressed group will fall on them if federal withdrawal should occur; the White taxpayers would probably put even more pressure on the Indians to behave in ways that the Indians consider obligations long incurred. The local White community already fears that the burden of a depressed group will fall on them if federal withdrawal should occur; the White taxpayers would probably put even more pressure on the Indians to behave in ways that the Indians cannot or will not. So the Fox desperately need the federal support and cannot consider any constructive alternatives that involve the possibility of its withdrawal.

They therefore are negative to most proposals for change that might lead in this direction. As a community they are paralyzed, but this only confirms the notion of whites that something is wrong with Indians, and makes them want to make the Indians behave like white people. But most Indians, during most waking moments, do not behave like Whites—if they had been willing to, they would have done so long ago.

So the Indians appear to be resisting change. In fact, of course they do resist some kinds of change, but only appear to resist other kinds of change. But what about Indian resistance to change? It seems to us that most of these Indians will not make a change which (1) requires them to switch their identification; if a change requires that, they desert their group and their group symbols, probably only Indians already expatriated will change. Nor will most of these Indians make changes that would (2) violate Fox moral values. If, in order to get along in the world, a man is required to violate what the group holds necessary and sacred, most will not do it. It is here, for example, that the different notions of authority held by Whites and Indians become important. Generally, Indians think it wrong for one man to boss another; White men think legitimate bosses are necessary and good. Many other things, needed to get along well, many Fox cannot or will not do. So, Fox often fail and
repeated failures have brought them to fear trying to play the game by White rules. So they resist changes that Whites demand to make them self-supporting and less a burden, and the circle is closed.

The vicious circle characterizes the current situation of the Fox community. As we go about attempting to change that situation we are coming to understand it more precisely.

The two irreducible conditions of community wide change are therefore that the new behavior does not require either (1) a loss of Fox identity, or (2) a violation of Fox moral beliefs. One takes for granted also that the change is practically possible—that the new behavior required is understandable and feasible, and that there is some reason, from the point of view of the Indians, to make it. Given these two general limitations, we suppose any change is possible.

It is the object of our Action to free the Indians to make the changes that they wish to and that would appear from our hypothesis to be in their interest. We want to break into the vicious circle at any point, and actually we have been attacking at several. Most simply, we have been telling everybody we can just what we are telling you. That assimilation (or its opposite) is not inevitable; that Indians can maintain their identity as Indians while making such changes as won't violate their own values but are still sufficient to make them self-sustaining. We say further, that one necessary condition is a continuation for as long as needed of the small mount of money provided by the federal government for Indian education and health. But preaching is also accompanied by other activities. We attempt to interest politicians in the idea of some financial arrangement that will guarantee the maintenance of the school and clinic, but on a basis where the Indians will make their own decisions concerning their education and health so that the Whites see that they are capable of running their own affairs. We are also embarked on the two programs that Fred Gearing will now describe: one is a scholarship program to bring young Indians into the profession, so that they can enter the White economy at levels other than as laborers and artisans. The second is to help the Indians to develop a cooperative to produce and sell Indian crafts. Perhaps the greatest and served by these, as Rietz will show, is removing obstacles that keep Indians from relating to functional White organizations and interest groups; such new relations are both desired by the Indians and need not require that they change either their identification as Indians or their moral values.

I turn now to Fred Gearing who will describe these two activities.

Fred Gearing: Two Activities.—I shall describe two major activities which seem to us especially interesting and I shall relate each to a point in the vicious circle diagnosis described by Dr. Tax. The two activities are: (1) We are helping to make it possible for all Fox youths to receive professional education, and (2) we are watching and assisting an emergent Fox industry.

I will describe first the new possibilities for Fox youths to become professionals—teachers, lawyers, doctors and nurses, engineers, etc. We use the term professional very broadly and mean only that the Fox students are, in school, preparing for some definite careers, other than semi-skilled "vocational" careers. Our earliest recollection of the first explicit thought about scholarships for Fox youths is a con-
versation between the chairman of the Fox tribal council and Dr. Tax in 1954. At some point in that conversation they remember themselves agreeing that ample scholarships would be a good thing. On the drive back from Tama to Chicago, Dr. Tax talked with several of us at some length about the possibilities of scholarships. Back in Chicago we finished arranging the relevant facts in our minds, insofar as we could know them, and we drew up a statement asking foundations for help. The total program was to cost $100,000; it would last ten years and probably involve 18 or 20 Fox youths. We anticipated that, of those persons between 6 and 10 would end up practicing a profession and that most, perhaps all, of those new professionals, would be practicing close enough to the Fox community to permit them to maintain their ties and interests in the community.

Almost immediately Dr. Tax had a conversation with President Hancher of the State University of Iowa and President Hancher received permission from the Iowa State Board of Regents to grant free remissions to students under the program. During the next six months we asked a number of foundations for financial help, with inadequate response. But, in any event, when the beginning of this school year came around, we were able to help the three Fox youths who wanted to get started to do so. Today, the fund-raising problems are basically solved.

A committee will administer the scholarship program, consisting of Dr. Tax as chairman, Dr. Alton Fisher of the State University, Mr. Ben Jones, Tama Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Robert Rietz whose paper follows, and Dr. Reynold Rupps of the State University. The committee will counsel with students and their parents and later will concern themselves with job placement.

We have an image of the Fox community which is relevant to our thought about scholarships. The Indian "community" has never been and is not now simply the physical limits of the tribal lands. In aboriginal times, the tribe travelled great distances in pursuit of a living—hunting and trapping. Today they travel twenty-five to a hundred miles to their jobs; most commute daily or weekly, and some visit the settlement but occasionally. Still they are members of the community. They maintain their personal ties and participate in the community affairs. We suppose that a Fox doctor, practicing in Waterloo—fifty miles north of the Fox settlement, could easily remain a functional member of the Fox community.

Dr. Tax has described the vicious circle hypothesis. You recall that he said, in regard to one segment (D) of that circle, that the Fox resist pressures for across-the-board changes and that at the same time they have been changing, and will continue to change. He also suggested that changes do not occur which (1) demand a loss of Fox identity and (2) demand a violation of Fox morality. We supposed that professional training was a change the Fox were eager for.

Actual events proved us more right, even than we had imagined. We had talked to perhaps a half-dozen Fox about the idea and they had seemed favorably disposed. But we had made no fanfares. When the Iowa Board of Regents announced its grant, a news item appeared in Iowa papers. Two weeks after that item appeared, a group of Chicago Anthropology students went to the Fox for a weekend social visit. The Fox
person after person, initiated conversation about the scholarships and spoke at length about what a fine idea it was. Everyone liked the idea and went out of his way to say so. And in action as well as words. In the fall four young Fox could have started to college; three of those four did ask to begin. They entered Iowa State Teachers College, the State University and Grinnell College with the idea of becoming a school teacher, a nurse, and a journalist respectively. It now appears that four more will enter colleges this coming fall.

Why that positive response by the community at large? We can only say that, in Fox eyes, the idea of going to college does not now imply a rejection of things which to Fox are important.

First, it is a matter of adding a sense of identification—with teachers, say, as a class of Americans, or doctors or engineers—variously for each potential student and his family and close friends. But those new identifications seem not to imply, to the Fox at large, a subtraction from Fox identification. Second, these new occupations appear not to imply to the Fox any contradictions with important Fox moral values.

Indeed, the new roles are as likely to create ties among Fox which are stronger because they are more functional. We suppose that these new professionals would increase the competence of the Fox in coping with White men. Not as doers of the community's work only, or even primarily, but also as channels of communication. A Fox lawyer would not necessarily do the community's legal work. More likely, he could be seen as a trustworthy source of information and advice about law and lawyers which Fox could easily turn to.

We are preparing to discover that, in certain instances, the Fox and we are wrong. Being a nurse, say, may turn out to require the internalized acceptance of certain values which do conflict with Fox values. If that should prove true both us and the Fox will learn something new about Fox values. An individual faced with such a choice might choose to give up the Fox values and Fox identification. But the Fox at large would probably think less of nursing as a possible career and the chances are that fewer Fox would select nursing as a vocation thereafter.

In our original statement of the scholarship program we said:

It is now apparent that Indian communities are "permanent" for the foreseeable future. Unless we wish to embark on a program of forced dispersion of Indian communities which would do violence to our democratic ideals, the "Indian problem" thus boils down to the question whether America can establish conditions under which these communities can be effectively related to the larger society in ways which will take account of their internal needs and provide for the growth of their traditions.

If the Fox tradition is to grow, that differentiation of role—that addition of new roles without corresponding loss of Fox identifications or violations of Fox values—will probably be the major channel of that growth.

I turn now briefly to the emerging community industry. My major point about the scholarship program is also true here—this too was a change the Fox proved eager for.

I do not mean to imply that we are shrewd. It is not our knowledge of the Fox community, its organization and aspirations which makes these two programs good. Such knowledge is present in some mod-
erate and increasing degree. But we have had a number of intuitions about things the Fox might do which have not met with positive response. The important point is that we consciously and purposefully mistrust our knowledge. We dropped those ideas as soon as the Fox indicated their lack of enthusiasm, and we learned something from the experience. These two programs we are pursuing—because the Fox are.

This new development which can become a community industry is now called Tamaoraft. The Indian members have organized it as a cooperative. The idea started unspectacularly as the scholarship idea—this time a chance conversation between Mr. Rietz and Mr. Charles Pushetonequa, a Fox artist. Two kinds of products are involved: first, the products of the co-op itself; paint-it-yourself kits of Fox dancers and hunters, decorative ceramic tiles, greeting cards, enamel-on-copper jewelry, and others; all use designs by Mr. Pushetonequa and all are produced in quantity. The second products are handicrafts made by Fox individuals.

The basic idea in the minds of Mr. Pushetonequa and Mr. Rietz was to establish an institution which would serve the Fox community in a variety of ways:

1. It would, in manufacturing its own products, provide wages for workers, members of the co-op and non-members alike; it would also share its profits among the members.

2. It would (besides selling to commercial dealers) sell its own products at wholesale prices to any Fox for resale by them.

3. It would buy raw materials which any Fox could buy at wholesale prices for use in making their individual handicrafts, and

4. It would provide a channel of distribution of those individual handicrafts, insofar as individuals wished to use that channel.

The Fox indicated by their response eagerness for this change in much the same manner as they indicated an eagerness for the scholarships. Persons dropped by to help and refused pay for their work. Persons marvelled at the first finished product—a paint-it-yourself kit of Indian dancers designed by Mr. Pushetonequa, the artist. Right now the Tamaoraft organization has a sales and exhibit booth at a boat show in Des Moines with some products on display. The initial idea has become a very tangible thing.

Why that response? Again, the idea presented opportunities for realizing a sense of identification with prestigious groups in the larger society. It presented opportunity for new and functional relations among Fox. And it did both of these things without, at the same time, implying that the involved Fox need foreswear their own image of "Foxness."

There are unanswered questions here also, as with the scholarship program. The Fox handle authority in their interpersonal relations very gingerly. Usually, if a Fox attempts to exercise the slightest authority over other Fox, it will be resisted—unless there is a very strong conviction that that person has a special competence which makes such authority a functional thing for all. It is not unlike our own view of legitimate versus illegitimate authority—except that the Fox are initially much more skeptical and their conviction about the person's special competence must be that much stronger. That Fox nervousness about authority will surely cause the co-op group to feel its way slowly. We can hope to understand more of the nature of Fox interpersonal relations as the group works out their problems.
About both the scholarships for professional education and the emergent community industry, I have said:

First: The Fox were strongly in favor of both of these ideas as soon as the ideas occurred to them and to us, more or less simultaneously.

Second: The apparent reason for that eagerness for change was that the ideas promised new roles which (1) allow identification with certain prestigious occupation-groups in the larger society which were appealing to the Fox, (2) provide an opportunity for new and functional relations with other Fox, and (3)—Dr. Tax's two points—do not appear to demand that the Fox give up their sense of Fox identity or certain values of Fox life which seem important to them.

You have discerned by now how much importance in all our activities we think feedback from the community is. The Fox either like or dislike an idea, or sometimes both. From such feedback, in very great measure, we disclose our ignorances. This both teaches us most of what we know of human behavior in this society and helps insure that what we do will in fact help the Fox rather than harm them.

That is the major reason we dislike the sense of the term "applied" anthropology. In effect, we are denying that anthropology is the kind of science, now, that permits any of us to analyze accurately enough and completely enough to draw up a workable plan which can then be turned over to men of affairs to apply. There are too many imponderables. In human affairs, the most imponderable thing of all is aspiration. Human choices, we must suppose, are not fortuitous. But the factors which enter such choices today resist analysis in very great degree.

In the Fox program, we get a lot of ideas and we are not at all bashful about talking about them with the Fox. By now the Fox see rather clearly that we will not be unhappy to learn that an idea is terrible, so they are not likely to pretend to like an idea which seems to them unsound. And, of course, they have new ideas of their own.

In this give and take, tentative, probing way we do action anthropology. In doing it we advance our knowledge and, we now feel quite sure, advance Fox well-being.

Robert Rietz will show how, in the course of implementing these two programs, we have come to a more refined diagnosis. The several parts of the initial diagnosis still remain and no new elements have been introduced. Further, the total system of causation remains. But some elements of the total system now seem to us relatively more important than others. Robert Rietz will speak of those more significant dimensions of the total situation.

Robert Rietz: The Refined Diagnosis.—As you have heard, the Fox today experience an almost constant pressure to change our ways. This conversion pressure is general and undiscriminating, in that any kind of change toward our ways is apt to be thought of by non-Indians as a mark of progress. What seems to be expected by non-Indians, generally, is that a sort of exchange process will more and more rapidly take place, through which one culture is to be progressively replaced by another. The end point which is expected is one of assimilation, after which there are to be no more Fox as such.

This general type of conversion pressure through rule, example and exhortation, with its implicit unfavorable comparison of Fox culture with White, and presaging the end of the Fox, meets with resent-
ment and resistance from many of the Fox. In their folk-like community, the personal identification as Fox, and in terms of kinship, are primary dimensions of the self, and the end of the Fox, through assimilation, is death to the Fox, too. People tend to shun and to fear such a thought.

Nevertheless, the Fox are changing, and in ways in which they actively desire to continue to do so. There is a process of differentiation, for example, that has been going on for a long time. Many Fox think of themselves in terms which include membership identity in groups far more inclusive than the family, the lineage, or the Fox community; reference groups which extend to occupational, regional and what we might call social class levels. But these are, in an important sense, dimensions which are in addition to that of being a Fox.

This kind of change, and the latent disposition for a wider participation which it implies, do not imply the wholesale, progressive, piecemeal cultural exchange expected by Whites, nor does it necessarily imply loss or devaluation of being a Fox.

The major formal institution of the Fox Settlement today, the day school, is provided for the Fox by the Federal government and operated from the principalship to the janitors job by federal employees who are not truly responsible to anyone within the community in which they serve. This fact contributes very importantly toward the maintenance of the white stereotype of the Fox as generally too lazy, incompetent and backward to take care of themselves and their own affairs. It is not the fact of federal subsidy so much as the fact of the administration that does this.

Also important in the formation and maintenance of this white conception is the fact of the relative dis-articulation of the Fox community from other communities of the surrounding area. This, again, comes about through the special preemption of local Fox community administration by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the direct operation of Fox community services—which are necessarily subsidized. Another general source of this conception comes from the more public behavior of the Fox themselves, as a result of the peculiar role into which they have been forced by the fact of direct government operation of subsidized services. The Fox tribal council can initiate action which can be carried out if their is no disapproval by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or, in many cases, only after approval by the Bureau. The Bureau, as the liaison between federal government and the Fox, can, and often does, initiate action to be put into effect whether the Fox approve or not—often against their express wishes, in fact. The Tribal Council, therefore, is an impotent body, and, by extension, the settlement as well.

The effective relationship between Fox and white, whether through the Bureau or through influential friends and benefactors of the Fox, is a dickering relationship involving a perpetual negotiating role, and the Fox have no choice but to carry out this role to the best of their talent and ability. All too often, without adequate understanding of this development not of the Fox’s choosing (nor wholly to their liking) the white conception of this Fox public behavior is that of a perpetual and unseemly clamor for special privilege by a group being taken care of as public wards. For some whites, the more ably the Fox defend their desperately needed subsidy, the more their appearance suggests that they should perhaps be taking care of themselves. The facts of over-administration, community dis-articulation,
and the dickering role, constantly reiterate the fact of Fox differ-
entness in unnecessary and unproductive ways, blocking community
development wanted by both Fox and white, supporting an unwarranted
and unfavorable white stereotype of the Fox, and endangering the sub-
sidy essential to the Fox community.

The effect of the unfortunate combination of federal subsidy
and direct federal operation upon Fox internal community organization
is disastrous. There is hardly an effective way for Fox to relate to
one another with reference to vital matters of community services, and
hence of community organization, except to periodically elect their
most able dickers to the tribal council. Leadership qualifications
here involve verbal ability, ability to make and use influential
friends among whites, and a willingness to boldly confront the white
man in negotiations, together with some familiarity with the history
of Fox negotiations.

By subtle inference and outright suggestion, the council is
continually faced with demands to accept the Bureau's programs of
"progress" and the disowning of the settlement's way of life in "back-
wardness,"—a fact which contributes in no small measure to isolate the
council membership and to recruit it from within a very small group,
set apart within their own community. Since, in effect, the tribal
council can act effectively only in accord with Indian Bureau programs
and suggestions, the council is disowned as an institution, and avoid-
ed and ignored by a very significant number of Fox themselves.

A coherent system of community relations to experience and
cope with the realities of present day Fox community adjustment and
development, in line with actual Fox goals, is very probably impossi-
ble to achieve under these general circumstances. The Fox must have
their subsidy, and they need the assistance of guidance without con-
trol authority save to insure simply that funds get spent for the
general purposes for which they were appropriated. Today, Fox leader-
ship must operate at such a general level of negotiation that no
opportunity is allowed them to learn and serve in the minutiae of every-
day activities which are the life-processes of community in the actual-
ization of vital community institutions.

Until the fact of a needed subsidy is divorced from the fact of
an unnecessary and paralyzing outside administration, it is very doubt-
ful that the Fox can achieve community, much less a progressive citizen-
ship participation, as they desire to do. Whites seem to be better able
to appreciate this general situation more easily than the Fox, since
the latter have been so terrorized by repeated threats of Federal ter-
mination of its special relationship to them that the acceptance of such
a proposition as the divorce of subsidy from federal administration is
rather frightening to them.

With the introduction of our scholarship program, the role of
educational committee chairman of the Fox Tribal Council has acquired a
functional significance heretofore largely lacking. The committee is
now acquiring a file of informative materials on Iowa vocational schools
and colleges. The chairman is becoming equipped to advise, counsel and
encourage Mesquakie student aspirants, and is doing these things and
wanting to. His activities are recognized and appreciated by a growing
number of other Fox, who defer to him in this field. His sense of a
certain class membership is finding a sort of functional fulfillment,
difficult to achieve, ordinarily, on the settlement.

Mostly Fox bread-winners are wage workers who leave the settle-
ment for the day or the five-day week and return home. Local employment opportunity of this kind is largely sporadic and of an unskilled-labor sort. Semi-professional opportunities, such as teacher, assistant coach or athletic instructor, accountant, and so on, do also exist in the same general area. Fox who are trained to fill these roles may find fulfillment of more inclusive identifications than Fox community membership, while remaining Fox and remaining members of the Fox community as this extends to those who work (or also even live) close by. It may be, of course, that the experience of college or other special training will bring with it pressures toward change in such things, for example, as attitudes toward public Indian dancing, the evaluation of the learning of the Mesquakie language by children, the maintenance of Mesquakie kinship relationships, which, if accomplished, might serve to isolate such Fox from their Fox community. The extent to which this may happen we cannot, of course, predict. We hope that the Fox community will be enriched by the addition of these roles and this fulfillment.

Mr. Gearing has mentioned our assistance to a small group engaged in the manufacture and sale of handicraft items. Leadership for this group has come largely from a young Mesquakie artist who identifies himself quite strongly as such and as one of the community of artists. He has had some acquaintanceships within that larger group, and he talks about kinds and levels of artistic expression.

He wants to be an artist, very much. But he is not about to leave the Mesquakie community or to stop being a Mesquakie to do this unless, perhaps in a sort of final surrender. It is very doubtful if he would be able to carry this out. He has supported himself and his family, meantime, through sporadic employment in unskilled labor jobs.

In the work of developing the little handicraft industry, he has worked long and carefully over periods of time, restricting other activities, for little financial reward. He has tried to learn business practices of procurement, production and sales. He consistently tries to think of ways in which the small industry would be able to benefit the others of the Settlement. But, he also religiously attends the clan ceremonies, takes part in the social hand games, speaks Mesquakie with his children, and behaves well in accordance with Mesquakie kinship patterns. He is still a Mesquakie, but—he has found a way to express, to live out, his artist dimension, as it were, and to do this in relation to other Mesquakies, and in ways which are mutually satisfying. In the crafts organization, we might imagine a growing aspect of social organization contributing toward the achievement of a community more effectively organized with reference to common goals and in terms of supporting roles. The lack of this kind of community integration is sensed as a very real problem by most Mesquakies, and is a point of much general concern.

Others of the community involved in the little industry have worked long and hard at routine drudgery, to a degree that they could be "fully depended upon" as we say, because this was a task socially meaningful.

In this little crafts industry, whites have evidence that the Fox are making the sort of changes that whites have been pressing upon them in ways that assumed their extinction, but without this presumed extermination. They have been eager to help. Fox have been eager to take part in the crafts project as the sort of thing which is precisely what they most want to do—become respected participants in Iowa without implying a present degradation and without having to die out
as Fox to do it. Here, white pressures to assimilation are modified to white help for Fox participation as Fox, while Fox resistance is absent and white assistance is welcomed. The white conception of the Fox as a dependent burden can be seriously modified with this positive rather than passive recipient role for the Fox, while whites also appreciate that the relatively poor and inexperienced Fox need to have their guided attempt subsidized.

Our small-scale subsidized crafts project is organized and directed to meet the major negative factors of the present Fox situation and its vicious circle; adding a new role producer role for the Fox, to compete with the negative dickerer-dependent roles through which impressions are importantly formed; weakened the conception of assimilation and complete change as the only possible Fox adjustment which could meet white demands; provide Fox with opportunities to demonstrate that their desire to continue a group life does not mean a desire for complete dependency and irresponsibility; provides learning experiences which the Fox want and need but which are largely denied them now because of the peculiar Bureau preemption of community institutional administration; provides some practical beginning bases for new Fox evaluation of one another with respect to individual ability relative to community needs; helps to clarify some important Fox goals by suggesting ways in which desired change need not be linked to destruction and disappearance of the Fox as Fox.

All of these ways of benefit, of course, are in the nature of goals and are the aim of the crafts project to achieve, rather than accomplishments to date, or effects which are to automatically follow upon the establishment of a small-scale subsidized settlement industry. In helping the Fox to achieve these and their related and more specific goals, and in the recognition of ourselves as a factor in this common involvement, it is our hope to recognize in some intimate detail something of the processes of what we like to call social or cultural change or stability.

Exhibit 56

Gearing: "The Field Program" (extracts from A Reader in Action Anthropology)

In the area of social change, we said changes in the Indian community are now occurring which: (1) do not imply social death for the community; (2) do not violate basic values, as the Indians interpret those values to apply; (3) do permit new identification with prestigious white occupation groups; and (4) do permit new service relations among the Indians. Tama Indian Crafts, as it has developed, seems still to meet all four criteria.

As to whether the development of this small community industry can be interpreted, by the Indians, as a step toward the end of the Mesquakie community, not much need be said. The issue, in fact, was raised, in the presence of Rietz, by one individual on one public occasion. But the embarrassment of the many Indians present was so acute that, it was clear that in their eyes the thought was at best foolish. Had the government or a local white man, who seem to the Indians to favor the end of the Indians as we do not, played parts analogous to ours, the story might have been different. It is not that the industry does or does not, in some objective sense, move toward social death or that the Indians, after thought, would not see much of the objective fact. It is rather that the
people live in a climate of fear. Government policy is, has been so stated to them by no less than the then-Commissioner Dillon Myer, to terminate certain relations with them unilaterally if necessary. Policy and the implication that, already, in the eyes of these officials they are not a historic group with historic rights, the Indians fear and resent. They sense no important support, in those regards, from local whites. So suggestions from those same sources are greeted with extreme suspicion—suspicion which might at times be great enough to prevent clear thought about the objective nature of, say, community industry.

As will soon be clear, the industry promises to strengthen, rather than weaken, the Indian community; and the Indians seem to have clearly decided that the reverse is not so.

But changes, to be accepted, must not be deemed by the Indians to violate basic values. Apparently, there is nothing in the on-going culture of this community which objects to making ceramic tiles, per se, or selling them. There was some flutter of thought that, somehow, the public would wrongly come into possession of designs that belong to the Mesquakies. But that notion gained no ground among the people. And Mesquakies have been making and selling beadwork and the like for many years.

So the values that are at issue have to do, rather, with the way people come to relate to one another in the industry group and the way the man-hour requirements of production compete with other demands on man's time. These are the values that, in this new context, come into competition with other values and it is this competition that the Indians must among themselves resolve.

We have said that the Indians handle authority in their interpersonal relations very gingerly. Usually, if a Mesquakie attempts to exercise the slightest authority over another, it will be resisted—unless there is a very strong conviction that that person has a special competence which makes such authority a functional thing for all. It is not unlike our own view of legitimate versus illegitimate authority—except that the Indians are initially much more skeptical and their conviction about the person's special competence must be that much stronger. That nervousness about authority has caused the industry group to feel its way slowly.

From the outset, there have been a great many who have wanted to take part as members. It would have been possible, given the keen interest of the Indians, to at once create an impressive organization with a rather large membership, formally organized, and involving a general responsibility. The procedure, usually, is to create, on paper, an organization; then to proceed to activate the paper organization—make it real.

It is a curious fact, the comedy of errors of current policy. The administration of services are preempted which destroys much of the art, among the Indians, of helping and being helped by one another. Their termination is announced policy which, to the Indians is a threat of social death. The effect is that whenever the Indians have impulses to try new things, which would help rebuild that art of serving and being served, they are fearful lest it be taken as evidence to hasten termination. A more completely immobilizing combination of circumstances is hard to imagine.
Such projects will almost certainly fail. Questions arise and, in such a large, formal organization, must be answered at a level of "policy" by an elected body usually not all immediately involved in the performance of the activity to be regulated. Other questions arise which must be answered without the business and production experience necessary to fully understand them. Some responsible official, government or not it does not matter, responsible for funds financing the project, must get stubborn about certain limitations of choice for the group where important matters of production, pay, procurement or marketing arise. It becomes apparent that the responsibility thought to be enjoyed by group officers is largely fictional. With this once appreciated, maintaining interest and getting participation become real problems and failure is almost certain.

There had been three previous arts and crafts organizations on the settlement in the past 20 years. All were formally organized. In all three instances, business meetings were primarily social affairs where crafts work was shown and compared and ideas exchanged about it. Speeches were made encouraging good crafts work and explaining its history. Crafts products, however, were always individually made and individually sold, or sold for individuals without commissions being paid anyone. In each case, leadership fell to the community's "natural leaders" for white-initiated organizations. Qualifications for this type of leadership position, as with the Tribal council include a certain verbal fluency, a certain aggressiveness, a measure of confidence in dealing with whites, and some experience in successfully doing so. Some of these leaders were among those who came to join the present crafts group and who volunteered their help.

But at Tama, this time, the group had begun instead, with a small number and with no commitments to the size or formal nature of the organization which will result. It was not only that Robert Rietz, from experience, preferred that the group start small and without some formal model of organization; in effect, the group itself, through its own memory and on-going experience, has elected this course.

At the outset, they wanted to organize, and they wanted to organize in such a manner as to include a much larger membership, but were afraid to do so. They were afraid that others who were more aggressive than they would rapidly join, that they as co-members in some amorphous cumbersome group would be unable to resist them, and that they would lose first their autonomy and then the success of the enterprise.

The industry group elected to stay small and, for the present, formally unorganized. They were, they fully realized, creating a new set of relations superimposed upon a system of prior personal and group allegiances both friendly and hostile. So membership was kept to the very small number of actual participants and was enlarged only as there arose immediate and practical demands for new members. It began with one person and with what he wanted to do and was able to do; membership as it grew was equated with performance on a jointly produced product, with shared rewards which are deferred and contingent upon the success of the enterprise.

It is by this slow, functional evolution of the group that the members have an opportunity to work out the matter of handling authority. It is a matter of value; but not value in some abstract sense.
It is a matter of deciding, among numerous values which might apply, which is to apply, where and when.

The group's task of resolving its value questions is not finished and will not ever be. Some questions in respect to authority have been settled and a pattern of resolution seems now visible. Among the most members of the group, there is no bossing. Rather, a division of labor has been worked out tacitly and each person has his task and is recognized as having, at that task, an expertness. In matters of design, Charles Pushetonequa has competence. He does the work in that area and, in the inevitable instance where tasks cut across areas, insofar as matters of design are involved others defer to his opinion. However, in the relations between individuals in the core group on the one hand and other individuals who are in the process of entering the group on the other, the older members cheerfully boss. The apparent pattern is deference to competence. It is not different from the way a clan elder bosses and others permit him to boss in the course of a clan ceremony; he knows the ritual.

Decisions through the life of the industry group have been made by those who have been involved in the educating experience requiring the decisions. The decisions involve the regulation of the members by themselves. With this sort of development, the field director has opportunity to help discover and help reveal the bases for some final pattern of restraint and authority, which may have to emerge. Those suggestions are made as reached by a co-worker and in the illuminating light of the situation within which the practical issues continue to arise. Through adding individuals, the institution grows as it forms. The learning situations provided by such a course are effective and the organization which results can hope for stability.

Currently, the group is carefully considering the possibility of organizing formally as a partnership, with a board of directors chosen on the basis of seniority in terms of hours of work performed, and with a chairman chosen from the floor at regular meetings. The work of business management would fall to a hired employee who could not be a member.

The actual group is already real, functional, effective. In June, 1957, the field director was in Chicago and found it possible to arrange for the sale of a sizable number of tiles; they had to be in Chicago in two days. Some had to be silk-screened and fired, all had to be packaged, transportation by bus had to be arranged. It was a sizable task by the standards of any business organization. Rietz called Tama. The group in some way divided the work and got the tiles made and to Chicago in time, demonstrating, as some would say, "reliability," or, as we might say, real not paper organization. The task remains to invent a legal instrument which will allow the formal organizational structure to fit the de facto, functioning organization.

Values other than those having to do with the authority are also involved. Reconciliations have sometimes to be made when the industry group competes with some other activity for the time of one of its members. At one point, in 1956, the group was extremely anxious that certain greeting cards and tiles be ready in time for them to be sold at a booth the group wanted to run at a state-wide exposition in Des Moines. At a critical time, when it almost seemed that minutes counted, and while the work was at that stage where everything waited upon Charles Pushetonequa's work, it was necessary that he lay down his brush and take part in the ceremonies of his clan. He did so. The Indians felt that it was bad to lose that time but that he had
done as he should have done. In an analogous situation some time later, an incident occurred which made it necessary for a key worker, for whom everyone was waiting and upon whom everything depended, to stop work and isolate himself for a four-day period of ritual purification. The group was dismayed. Agreement was not quite as general as it had been in the first instance. By the second day, it appeared that he could work in the shed to which he was supposed to retire; and before that day had ended it came about that it would be quite all right if he just stayed at home and worked in the kitchen, as usual. Rietz applied no pressures, of course, and he does not believe this his influence amounted to very much in either instance. A pattern here, if there be one, is not yet apparent.

We said that changes occur in the Mesquakie community which do not imply death for the community and which do not require violation of basic values as those values are made by the Indians to apply in the instance. Perhaps those criteria have been shown in the developing industry group. A further criterion was that a change permit rewarding new feelings of identification with prestigious groups in the society at large.

Leadership for the industry group has come largely from the Mesquakie artist, Charles Pushetonequa, who identifies himself quite strongly as one of some community of artists. He has had some acquaintanceships within that larger group, and he talks about kinds and levels of artistic expression. He has wanted to be an artist, very much. But he has not proposed to leave the Mesquakie community or to stop being a Mesquakie to do this unless, perhaps, in a sort of final surrender, which he would probably not be able to carry out. He had supported himself and his family, meantime, through sporadic employment in unskilled labor jobs.

In the work of developing the little handicraft industry, he worked long and carefully over periods of time, restricting other activities, for little financial reward. He has worked to learn business practices of procurement, production and sales. He has consistently thought of ways in which the small industry would be able to benefit the others of the Indian community. But he also religiously attends the clan ceremonies, takes part in the sociable hand games, speaks Mesquakie with his children, and behaves well in accordance with Mesquakie kinship patterns. He is still a Mesquakie. But he has found a way to express, to live out, his artist dimension, as it were, and to do this in relation to other Mesquakies, and in ways which are mutually satisfying.

Another member sees his new role as "businessman." He has had for years friendly but essentially nonfunctional relations with the white operators of small businesses in the vicinity. He will doubtless be, shortly, a member of the Chamber of Commerce—it is virtually inevitable. Another member probably sees herself in the image of part-time businesswoman whom she has worked for, as housekeeper.

Such new relations are welcomed by these Indian individuals insofar as they do not contradict other wanted, rewarding relations inside the community. To date, contradictions are not visible.

Finally, Tama Indian Crafts promises to be accepted because it provides a new meaningful and rewarding way for Mesquakies to relate to fellow Mesquakies. A glance at the mere description of the tasks the industry group has set for itself reveals a proliferation of such meaningful relations out beyond the crafts group proper and into the whole community. The group (1) would, in manufacturing its products, provide
wages for workers, members of the co-op and non-members alike; it would also share its profits among the members. (2) It would (besides selling to commercial dealers) sell its own products at less than wholesale prices to any Mesquakie for resale by them. (3) It would buy raw materials which any Mesquakie could buy at wholesale prices for use in making their individual handicrafts. And (4) It would provide a channel of distribution of those individual handicrafts, insofar as individuals wished to use that channel. All of these functions already operate in some degree.

It is of major relevance to recall that brotherly love is not a pre-requisite for meaningful and rewarding reciprocal relations. Love is sometimes a result but fortunately human kind need not have affection for one for the other in order to begin. As a case in point, one Mesquakie is essentially hostile to several of the members of the industry group, and has no close relations with any member. He greeted the group, when it formed, with unconcealed hostility. He, it happens, is often invited to speak to church groups and the like about Indian affairs. He now buys Tama Indian Crafts products at the customary less-than-wholesale price and resells them at the customary retail price. It occurred to him, as it must occur to all, that whatever the long-standing personal feelings, Tama Indian Crafts serves him; and members of the industry group recognize that he serves them. We do not know if they will come to love one another; it does not much seem to matter.

The crafts organization is a growing type of community-wide social organization. The group, by its existence and acts, contributes toward the achievement of a Mesquakie community more effectively organized with reference to common goals and in terms of supporting roles. The lack of this kind of community integration is sensed as a very real problem by most Mesquakies and is a point of much concern. Those involved in the little industry have worked long and hard at routine drudgery, to a degree that they could be "fully depended upon," as the saying goes, because this was a task socially meaningful.

Besides serving the large purpose of stimulating and directing on-going kinds of change, Tama Indian Crafts also serves as a model of what the whole community can be when the federal government, while continuing to finance vital services as long as that is necessary, ceases to pre-empt the running of those services. As such a model, the crafts organization is a learning experience both for the Indians and their white neighbors.

The Indians experience Rietz as an outsider analogous to an Indian Bureau official. But Rietz has no formal power and tries not to exercise undue influence. An Indian Bureau official could be a powerless advisor also, but not until Congress redefined by law his responsibilities.

The Indians experience, also, as we have just reviewed, an important change which does not threaten social death. They are experiencing the resolution of value conflicts and in the process devising working ways of co-ordinating their work, internally and with other competing activities. They are experiencing new identifications with groups beyond the community. And they are experiencing a new variety of mutually rewarding relations one with another. This is a living model of what the Mesquakie community can be.

Until the fact of a needed subsidy of vital community services is divorced from the fact of an unnecessary and paralyzing outsider administration of those services, it is very doubtful that the Indians can in a meaningful sense be a community which they certainly desire to
be. The Mesquakies will find it difficult to appreciate this general fact. They have been so terrorized by repeated threats of federal termination of its special relationship to them that the consideration of changes in the relationship seems frightening. But an intimate, on-going experience with this community industry will bring them closer to a working recognition of the issues and a capacity to think clearly about them. Then, perhaps, they will tell us if the divorce of subsidy and administration would in fact be congenial and if, therefore, it would work.

Tamaoraft and Professional Education

The support which made possible the development of the Fox Project in the years following 1954 was provided by the Schwarzhaupt Foundation. A summary of activities in 1955-1956 plus an outline of future plans formed the report submitted to the foundation in February of 1957. Mention is made of the project's efforts to improve Indian relations with the government, its part in establishing two community centers, and its interest in the establishment of a clinic. An appended report by Riet (Exhibit 58) gives a more complete history of the crafts project, listing earnings, products, and membership in the cooperative. He also describes the favorable reception by the Iowa public of the craft articles and the contact with local, state, and national organizations which the new manufacture promoted. But he evidently sees the major function of Tamaoraft not solely in terms of economic success but as a "representative unit of white social organization" within which the Fox can learn by doing. As an illustration of the products referred to, we have included in Exhibit 58 the catalogue of Tamaoraft. The exchange of letters (Exhibit 59) between Gearing and Rietz exemplifies the type of ad hoc planning which guided the course of the craft industry.

A detailed report to the Cowles Foundation (Exhibit 60) contains information on the progress of the Fox Professional Education Program, and a sample scholarship application blank is included as Exhibit 61. Exhibits 62 and 63 suggest the interest of Iowa Groups in the scholarship program.

In 1956, the issue of the Fox Day School's partial closing became the focus of community concern. The correspondence over this situation (Exhibits 64-66) furnishes valuable evidence on the problems of communication among Indians, the federal government, and interested white organizations. Rietz's letters demonstrate the efforts of an action anthropologist to make clear to each group the way in which other groups define the situation and emerge with differing imperatives for action.
thought and action which prevent solutions." That rigidity seemed to stem from "a general lack of mutual understanding which has caused Indians mistakenly to view their neighbors as oppressors and caused other Iowans to consider the Indians as a burden which threatens to become heavier." So we further proposed that our efforts would attempt to alter the relations of the Indians with their nearby neighbors and, insofar as the Indians became aware of the necessity, to help alter their relations with the federal government.

As vehicles to accomplish our general purpose of increasing Indian responsibility for their community affairs and Indian effectiveness in choosing and realizing their own aspirations, we suggested activities such as the following: preparation of educational materials for radio and TV; participation in on-going educational programs of Iowa civic groups; organization of an adult education program in the Indian community; helping to establish a community center and a clinic; working to improve employment opportunities for Indians in or near the Indian community; and working to establish methods of financing vital community services which would be less destructive to the relations between the Indians and their neighbors.

In April, 1955, I was able to report the completion of a variety of preparatory tasks such as engaging staff, training students, and codifying crucial materials. We further reported on plans for an ancillary, $100,000 scholarship program to train at least 6 young Indians in the profession over a 10-year period. In May, Robert Rietz and his family took up permanent residence at our field station adjoining the Indian community. That same month I, with Fred Gearing, Charles Callender, Joseph Marlin, Marie L. Furey, and Lisa Peattie, presented a symposium on the Fox program to the Central States Anthropological Society, the symposium is attached as Addendum I. There we attempted to demonstrate how our activities in Tama would contribute to the general body of anthropological theory and to the general competence of man to improve his lot. Two major issues raised in the symposium pointed up the developing trends of our thoughts and actions in Tama. First, our diagnosis of the Fox problem had, by then, become more nearly specified. In our initial proposal we had diagnosed the central problem at Tama as a vicious circle of Indian-white relations; in the symposium, we were able, for the first time, to spell out that vicious circle in detail. Second, our method of pursuing the intellectual and practical problems at Tama was further specified. We had always defined our activity as flexibly "clinical" and now were able to argue that the concepts or means and ends had to be virtually discarded in order to insure that we, in pursuing ends that at one point seemed desirable might not in fact work to obscure or make impossible the emergent aspirations of the Fox.

I now report on the developments since May, 1955.

There are three major developments. First, our diagnosis of the Fox situation has been still further developed; the basic conception of the vicious circle of Indian-white relations remains valid but certain items in that circle can now be more precisely seen. Second, the opportunity arose to launch a new major activity, a small community industry. That opportunity had not been anticipated; yet the potential community industry, on inspection, promised to contribute so greatly and in such a variety of ways to increasing the effectiveness of the Indians as citizens that it became a major focus and in fact soon became the major vehicle for most of the educative activities listed in our initial proposal.
Third, we successfully began the ancillary program to provide scholarships for the training of Fox youths in the professions; that program, now in its second year, is exceeding our best hopes. Beyond those three major developments, we have continued to work with the Indians to improve their relations with the government; we have had a part in establishing two community centers; and we continue to press for a community clinic.

The developing diagnosis of the Fox problem.—In April, 1956, we presented a second symposium to the Central States Anthropological Society at its annual meeting, held that year at the University of Iowa. There were papers by me, Fred Gearing (the Assistant Director) and Robert Rietz (the Field Director). Transcripts of the oral presentations are attached as Addendum II. In our earlier depiction of the Fox situation as a vicious circle, the white conception of the Indians as a "burden" and as "temporary" were important items. In essence, you will note, the 1956 symposium probed more deeply and more precisely into those two items. I refer to the concept of structural segregation; Robert Rietz has, we think, made an important contribution to both anthropologists and administrators with this concept. Structural segregation is distinguished from segregation of the usual sort by the fact that no one, on either side, is "for" it. Rather, it is a syndrome of isolating effects which is an unforeseen consequence of circumstances and policies. In the case of the Fox, the isolation stems from the single fact that the administration of vital Fox community services has been preempted by outsiders. This leaves the Indians without the internal differentiation of role without which a society dies.

It is interesting to look back at our language in the earlier, 1955 symposium. There, Gearing spoke of our hope of seeing a trust fund established in lieu of annual Congressional appropriations for the costs of community services. In important part, we thought then of this as a device to camouflage the needed subsidy of Fox services. We now think of a trust fund or its equivalent as even more crucial, for it will separate the subsidy of community services from their administration. Now we see that the present subsidy, per se, has much less destructive effects in Fox relations to Iowans, virtually all of whom are subsidized farmers, than the physical presence of administrators who are sent, in the eyes of nearby whites, to "take care of" the Indians. The effect is to destroy any lingering white notions of Fox competence, dignity and worth. Furthermore, the administration of vital community services by outsiders has literally destroyed the Fox community by destroying in the Indians, the art of helping and being helped, of choosing and evaluating real leaders, of decision-making; in short, by destroying the art of citizenship. As this more precise understanding emerged, the need became apparent for an activity which would clearly demonstrate to Indians, to nearby whites, potentially to Congress and the Indian service, and to ourselves, the potential constructive effects of a definitive separation of subsidy and administration. The opportunity arose in the form of a community industry which became a small scale model of what the whole Fox community could be. As this "Tamacraft" industry emerged, it also became the major vehicle for most of the educational efforts of the Tama program.

Tamacraft, an emerging Fox industry.—Robert Rietz's report to me on the Tamacraft experiment, as of January, 1957, is attached as Addendum III. This emerging community industry is, of course, an economic fact—potentially it is a large economic fact. But, of greater interest to us, it is an educational fact. It is educational
as a model for whites and Indians, of what the Fox community could be if for example a Fox school board decided policy and hired janitors, or if a Fox committee entered into contract with the tribal doctor. The object lesson is independent of a federal financial subsidy of Fox educational and health services, which is an issue separate from the ability of the Indians to manage their administration. Tamaçraft is an educational fact, too, in that it is a most fortunate example of the learning situations envisaged in our initial proposal. It is a situation which allows Fox individuality to clarify goals by "trying them on"; neither we nor Pushetoneque (the Tamaçraft designer) clearly know whether being an artist and a Fox are compatible things until he has had a chance to be both. Tamaçraft is an educational fact in still a third sense, as a vehicle to create entry into civic groups and channels of public communication. Robert Rietz has talked with over 60 Iowa civic and church groups (totaling some 7,000 persons) since Tamaçraft became an item of widespread interest. There have been feature articles in 6 newspapers and magazines (including the Des Moines Register and Wallace's Farmer) and there have been radio and TV appearances. All of these occasions are opportunities to speak not only of Tamaçraft products but of what the Tamaçraft organization proves about Indians and their future. In a word, Tamaçraft probably means that progress (even on white terms) and Indian "ways" are not mutually exclusive; it shows that the outside administration of Fox affairs—repugnant to whites and Indians alike—is not required by qualities of Indianness (since no whites "run" Tamaçraft) but rather stems from inaccurate and very unfortunate judgements by whites and, to some degree, by Indians.

Having Tamaçraft as a productive vehicle for such educative efforts has meant dropping plans for a formal adult education program. We think the current educative efforts are at least as far-reaching as the best formalized adult education efforts could have been, and we suspect they are far more effective. Similarly, Tamaçraft rather than a formalized adult education program in the Fox community has become our major hope that the Indians will soon see with adequate confidence that they can and should demand from the government the authority to administer their own community services.

Professional education for Fox youths.—This ancillary program has succeeded beyond our hopes. At the onset we imagined that about two Fox students might enter the program each year. Now, in this second year of operation, ten students are in colleges. Here again, it is largely a matter of whether roles are or are not compatible, whether being simultaneously a "doctor" and a "Fox" is possible. Heretofore, the Fox had by and large imagined that to start higher education was to leave off being a Fox. We have said to them, in effect, that they can probably be both if they wish. We suspect that the success of the program is in some large part due to the fact that we, who are seen vaguely as "for" Indianness, made possible the opportunity—hence they may suppose that going to college must not be "anti-Indian" because we, and not someone else, suggest it. A committee, including a member of the Fox council, other Iowans and ourselves, now administer the program. A copy of my report to the Cowles Foundation, a large donor to the program, is attached as Addendum IV.

Fox-government relations.—Minor crises continue to arise between the Fox and the government. Our central aim in these is continually to point up the unavoidable destructive effects of the current administration of Fox affairs by outsiders. A series of corre-
spondence by the field director, government officials, the tribal council, and interested Iowans is attached as Addendum V. These letters should be considered confidential.

Clinic and community center.—We expressed the intention, in our initial proposal, of helping establish a clinic and a community center. Two community centers now exist. One materialized with encouragement but little help from us, which is of course very much to our liking. A group of Fox (for motives of their own) simply moved into an abandoned but excellent stone house (built by the WPA as a crafts outlet but never used and no longer usable for the purpose since the main highway has been moved). The group started giving weekly social dances which continue and are well attended. An analogous organization was established by the field director and Indian's teenagers in the basement of the local mission. Besides juke box, coke machine, college penants, and the like, the canteen housed some 500 well-thumbed pamphlets which described the requirements, activities, and rewards of a great variety of vocations. Due to changes in mission personnel, the canteen was temporarily closed but it is expected to reopen soon.

Plans.—In October, I met with Robert Rietz, Fred Gearing, and Robert Thomas to settle on plans for the last two years of the program. We decided that Robert Rietz should leave the field station in January, 1958. This left him a year and three months in the field in which his major tasks would be:

(1) To widen and routinize the Tamacraft operation. That would include helping the group find and hire a manager; opening a retail outlet; creating other production cells similar to the one now operating; establishing a clearing house operation which would buy crafts supplies wholesale, sell them to individuals not in such production units, and buy finished products from those individuals in the off-season; and continuing the variety of educational activities with sundry Iowa group (including the Indians) so that the deeper meanings of Tamacraft become increasingly clear.

(2) To stabilize the money raising and counselling functions of the committee now administering the scholarship program.

(3) To continue to press for greater Fox autonomy in the administration of their school, health services, and other community affairs. Probably, Fox opinion will not adequately crystallize without the occurrence of some large crisis in the relations of the Indians with the government. Our hope will be to help Fox to profit from such a crisis, should it occur soon, and to help prepare them for it should it occur after we have left.

Because developing Tamacraft has become so crucial in the variety of educational programs which will make citizenship a more meaningful thing for Fox, we now request a grant which will allow us to continue on a reduced basis for an additional year. Unlike the more formalized educational efforts originally envisaged, Tamacraft is a operation which must continue indefinitely as a complex whole in order for its contribution to Fox citizenship to be fully realized. Robert Rietz will return from Tama in January, 1958. On our present grant, that will leave us 6 months in which he will reside in Chicago but be free to travel to Tama as the need arises. During those 6 months, he will begin work on the full report of the four year program. We now see the necessity of keeping Rietz on hand for an additional year. He would continue to keep in close touch with developments in Tama especially the stabilization of Tamacraft and, should the opportunity arise, the
restructuring of the relations of the Indians with the government. We hope also, that, before the final report is completed, he will be able to take an extended trip through the Southwest to gain comparative perspective on the major concepts which have developed (and doubtless will continue to develop) in our work at Tama.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax
Chairman

Exhibit 58
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
Extract from Report to the Schwarzhaupt Foundation, February, 1957
THE "TAMA INDIAN CRAFTS" PROJECT
Summary Statement

In the fall of 1955, it was decided to assist in the launching of a small Fox settlement industry through sponsorship of a cooperative crafts group of interested Fox.

The crafts project, or something like it, is called for by the nature of the specific conditions giving rise to the vicious circle in Fox-white relations. It should, therefore, provide important advantages for the Fox in attempting to deal effectively with the "vicious circle" and with the factors underlying it. Though, as an economic institution, its primary function will be seen as economic, perhaps its most important value for Fox and whites will be educative, assisting toward the clarification of certain major Fox goals, aiding in redefinition of the general Fox situation in terms more acceptable to both Fox and whites, and providing a new and important opportunity for citizenship education for the Fox through actual participation in local social and economic affairs which enter so importantly in defining citizenship.

Response to the crafts project, from both Fox and whites, was immediate and positive. Most of the work of production for the first year of operation was accomplished by good-natured volunteers. Since we have been expanding the facilities of the crafts project as fast as possible, the project itself is not as yet on a paying basis. It is expected that in this second year of operation the project will show a profit for the crafts group. It is also apparent that the crafts project does serve in the educative functions expected of it.

Major problems of the crafts project arise through the pressure of time in view of the limited duration of the Tama Indian Program, and from the limits set upon the rate of development of the crafts organization by the amount of working capital available for it.

Organization & Products

While a need for something like the crafts project had been recognized by our staff for some time, tangible bases upon which such a project could be attempted arose in discussion between the field director and Charles Pushetonequa, Fox Indian artist. Although Pushetonequa does have artistic talent and has longed for an opportunity to follow an artistic career for which he has had some formal training, he, characteristically for a Fox, does not propose to stop being a Fox in order to realize this ambition. After living away from the Settlement for a time, he returned to it with his family, although this meant
the loss of certain opportunities open to him in an artistic career, and has earned his living through intermittent employment as laborer while attempting to keep up his painting at home. In conversation between Pushetonequa and the field director, the idea was conceived of making a "Home Painting Kit" for which Pushetonequa could design and execute drawings, with others helping in the work of assembling and marketing. Of primary importance to Pushetonequa in his desire to make this effort was the possibility of his contributing to the welfare of the Fox community in doing so. The kit was made and placed on the market in December of 1955.

In April of 1956, some lithographed greeting cards and a line of silk-screened kiln-fired ceramic tiles, both with designs by Pushetonequa, were added by the crafts group of five members which had developed. Beadwork items, ribbon-applique work, and jewelry made from blossoms of the Settlement imbedded in plastic, by others of the Fox, were added soon after. In December of 1956, a collection of hand-screened greeting cards were included in the products of the crafts group. At the present time, preliminary work has begun on a collection of silk-screened wood plaques, hand-screened textiles, and enamelled copper work. Original sales were small and largely local, but demand for the products has risen steadily and it is expected that 1956 will be a good year for the group. During the formative year of 1956, a little more than $3,000 worth of craft items were made and sold, most of this in the latter six months of the year, although most buying by the crafts market sources is done early in the year.

"Tama Indian Crafts," as the group calls itself, has been financed largely through funds provided from the Tama Indian Program. The financing is understood by the group to be in the nature of temporary assistance, with the money to be returned to the Program as soon as it is possible to do so without seriously impairing operation of the cooperative. The field director has served as advisor and as temporary business manager. Membership in the cooperative is open to any Fox, however, practical matters of operation limit the number that can be realistically included. It is required that forty hours of work be contributed in the work of the crafts group to acquire full membership in it. Decisions of this order, and qualifications for working preference for members, requirements of quality for finished products, are made by the crafts group membership themselves.

At present, there are a great many Fox who want to take part in this project as members but who cannot yet be included. While it it would have been possible, given the keen interest of the Fox, to at once create an impressive organization with a rather large membership, formally organized, and involving a general responsibility, it has been our experience that such projects will almost certainly fail. Questions arise for example, and must be answered at a level of "policy" by an elected body usually not all immediately involved in the performance of the activity to be regulated. Other questions arise which must be answered without the business and production experience necessary to fully understand them. The "watchful outsider," however he may be situated, responsible for funds financing the project, must get stubborn about certain limitations of choice for the group where important matters of production, pay, procurement or marketing arise. It becomes apparent that the responsibility thought to be enjoyed by group officers is largely fictional, and with this once appreciated, failure is almost certain—while maintaining interest and getting participation become real problems for the watchful outsider.

In the present situation, a large beginning organization would
be superimposed upon a system of prior personal and group allegiances
and hostile relationships, and could easily be destroyed through them
alone. The alternative, as we have chosen, is to begin with a very
small number of actual participants which is enlarged as there are
immediate and practical demands for their participation and rewards
to be received for it. Decisions are made by those who have been in-
volved in the educating experience requiring them, and involve their
own regulation or privilege. With this sort of development, the watch-
ful outsider, in this case our field director, has opportunity to re-
veal the bases for a final restraint which may have to be made as
reached by a co-worker, and in the illuminating light of the situation
within which the question has arisen. Through individual additions to
a growing institution, the learning situations provided by such a proj-
ect are most effective, with a greater stability in organization re-
sulting as well.

At present, fourteen of the Fox participate in Tama Indian
Crafts. Of these, ten have received some financial benefit. Eight
have contributed or are in the process of contributing the forty hours
of work necessary for full membership. The group is loosely organized
as a cooperative, with profits to be distributed according to work per-
formed when this becomes possible. Work is done as it is called for by
sales, with hourly wage-rates (determined mostly on a piece-work basis)
determined by the group. Charles Pushetonequa alone works almost full
time on a variety of tasks. For the others, each works as the kind of
task which has been tacitly allocated to him arises to be done. With
the advent of the spring buying season, it is expected that the number
of participants will be about thirty. Since any Fox can purchase prod-
ucts of the group at less than wholesale prices for resale, a growing
number of Fox are benefitting from the crafts project through this kind
of relationship. If possible, a local retail sales outlet will be
established this spring. By mid-year, it is hoped that the group will
have been able to hire a business manager with some experience.

The present policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of Con-
gress is to terminate the special relationship of the Fox to the Fed-
eral Government as fast as possible, irrespective of Fox wishes and
feelings about it. It does not seem possible that this policy will be
modified to allow for gradual Fox community development through a pro-
gram of guidance and subsidy divorced from outright administration of
Fox affairs, without considerable support for such an alternative from
an enlightened public opinion. Whites, generally, want an end to a
situation in which it appears to them that an essentially parasitic
group is supported in dependency and irresponsibility. When the Fox
become assimilated, they feel, meaning the end of the Fox as such,
then only will this unhappy situation be also ended, and so only
assimilation is equated with "progress" for the Fox, as they are har-
rried and hurried to become "just like the rest of us"—to the end of
the Fox as such. For the Fox, assimilation is thus equated with
extermination, the death of the Fox, which they, of course, resist.
In some instances, rejection of white ways appears as the only way of
life for the Fox and the Fox nation, so that white ways which the Fox
would otherwise like to accept, and which they still really want, get
avoided, to their own confusion and frustration, and adding to the
conflicts between differentially oriented groups within the settlement
itself.

We have, accordingly, developed an educative program now with
two major dimensions: 1) the explanation of the evil effects of direct federal administration of its subsidized services, to the Fox and to whites, in writings and through meetings, speeches, etc., and 2) the development of the Tama Indian Crafts project to offset some of these evil effects and to aid in this explanation, as we try to help the Fox to cope with the vicious circle and its formation.

The positive response to the appearance of the first "Tama-craft" products was quite impressive, from both Fox and whites, and seemed to involve two important levels of appreciation. The first was an appreciation of the product itself. The Fox were quite proud of being associated with the production of an item as well within the market and quality requirements of white society itself. For whites, the appearance of a new locally made product, always a matter of much interest and appreciation, assumed an unusual significance with the Fox community as the contributor of this new local progress. It is quite important to note here that, although the Tamacraft products are good ones whatever their source, the fact of their "Indianess" adds considerably to their actual value, which means a positive value subtly added to the fact of Fox difference, while it is also recognized that the products are visible evidence that Fox culture itself has something to offer.

The second level has to do with the fact of a possible settlement industry, and here the Fox are recognized in the role of producers, which is added to the negative roles of dependent andlicherer—the two negative roles which monopolize the formation of unfavorable white stereotypes of the Fox, and which underlie whites' conception of the Fox as a burden. Much support for the crafts project has been given in Iowa, although we have deliberately moved rather slowly in publicizing it, since we can realize maximum benefit from the effort if we are developed and prepared to handle it. Also, we do not wish the Fox to feel that too much is immediately at stake in the success or failure of the project itself. To some small, but important degree the Fox have been located squarely within the Iowan community as fellow producers, as it were, mitigating somewhat another negative white impression of the Fox as a dis-articulated passive group which needs to be integrated through assimilation; i.e., the fact of a settlement industry is a fact of integration.

In Tamacraft, whites have evidence that the Fox are making the sort of changes that they have been pressing them for that have assumed the end of the Fox, but without this extermination. They have been eager to help. Fox have been eager to take part in Tamacraft as the sort of thing which is precisely what they want to do—become respected participants in Iowan citizenship without having to die as a nation to do it, without having to lose their identity. Here, white pressures for assimilation have been modified toward white help for Fox participation as Fox, while Fox resistance is absent, and white assistance is welcomed. The white conception of the Fox as a dependent burden may be seriously modified with this positive, rather than recipient, role for the Fox, while whites also appreciate that the relatively poor and inexperienced Fox need to have their attempt subsidized and guided. In our educative publicity, we have linked the announcement of the industry with the definition of its functions much as we have above described them, as much as possible, so that our effort remains unified and its benefits may be maximized.

Our small-scale subsidized crafts effort is thus organized and directed to meet the major negative factors of the Fox general situation and its vicious circle; adding a new role for the Fox, to com-
peter with the negative bidder-dependent roles through which white impressions are importantly formed; weakened the conception of assimilation and disappearance as the only possible Fox future which could answer white demands; provided Fox with an opportunity to demonstrate that their desire to preserve a way of life does not mean a desire for complete dependency and irresponsibility; provided learning experiences which the Fox want and need, but which are largely denied them by the peculiar Indian Bureau preemption of community institutions which are necessarily subsidized; provided some beginning practical bases for new Fox evaluations of one another with respect to individual ability to community needs; helped to clarify some important Fox goals by suggesting ways in which desired change need not be linked to the destruction and disappearance of the Fox as Fox. All of these, of course, are in the nature of goals which are the aim of the crafts' effort to achieve, rather than accomplishments to date, or effects which will automatically follow upon the establishment of a small-scale settlement industry. Although the crafts project may be primarily an economic institution, our effort is thus also an educative one which calls for considerable supplementary activity and planning not otherwise necessary.

Good response to this general effort in operation of the crafts project has come from local, state, and national levels. Locally, people have eagerly bought the new Tamaoraft items, merchants have helped in procurement problems, given orders, featured Tamaoraft in store displays, given free services, and so on. The larger Iowa newspapers have featured Tamaoraft, one with a full page story, all sympathetically and with good wishes. One large Iowa Magazine, 400,000 circulation, featured Tamaoraft, with a direct suggestion for support from its readers, and almost 150 inquiries from as many different Iowa towns and villages resulted. All of these publicity opportunities, of course, were utilized for the whole Fox story as well as to further Tamaoraft sales. Tamaoraft members have appeared on one TV presentation, while a series of radio appearances is planned, free of charge, by a large Des Moines station. Tamaoraft members were invited to meet the public and sell their products at an annual important social function of Des Moines society. Both the Iowa Federated Women's Clubs, with a very large Iowa membership, and the Iowa D.A.R., with its 86 Iowa Chapters, publicized the Tamaoraft effort while both organizations bought rather large quantities of Tamaoraft products for resale to their membership with proceeds contributed by them to our scholarship program. Members of Tamaoraft were invited and participated as exhibitors in the Annual Tama County Crafts Show. Two of the larger men's service clubs have offered to work out ways in which they can be of help in marketing Tamaoraft. It is expected that a Fox will soon become a member of one of these local service clubs; a remarkable development.

At the national level, Tamaoraft has received financial and publicity assistance from women's organizations, church, and Indian political organizations, and publicity and encouragement in national crafts and Indian Affairs publications. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board, an independent Interior Department Agency, has contributed much valuable advice and help, the services of a Field Representative, and some indirect financial support together with publicity.

In a sense, Tamaoraft appears as a representative unit of white social organization, which the Fox have an opportunity to penetratingly examine and understand through direct performance within it; a sort of captive private specimen, through which Fox can learn by doing and at the same time establish favorable and productive relationships within the more inclusive Iowa social organization itself. It
is doubtful if effective citizenship education for the Fox could be accomplished without some such provision for its realization in genuine participation.

Some of the destructive role-conflict now attendant upon the Fox identification of themselves as both Fox and citizens may be minimized through this type of educative participation. This one contribution alone could be of great importance in the clarification of Fox individual and group goals, with a consequent reduction in some of the intrasettlement group conflict, now so destructive to the achievement of community. The corollary appreciation by whites that it is possible to be both Fox and participating citizen, that the achievement of the one does not by definition require the destruction of the other, would aid most significantly in overcoming one of the most important specific negative factors in the present vicious circle of Fox-white relations. (See advertisement and price sheets following.)

Exhibit 59

February 21, 1956

Mr. Robert Rietz
Route 2
Tama, Iowa

Dear Bob:

A quick note. Hope you can reply immediately. There's a student, M, in the action course who has special interests and some past experience in Indian crafts. She intended to write her term paper on a comparison of three to four crafts programs with focus on the way the group was organized, i.e., how it co-ordinated its work. The idea was to find some failures and some successes and try to decide what modes of organization have the best chances of success. She didn't get the date she needed. She could shift her focus to Tama craft. To do so she would have to come over for five or six days, do whatever work you/they asked of her and learn what she could in the process—no "research." She's a good student and personable. I think she would probably be quite helpful.

Do you think it is a good idea that she come out? If so, when during the next four weeks, would seem the best time? Other things being equal, the best time would be the time you expect to be spending the bulk of your time on Tama crafts. (She could learn more and probably be more helpful working with the group when you are also.)

Can you give me your best answer today. I enclose a postcard.

More later.

F. G [earing]
Hand-made
American Indian Greeting Card

- The beauty of Indian Art, in a Modern Setting
- 8 different Tribal Village and Ceremonial Scenes
- Silk-Screened by hand at the Mesquakie Indian Settlement
- A General-Purpose Form - so good for
  - Personal Notes
  - Greetings from Vacationlands
  - Birthday and Seasons Greetings
  - Distinctive Notepaper

... and only
10 cents each

A Box of Ten makes
A Lovely Gift...

Tama Indian Crafts, Mesquakie Indian Settlement, Tama, Iowa

Please Send Me:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian Notes</th>
<th>@ per box</th>
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<td>$1</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Pipe Dancer&quot;</td>
<td>10¢</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Making Fry Bread&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Two Deer and Brook&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Squaw Game&quot;</td>
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Total Enclosed $                       

NAME  ADDRESS  CITY  ZONE  STATE

TAMA INDIAN CRAFTS - A Crafts Association of Mesquakie Settlement Indians
TAMACRAFT CERAMIC TILES: Designed and executed by members of the Tama Indian Crafts Association, these delightful tiles are silk-screened by hands in brilliant everglaze colors. Done in the full rich hues of traditional Indian art, they are kiln-fired for permanency, cork-backed for use as hot plates, complete with ribbon hanger for use as a truly distinctive wall decoration. In the authentic scenes of tribal ceremonial and village life, the original beauty of traditional Indian art finds expression in a modern form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Design</th>
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<tr>
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<td>$1.50 Each (L Series)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Small size</td>
<td>4¼&quot; Square</td>
<td>$1.00 Each (S Series)</td>
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L-1..Blue Hote Kachina........ S-1 L-15..Mesquakie Warrior........ S-14
L-2..Chakwaina Kachina........ S-2 L-16..Making the Bow........ S-16
L-3..Stick Dancer Kachina..... S-3 L-17..Corn Harvest.......... S-17
L-4..Mudhead Kachina........... S-4 L-18..Aztec Calendar Stone.. S-18
L-5..Pipe Dancer................ S-5 L-19..Squaw Game.......... S-19
L-6..Buffalo Dancer............. S-6 L-20..Moccasin Game..... S-20
L-7..Fixing the Squash.......... S-7 L-21..Maple Syrup Time.... S-21
L-8..Fixing the Corn............ S-8 L-9..Buffalo Hunter........ S-9
L-10..Water Reed Mat Weavers... S-10 L-11..Night Chant......... S-11
L-11..Night Chant.............. S-11 L-22..Boy Chief.......... S-12
L-12..Beadworker................ S-12 L-23..Girl Singer........ S-13
L-13..Two Deer at the Brook.... S-13 L-24..Mother and Child... S-24
L-16..Making Fry Bread......... S-25 L-25..Mesquakie Dancer.... S-26
L-17..Corn Harvest............. S-26 L-26..Bear Grass......... S-27
L-18..Aztec Calendar Stone.... S-27 L-27..Indian Paint Brush... S-28
L-19..Squaw Game............... S-28 L-28..Gaillardia (Blanket Flower) S-28

Medium Size 6" x 4¼"

M-1..Buck Deer
M-2..Doe Deer
M-3..Boy Chief
M-4..Buffalo Hunter
M-5..Making Fry Bread
M-6..Beadwork Design

$1.25 Each (M Series)

M-7..Girl Singer
M-8..Mother and Child
M-9..Two Deer at Brook
M-10..Buffalo Dancer
M-11..Stick Dancer
M-12..Blue Hote

ALL ORDERS SENT POSTPAID

TAMA INDIAN CRAFTS-A CRAFTS ASSOCIATION OF MESQUAKIE SETTLEMENT INDIANS

HAND-MADE GREETING CARDS 8 DIFFERENT DESIGNS $1 PER BOX OF TEN CARDS
Dear Fred:

The idea of a helping student is a fine one, but for one practical difficulty. Tamacraft is not yet in a position to encourage "group" type activity. My work on it I rarely do with others. Such work as the Mesquakie do on it is largely individual and in their own home kitchens. Thus, anyone coming out before a month or so from now would, if helpful, do a lot of clerical etc. type of work with little work contact with Mesquakies.

There are several reasons for this kind of development, not the least of which is my great hesitancy to raise Mesquakie hopes in advance of good tangible evidence that Tamacraft will amount to something really significant. I do definitely believe that it will, but this belief is not enough.

Again, if there is too great a to-do about Tamacraft in advance of immediate participation in practical and rewarding ways for Mesquakies, it will be too much "our" program again. To some extent this is unavoidable, but its effects can be minimized by increasing the scope of Tamacraft only as individuals are drawn into participation as actual producers, sellers, or beneficiaries through lower purchasing cost of materials thru Tamacraft.

The major contribution Tamacraft can make to the community is not at all an economic one. A re-evaluation of self with improved self and community esteem is one major contribution we look for. I feel rather strongly that this will best come about with the slow process of solving individual problems as they arise in context, beginning with minimal group involvement or commitment, and progressing in a sort of ever-widening circle as actual practical and immediate situations for participation naturally come about. By naturally, I refer to the condition of Tamacraft with respect to individual and community interests like the annual tourist trade, Pow-Wow, individual sale of privately produced articles to Tamacraft followed by "orders," an increasing familiarity with the operations of a craft industry by individual Mesquakies and their communication of this in terms of particular events and interests as these are brought out. Further, the introduction of a rather fully-conceived crafts "program" now superimposes an (in a sense) artificial verbal possibility into an existing leadership and allegiance structure that would be much too apt to start it off with an advance color re relationships to a variety of individuals and groups already interrelated in unproductive and undesirable ways. While in time, something like Tamacraft can radically effect Mesquakie conceptions of their settlement and of the legitimate expectations from leadership, this is too immersed now in conceptions of dickering relationships and competing ways of adjustment to the general Mesquakie situation by individuals and groups to allow introduction of anything too well formed.

There are some great penalties following this kind of developmental scheme for the crafts project; the necessity for personally doing lots of mechanical chore type of work, much personal exploration and trial efforts at a variety of possibilities for products, etc., but we do have an opportunity to try the introduction of what will eventually be a community organization in a progressive, stable and immediately rewarding fashion. Too much of a departure from this pattern and we will
be making the same kinds of mistakes that characterize the efforts of the BIA, the presentation of hardly-digestable possible programs or projects to a people which, if they were at that point at which the ideas and progressions involved were understood and projected into future developments, would not be in need of the program in the first place. Missing, of course, is more than even "understanding"; missing also is a reasonably stable situational structure (social structure, of course) to support the proposition. This is what we can develop by working slowly and in terms of individual additions to a growing institution.

I know that is no kind of an answer for the problem of Barbara but it does give you some idea of the limits on the extent to which she might benefit at all personally by coming out here in the next 4 to 6 weeks. After that time, if we succeed in getting some working money and get the shed in operation as a production center of a sort, the situation would be very much more favorable.

Rietz

Exhibit 60

March 1, 1957

Mr. David K., Jr.
Gardner Cowles Foundation
The Register and Tribune Building
Des Moines 4, Iowa

Progress Report: The Fox Professional Education Program

Dear Mr. K.:

The program to bring outstanding young Fox Indians to professional status is now into its second year. The more significant effects of the 10 year program—questions about the total impact on the future of the Indian community—can be very little seen, of course, at this early date. Nevertheless, a progress report of no little interest is possible.

In effect, the Fox Professional Education Scholarship Program was activated in the fall of 1955 with the entrance into Iowa colleges of three Indian students. George Buffalo entered Grinnell College, Joyce Mitchell the State University of Iowa, and Georgianna Davenport entered Iowa State Teachers College. Although the full goal of $100,000 to finance and launch the program officially had not then been realized, the first response to the proposed program by the Indians and by other Iowans had been strongly positive. Three out of four eligible Indian students were eager to begin their professional training at that time, while contributions to finance this initial expense were quickly forthcoming from Iowa Church and civic organizations, individual Iowans, and from the colleges themselves.

Those Iowa individuals and organizations have indicated preference for helping students who attend colleges in the local area of the donors and preference for helping individual students specified by the donors. Contributions by them to the central fund would save considerable administrative work but their preference is easily understandable. Contributions for the program in terms of those preferences has thus far been forthcoming to a degree that suggests that future needs of the program can rely upon strong and enthusiastic support from these sources.

Having discovered the extent of such sources, and after receiv-
ing commitments from three foundations, state and national, we wrote you on January 31, 1956. Your foundation then sent to us the first of two annual checks of $8750. It has been possible to use that money as a cushion to meet unexpected expenses or to replace other contributions which occasionally, for one reason or another, have failed to materialize at the time. For example, we calculate that each student needs $25 a month beyond tuition and board and room. Some months, money available to some one student from the variety of courses falls short of that amount. In such cases, we have sent the student a check. Also, at the point a student first enters college, sometime adequate resource have not been found for his expenses. In such cases, expenses have been paid from Cowles money. Using the fund in this manner has helped to routinize the program's administrative tasks very considerably. Of the grant of $8750, we have spent, to date, $1,890.41.

At the outset of the program, the Iowa Board of Regents granted fee remissions at the State University to the extent of 72 student years for Mesquakie students participating in the scholarship program. The privilege was extended by the Board in May of 1956 to cover attendance at Iowa State College and Iowa State Teachers College. Two meetings have been held by the Fox Professional Education Program administrative committee to date, in carrying out this responsibility. Present membership of the committee is as follows:

- Dr. Sol Tax, Chairman
- Dr. Alton Feher
- Dr. Reynold Ruppe
- Ben Jones
- Kenneth Youngbear
- Robert Rietz

- University of Chicago
- State University of Iowa
- State University of Iowa
- Tama County Superintendent of Schools
- Fox Tribal Council, Education Committee Chairman
- Field Director, Tama Indian Program, Tama

In fall of 1956, five more Indian students were attending college through participation in the scholarship program, bringing the total to eight. Two more have arranged to begin their training this month. Other Indians, who completed their high school training two and three years ago, now hope to enter college programs if it is possible for them to do so. Meantime, through the four grades of high school there are now ten Mesquakie students giving evidence of more than average ability. If the present trend continues, the number of students who participate in the program during its ten years operation might actually double the 12-15 initially anticipated. Of course, it is too early to say anything about the number who will pursue their professional training to the end and establish themselves as professionals.

The students in colleges as of last fall, with the name of the colleges they attend and the major contributors to their individual needs, follow:

- Georgianna Davenport
  - Iowa State Teachers College
  - Waterloo Kiwanis Club
  - Cedar Falls Interdenominational Church
  - American Missionary Association

- Joyce Mitchell
  - State University of Iowa
  - Iowa Federated Women's Clubs
  - Waterloo Kiwanis Club
  - Iowa D.A.R.
Two other young Indians have entered college in this second semester.

The opportunity arose, to send two of the first group of students to the Summer Workshop on American Indian Affairs, a special program for Indian College students which the University of Chicago was pleased to organize and offer on the campus of Colorado College in Colorado Springs, Colorado. (I attached a copy of the report of this workshop). Several groups were offered the opportunity to send two students to the Workshop by matching scholarships with the general funds of the Workshop, then to offer one scholarship and the Workshop in turn to provide the second. Miss Georgiana Davenport and Miss Joyce Mitchell attended on this same basis and contributed importantly to the success of the program. Twenty-five Indian college students met together for six weeks and studied and discussed Indian affairs. The program, virtually a unique experiment, received most generous praise from national Indian political leadership (many of whom participated as guest speakers) and will be repeated this summer. We hope that other Fox students will be able to attend. There is little doubt that studies such as occurred last summer will do much to increase the effectiveness of the careers of the several students, who, we anticipate, will choose to retain their ties with their people.

Positive interest in the scholarship program has been keen throughout the settlement. By and large, the Indians see the benefits of the program in the increased ability of the students, through the development of their talent, to serve the Fox community, to aid importantly in its welfare and development. While it is as yet too early to attach too much significance to the fact, the participating students at present almost universally give this same impression. Only one student has indicated that he may sever his ties with the Fox community and benefit only as an individual from his professional training.

A summary of our handling of the grant from the Cowles Foundation follows:
Amount deposited with Comptroller, Feb. 27, 1956

$8,750.00

Amount spent:

Transportation and office expenses of field director and Chairman 146.97
Paid to students and colleges 1,427.82
Miscellaneous 5.62
Tuition, Summer Workshop 310.00

TOTAL 1,890.41

Balance, January 31, 1957

$6,859.59

The grant of the Cowles Foundation has played a critical part in the on-going success of this program. I thank you for helping to make it possible.

Very sincerely,
Sol Tax, Chairman

Exhibit 61

APPLICATION FOR SCHOLARSHIP ASSISTANCE
FOX INDIAN PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

The Fox Indian Professional Education Program has been set up to see to it that every member of the Sac and Fox of Iowa who wants to have a professional education, and can do the work, will have the opportunity to do so.

There are only three major requirements for those who want to have the benefits of the Fox Indian Professional Education Program:

1) That you are a member of the Sac and Fox of Iowa.

2) That you have been admitted as a student to a college or university in Iowa.

3) That you have asked for scholarship help from all four of the other major sources of assistance open to you, and from us, before the end of May in each year for which you want this assistance.

Our application blank below, when you have filled it out, will show whether you have fulfilled these three major requirements. If this application is received by us before the end of May in the year for which you want the money, and if you are qualified, you will be eligible to receive assistance from us for your necessary tuition, fees, room and board, books, equipment, and incidental expenses, in the amount that you need to carry out your college program.

If this application is not filled out and forwarded to us before the end of May in the year for which you want the assistance, you will not be eligible to receive assistance from the program for that year.

STEPS TO TAKE:

1) In March, apply for admission to the college or university of your choice in Iowa.

2) Write to the following four places for application blanks for scholarship help. Fill out these application blanks as soon as you get
them and send them in to each of the four places.

Dr. Galen Weaver
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Mrs. Roger S. Clapp, Chairman
Indian Scholarship Committee
Association on American Indian Affairs
100 Memorial Drive
Cambridge 42, Massachusetts

Branch of Education
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Minneapolis Area Office
2908 Colfax Ave. S.
Minneapolis 8, Minnesota

Iowa Federated Women's Clubs
Mrs. Raymond Sires
Tama, Iowa

3) Complete our application blank below, and send it to:

Fox Indian Professional Education Program
University of Chicago
1126 East 59th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Exhibit 62

March 7, 1957

Dear Mr. Rietz:

Many thanks for your letter of March 6. I'm glad that the various chapters have been able to help in the TamaCraft project. The products are of fine quality, and should be able to compete anywhere in the United States.

I find that it would not be possible to reproduce the D.A.R. insignia on any product whatsoever. The Insignia was adopted in 1891 and is strictly limited in its use. It may be used on stationary, programs, etc., but cannot be used for commercial purposes at all. The use of the insignia on a tea tile, however attractive it sounds, would thus be contrary to usage.

For decades now, national D.A.R. has been helping the American Indian. Last year, in cash, and chiefly for scholarships, the national Society awarded $30,110.05 to American Indians. Nursing scholarships are also in force for young Negro women. There are other grants for women in medicine; also about $300,000 is in force for student loans and scholarships.

Also, the National Society owns and operates completely two schools—Tamassee at Tamassee, S. C. and Kate Duncan Smith at Grant, Alabama. These schools take in the mountain children for miles around and the schools are operated as both boarding and day schools. Eleven other schools, including the Berry schools, Hindman Settlement, etc., are aided yearly with grants. Last year the grants came to $410,003.11.

The conservation program is likewise extensive. Conservative scholarships for teachers are offered and last year 511,783 trees were planted.

I'm writing all this to place in its national setting the work of one committee—my own Iowa American Indians committee—and to explain that the women in the various Iowa chapters have a number of commitments to fulfill each year. One year, for example, all the Iowa chapters raised $1,000 and gave Tamassee a tractor. Thus, in some years the women spend more on some projects, and less on other committees.
This year the Indians committee took in $535.59 and an additional $1,444 in clothes, gifts, beads, etc. In addition, the Oskaloosa chapter has now established a chapter memorial to deceased members. Instead of sending flowers the members send a note of sympathy and explain that $5.00 will be given toward an American Indian scholarship in memory of the deceased member. This year $15.00 was contributed.

The chapters reported spending $149.22 for Tamacraft products; that is, buying as chapters. Doubtless individuals made this figure higher.

The various chapters sent $62.00 directly through our State treasurer to the college girls—Judith Youngbear $3.00; Joyce Mitchell, $18.00; Georgianna Davenport, $41.00. Georgianna has been helped in other years and is the best known, apparently. In addition, other cash was assigned to Tama and also money for beads—in all some $83.88. The girls have had their cash gifts for some weeks, but the other funds must await another letter. Incidentally, as you know, our national commitments are such that we cannot merge those commitments with other scholarship committees, but we can help the girls with side aid. I imagine that it would be possible to get a full, or partial D.A.R. American Indian scholarship in this area, but it would have to be handled as a completely separate aid.

Also, our Iowa chapters give scholarships to these long-established sources: St. Mary's School for Indian Girls at Springfield, S.D., and Bacone, at Bacone, Oklahoma. Without looking it up, I believe that our commitments here are about $10,000 yearly.

Our national D.A.R. American Indians committee chairman is Mrs. P. of ______. To her the other day I sent a packet of Tama material: four samples of the note paper; one of the attractive folders for Tama Indian crafts, which you sent to me; a copy of the Cedar Rapids Gazette containing the Tama story, and a brief description of the fine work being done on the first commercial venture of the Mesquakie. This material will be presented, together with the work of all the other states, at the national D.A.R. convention in Washington in April.

This is a longish letter to explain something of the scope of the national society. Iowa has 88 chapters. I should like to be able to send out next fall a brief story about the Mesquakie in Iowa and have each chapter have a backlog of information on hand. Some members still think the Mesquakie live on a reservation. Better information means better understanding.

Alton finally came back from his speaking circuit and both of us send best wishes. I thoroughly enjoyed my grand talk with Lee and want her to call me next time she comes to town.

Regards from us both—

Mrs. M. P.

Exhibit 63

March 19, 1958

Sol Tax
University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Tax:

I am very sorry to hear Robert Reitz is not going to be replaced
in June. He has done a fine job not only getting the Tamacraft going but also in getting and keeping these young people in College. He has gained the confidence of these people and integrated them into our society. And by society I mean into desirable society. Too many drift into the beer parlors as it is and when they learn they will be accepted into our society they adapt very well, and us to them in return. Bob Reitz is responsible for raising the standards of these people and it has largely been accomplished on the common grounds of this Tamacraft project.

Would it be possible to leave the house for the Tamacraft project to operate. If you cannot send someone from the University to manage it perhaps something could be worked out through Mr. & Mrs. Robert Waseskuk, Sr. They are fine people and perhaps with supervision from the University, through Mr. Reitz for a time, I feel the Tamacraft would continue.

The scholarship program is perhaps more important. Someone here who is interested needs to have charge of this. Mr. Magnuson who is in charge of the school has the confidence and respect of these people. They also respect my work through the work I have done for them with the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs. We just have to keep these young people going to College.

I wish you would give these problems very serious consideration. The University of Chicago has done more for these people in the short time they have been here than all the other work and projects since the white people took over this part of the country. These people are far from going on their own and your work is just the foundation they can build on.

Sincerely,
Chairman, Indian Affairs Comm.
Iowa Federated Women's Clubs

The Development of an Issue

The Day School on the Mesquakie Settlement has been a focus of controversy for some time. The editorial included as Exhibit 64 suggests the attitudes of the local white community to an earlier situation in which the school was to be transferred from federal to state control. The later events of 1956 were precipitated by a fire which damaged part of the school building. The following exhibits are made up of correspondence concerning the permanent transfer of the seventh grade to the Tama school system and the discontinuance of the pre-primary class, by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They include the record of Fox and Indian Bureau positions and claims, the evaluation of the situation by Rietz as field director of the Fox Project, and the gradual involvement of other interested parties including a local Congregational minister, and an Iowa senator. The documents reveal in striking fashion the various ways in which a single set of circumstances was defined by different but mutually involved groups.

Exhibit 64
"THE INDIAN QUESTION," H. E. Clark Editorial--Toledo Chronicle, July 17, 1952

There is a considerable resentment among the Sac & Fox Indians over the transfer of the Day School from federal to state control.
It is the feeling of the Indians that the federal govt. acted in an arbitrary manner in asking the state of Iowa to take over the control of the school—or even to make plans for the operation of the school.

Representatives of the Indian service face a difficult job in encouraging the transition of the Indians from the status of wards of the federal govt. to that of full citizens. At the present time the Indians are in between—they are no longer wards of the govt., nor are they full citizens.

The difficulty the Indians face is in determining which status will be of most benefit to them and the natural desire to try and get the most out of both conditions—retaining the advantages of govt. supervision of certain of their activities, educational and medical care, and a special status in the payment of taxes along with an increasing portion of the rights of full citizenship.

It has been the desire of the Congress that the Indian Service liquidate as many of its functions as fast as can be done (following week House Resolution presented to doc. this) without causing undue hardship for the Indians. The last Congress strongly prodded the Indian Service for not getting more done toward the termination of their services.

As a result the Indian Service has been taking an increasingly close look at the tribes under their supervision and they have found that many of the Indian schools can be taken over by the various state governments.

In Calif., for instance, the Indians are completely under state law. Any special needs such as schooling or social services are handled by the state. The federal govt. has stepped out of the picture.

In the southwest several of the Navaho Day Schools have been switched from federal to state control.

It has been a matter of common knowledge that the federal govt. was contemplating this change for the Sac & Fox Day School. This was one of the factors involved in the effort by the Tama and Toledo school boards to set up a plan for a central high school between the two towns—a high school that would serve not only the Toledo and Tama communities but the Indian community as well.

On a television program several months ago members of the Sac & Fox tribe discussed the problem of their school. In this discussion they recognized that such a change was contemplated.

The Indian Service made four attempts to get the tribal council talked about the problem a great deal, but they did not reach a point in their discussion where they could give the Indian Service a yes or no answer.

While this discussion was going on among the members of the tribal council, Congress was cutting the appropriations of the Dept. of the Interior, of which the Indian Service is a part.

With less funds with which to administer the Indian Service it was apparent that the states should be asked to take over as many of the functions of the Indian Service as could be managed. The Sac & Fox Day School was one of these services.

Last week the Indian Service representatives, members of the
Iowa Dept. of Education and the Indians met at the Day School.

The state of Iowa was prepared to present a program to the Indians—a program which, on the surface, is undoubtedly more complete than the one now offered by the federal govt. It called for the development of more vocational training and more community activities.

But as soon as the change was mentioned to the Indians there was a violent reaction. The Indians claimed that they had never been asked whether or not they wanted the change and that the discussion had been between the federal and state govts., without consulting the Indians themselves.

Because they were left out of these discussions, the Indians refused to have any part of the program. They claimed, with some justification, that the whole process was undemocratic and that they were being deprived of their rights as citizens too was undemocratic and that they were being deprived of their rights as citizens to determine what form of education is best for their children.

Members of the state dept. of education left the meeting with a feeling that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to conduct the type of program they want without the support of the Sac & Fox people.

Which has resulted in a sort of uneasy stalemate.

The difficulty with the Sac & Fox school proposition is the same one that plagues the small towns of Iowa. It is a matter of pride and taxation.

The Sac & Fox people want to have their full share in determining what sort of school will be operated on the reservation and they want both the federal govt., and the state to consult them fully when such a school is set up.

However, the Indians must realize that there is a certain time limit to these negotiations and that they must, themselves, make up their mind which group they want to operate their schools—the Indian Service or the state.

Unless the Indians are willing to cooperate, by determining among themselves what they want, they will forfeit the patience of both groups that are trying to help them get the best possible school.

There is no question but that some sort of special school is needed for the younger Indian children and such a need will exist as long as the native tongue is spoken in the Sac & Fox homes. It takes skilled, understanding teachers to help these boys and girls through the transition from Sac & Fox into English. This fact is recognized by both the Indian Service and the state.

The other major problem that complicates the school picture is one of taxation. The Indians pay a portion of the taxes levied by the county, but these taxes are paid for by the tribe from the rental they receive from a productive farm which the Sac & Fox tribe owns.

This means that the individuals do not pay any tax levy, except that of income tax. This is to the considerable advantage of the Indian who lives on the settlement and is one of the few who farms the Indian land. It is also to the advantage of the Indian who lives on the settlement and draws good money as a skilled laborer.

There are a number of Indians whose income is between $4,000 and $5,000 a year. This money is earned from skilled labor. There are quite a number more who make more that $250 a month.
A number of Indians save money—enough so that twice within the last three months a $1,000 cash bond was posted by a member of the Sao & Fox tribe to cover a drunk driving charge.

What many of these Indians fear is that, should the state take over, they will be forced to pay taxes on their income in the form of tuition for their children.

There is a feeling among a large group of people, including a number of Indians, that the Sao & Fox are a poor destitute people, who need protection.

This is becoming less and less true.

It becomes less true with every late model automobile that is purchased by the Indians, with every member of the tribe who finds that he can hold down a good paying job alongside any man whether his color is red, white, or black.

A tremendous amount of progress has taken place among the Indians since the war. This progress has been reflected in the rising economic standards of the Indians and the increased attendance at the Day School and at the Tama high school.

The job the Indians, the Indian Service and the state of Iowa face is that of getting together and developing the best school program possible.

Such a school program must be based on the assumption that the Indians will, within a decade, be able to take their place and hold it, in any society.

Such a program takes cooperation, not only by the Indian Service and the state, but from the Indians themselves.

The Indians people are not going to progress half citizen and half ward of the govt. . . . They must go all the way and take, in return for full citizenship, full responsibility as citizens.

Exhibit 65

February 14, 1956

Dr. Sol Tax
Fred Gearing

Last Friday, February 10, fire seriously damaged one classroom, the west entrance and corridor, and the book room at the Day School.

This evening, Ed D came to tell me there was to be an emergency council meeting to consider what to do re getting kids back into school, since the day school has been closed since the fire. Present were to be Kelly, Riley, special officer Davis, and Mel Hunt of Aberdeen Area construction branch. I went. Council members present were Ed D., Kenny YB, Louis M., Percy B., George YB. Also present: Jessup L., Harvey L., Harrison K., Tom S., Charlie D.

The Bureau Officials proposed that the 7th grade attend school in Tama for the rest of this year, and that the pre-school classes do the same, while temporary repairs for the school would be made from emergency funds so that the school would open in 10 days, with advertisements for bids for permanent repairs going out in about 4 weeks, after estimates and preparation of advertisement, with a 30 day bid period following. Kelly reiterated how strongly he felt that the 7th grade should stay going to Tama. Kenny gave him very good arguments and took
a firm stand against this, asserting bad faith on former "temporary" agreements, and wanted to know why the old school rooms in the council building could not be used etc. He finally agreed that the temporary Tama arrangement was OK, but won the point that the parents of both 7th graders & pre-school children should decide. Louis made a long incoherent speech to the effect that everybody was helping them, everybody wants to get the children an education, and that it was much better to send children to public schools. Ed politicked and was wishy-washy—although agreeing with L, he doesn't want to say so openly, yet he doesn't want to appear too much in accord with BIA in public, while also wanting the BIA to recognize his value as a leader. O evaded all controversial points and said as how everybody wants to get the kids back to school and lets approve the temporary emergency arrangements. BIA reported they saw Ben Jones and he will welcome his Indian friends with open arms, being sure school board will do same. Kelly openly stated that, with respect to future of the school, the BIA "had plans but were not ready to divulge them yet." Nobody took the slightest visible offense at this thrice-repeated statement. Ed introduced me to K (Bureau official) and I was asked to make one comment, which was that I thought that the way in which the operation of the school was decided upon and the extent of community participation in plans and operation would have a much greater impact for good or evil than any gain or loss that the thirteen 7th grade students might experience from going either to Tama or settlement school (repeated 3 times in 3 different ways; announced I would repeat it again, and did—using simpler language than this). No visible effect. Cornered R and explained in more detail. He obviously decided to tell K not to use such language in further discussion as a matter of strategy; otherwise, no apparent effect. Explained in more detail to Ed when I drove him home. He had me repeat several times; announced that it looke as though he & I should have some long talk about this point because it may be that this is more important than anybody thinks it is.

Meeting in agreement that temporary Tama arrangements to be put to Tama School board, while settlement give some definite answer by 1 week from Monday. Kelly's speaking full of inference that BIA is making the decisions, while verbal statements repeat that Mesquakies are to have say. By say, he seems to mean the BIA will talk with Mesquakies re what it plans to do; yet in this case he did indicate that he will go along with peoples decision. Gave me the feeling that he has something bigger in the offing and is willing to settle for less than his own idea now if really necessary to get accord and action. Quick to take offense, but pretty well controlled. Has notion of what is best educationwise for Mesquakies; may feel right about enforcing this judgement, but apparently has no conception of evaluating side-effects of such decision-making on really basic problem of Mesquakies ideas of themselves and their place in society and their relation to the nature of present-day Mesquakie community and its divorce from practical and effective action in its own behalf. Tho K carried the discussion and vigorously, it was to the point of BIA intention to get 7th grade into Tama permanently and bad faith in past, with no real or implied suggestion of Mesquakie participation in making good or bad decisions in current operations, and in on-going details of same.

Suggest we do nothing definite yet. Reasonably soon, I should write to K to point re participation and ask that the "plans" he mentioned be brought into discussion with Mesquakies, to get this on record. Meantime, we will follow closely on how Mesquakie decisions effect present decisions for emergency.

Best Wishes

Bob
Mr. H, Area Director
Minneapolis Area Office
2908 Colfax Avenue South
Minneapolis 8, Minnesota

Dear Mr. H:

The beginner group of Sao and Fox School, approximately 23 in number, has not been in school since the day of the fire and destruction of one classroom, on February 10, 1956.

The Indian Service officials, RK of Minneapolis Area Office, and E. J. R of Great Lakes Area Field Office, of Ashland, Wisconsin, met with the Sao and Fox Tribal Council for discussion on the emergency school situation on February 14, 1956, at Tama, Iowa. At this meeting the visiting officials stood firm and decided against reopening of the beginners classes. Reason given at the time was that the room for the particular group was not available in the school building.

Beginner training is definitely essential on the children enrolled. Any person interested would certainly agree that the children must not be deprived of obtaining necessary primary training, regardless of whether they be white, Negroes, or Indians.

The parents and citizens of this community are concerned in this apparent negligence of their children by the Indian Bureau.

Following the investigation of the situation, made by the Tribal Council, it was found:

1. That there is a suitable room available for the children.
2. That qualified teachers are also available at the school.

Therefore, the Tribal Council at its special meeting, held on March 20, 1956, went on record in favor of recommending that sympathetic support be given by the Indian Bureau to this desire of our people to have their children enrolled and return to their classes immediately.

Your action on this matter will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

E D, Chairman
Sao and Fox Tribal Council

Exhibit 67

Mr. R. D. H, Area Director
Minneapolis Area Office
2908 Colfax Avenue South
Minneapolis 8, Minnesota

Dear Mr. H:

The verbal agreement between the Indian Bureau Officials and
the Sac and Fox Tribal Council at the council meeting held on February 14, 1956 must be transmitted to you for information.

The agreement was reached that the 7th graders of the Indian School attend the Tama Public School on temporary basis. This move was necessary as an emergency measure due to partial destruction of the school building by fire occurring last month.

The Tribal Council is willing to co-operate with the Indian Bureau Officials to authorize the 7th graders to attend the Tama Public School, only under condition, until the end of the present school term. However, next Fall the 7th graders will again assume their studies at the local Indian School.

Sincerely yours,
E D, Chairman
Sac and Fox Tribal Council

Exhibit 68

Minneapolis Area Office
2908 Colfax Ave, South
Minneapolis 8, Minnesota

April 6, 1956

Mr. E D, Chairman
Sac and Fox Tribal Council
Tama, Iowa

Dear Mr. D:

This is in reply to your letter of March 22, 1956 on the subject of enrollment of the seventh grade Sac and Fox pupils for the next school year. Your letter closes with the statement, "Next Fall the 7th graders will again resume their studies at the local Indian School."

In the interest of sound organization and good educational practices, it is our belief that the local school program should be restricted to grades 1-6 and that provisions to provide school facilities for grades 7-12 in the Tama public schools be continued. The Junior-Senior High School type of organization is accepted throughout the United States as a sound organizational division. Since the Tama Public Schools have a Junior-Senior High School organization, it is reasonable that the Sac and Fox pupil should enter the Tama program at the seventh grade level. We have discussed the advantages of public school education for your children with your council many times. The fact that your pupils now enrolled in the Tama Schools have made fine adjustment, that they are not in a segregated group, that the Public School Officials and the School Board have accepted them with equality, and for many other considerations of the total picture we wish to advise that it is our belief the Sac and Fox Day School program should be continued as it is now being operated, and we are therefore not planning any changes in the present program.

All appreciate the keen interest your Council is taking in the education provisions made for Sac and Fox children and the Bureau solicits your continued interest. The children concerned are the all important consideration and those of us whose responsibility it is to see that they receive the best possible opportunities believe our plans as set forth in this letter will serve them best.

Sincerely yours,
(Sgd.) H
Area Director
Exhibit 69

Committee On Interior and Insular Affairs
House of Representatives, U. S.
Washington, D. C.
April 6, 1956

Mr. E D
Chairman, Sao and Fox Tribal Council
Sao and Fox Settlement
Tama, Iowa

Dear Mr. D:

I was not aware of the school situation on the Sao and Fox Settlement until I received your letter of March 28, 1956. I am very much concerned that the children to whom you refer are not in school. You were fully justified in communicating directly with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. I would very much appreciate receipt of a copy of the letter you received from Commissioner Emmons.

Sincerely yours,
Sgd/ E, Chairman

Exhibit 70

Rev. R
Box 458
Nashua, Iowa
April 12, 1956

Mr. Robert Rietz
Sao and Fox Settlement
Tama, Iowa

Dear Bob:

The enclosed letter from R. D. H came today and I thought you might be interested in seeing it before you came up here next week. His answer is in response to a letter from me following my conversation with your wife the 2nd of April. Save the letter for me because I want to pass it on to our Congregational Conference Social Action Commission. I am also enclosing the church news page of the recent issue of the Nashua Reporter which has the article about your forthcoming presentation here. By the way, the church is on the US highway which brings you into town. It is a red brick building.

Best wishes to you and your family.

Respectfully
R

Exhibit 71

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
Office of Indian Affairs
Minneapolis Area Office
2906 Colfax Avenue South
Minneapolis 8, Minnesota
Community Service 289c.2

Rev. R
Box 458
Nashua, Iowa

My dear Mr. R:
This is to acknowledge your letter of April 6, and to tell you that we appreciate very much your interest in the welfare of the Sac & Fox Indian children. We are also concerned in the educational program for these children and are interested in maintaining the best program we can, in the interest of sound educational practices.

The second paragraph of your letter referred to the reduction in the teaching staff at the Sac & Fox school. The revised program necessitated this change. In accordance with well established Federal policies, no action of this kind is taken on the basis of race, color or creed. The action taken in this case was in accordance with rules established by the Civil Service Commission, and no deviation from the established procedure occurred in this instance. If you have evidence otherwise, we will appreciate your giving us full information.

Sincerely yours,

R, D, H
Area Director

cc: Adm. Officer
Ot. Lakes APO

Exhibit 72

April 27, 1956

Mr. Robert Rietz
Sac and Fox Settlement
Tama, Iowa

Dear Bob:

You will recall the correspondence which we had with the government official for the Indians in Minneapolis. The Congregational Conference Committee on Social Action took the matter up because some of us had received a letter from Edward D regarding the matter. Two of us from the committee stopped and talked to your wife about the matter early in April.

This forenoon I received a long distance phone call from the chairman of the Committee on Social Action. He is U of Des Moines, a layman, vice president in charge of sales for Pioneer Seed. He had written me earlier asking what I thought of the Minneapolis Man's idea of a conference on the issues Davenport's letter brought up. Now in the phone call today he gave me the go-ahead to invite the Minneapolis man down for a meeting.

I will have the help of Rev. Ralph I, I hope. Would you be willing to meet with us? Should D be asked in on the matter? Maybe if I spent a day collecting the facts and outlining the situation before we had our conference, more would be accomplished at the conference. Your advice would be appreciated on these questions now.

If all the facts merit it, the end result may be that the Committee on Social Action and the Congregational Conference of Iowa would take a very creative stand on maintaining subsidies and giving Indians local control. Please answer soon.

Sincerely,

R
May 10, 1956

Mr. Robert Rietz
Sac and Fox Settlement
Tama, Iowa

Dear Bob:

We have set a date with the Minneapolis Office for a small conference at Pilgrim Heights. It will be at Pilgrim Heights (formerly Sportman's Lake) at 10:00 A.M. on Thursday, May 17th. There will be one other Congregational minister there, Ralph I. E, who is part time director of Social Action in the state conference. I am also asking Ed D to come and bring one or two of his people along.

I would like you to be present also.

The purpose of the meeting would be to get as clear a picture of the situation as possible that the Department of Social Relations of the Congregational Christian Conference of Iowa will be able to present the case concisely to the members of the Congregational Churches.

In the phone conversation this morning with Mr. K at the Minneapolis Office he expressed the doubt that Ed D wrote the original letters to Mr. H and suspiciously mentioned you as the author. You can take this for what its worth, but I thought you would like to know what is on their minds before they meet you.

Sincerely,

Sgd/ R

May 14, 1956

Mr. R. D. H., Area Director
Minneapolis Area Office
2908 Colfax Ave. South
Minneapolis 8, Minnesota

Dear Mr. H.:

Mr. E. D., chairman of the Sac and Fox tribal council, has given copies to me of two letters he recently received from your office, and has asked my help for the people of the settlement in their desire to prevent the loss of their kindergarten and the transfer of their 7th grade youngsters to the Tama public school, three miles away.

I was much shocked by the contents of both letters, and hasten to let you know something of the consequences which can be expected to follow from the decision that you communicate in them, for their abrupt announcement with no participation by the people of the settlement in reaching the decisions, and in the face of their known opposition to the
changes proposed. From my one brief meeting with you, it is my impres-
sion that were you more fully acquainted with the facts in the case you
would not have taken such an action.

Damage to the Sac and Fox own school by fire in February was
such as to warrant temporary attendance at the Tama public school for
the Sac and Fox 7th graders for the balance of this school year, and to
this the people of the settlement agreed. The damage did not warrant
abandonment of the pre-primary grade. With the space freely available
in the school gym and auditorium, and with an alternative room available
in the room now used for council meetings (actually an old school-room,
complete with blackboards) the pre-primary could have very easily been
continued without interruption. The fact that this was not done, and
that these youngsters have already been out of school for this long time,
is a very unfortunate thing indeed, I assume that it is possible for the
Bureau of Indian Affairs to recruit a qualified pre-primary teacher. I
understand that your office dismissed one teacher here on March 31 because
you had reduced the pupil load by transferring the 7th graders to Tama and
discontinuing the pre-primary grade.

Very few of the twenty-four Sac and Fox youngsters who attended
the pre-primary grade speak the English language. Those among them who
do speak English do so with nothing like the verbal fluency that non-
Indian children of the same age, and with whom they will be competing
in the future, possess. In addition, the pre-primary grade, or kinder-
garten, represents the very first introductory experience that these
youngsters have with a social situation in which there is a disciplined
and prolonged effort in the work of learning. Without this pre-primary
experience, Sac and Fox children will suffer an educational handicap
that will follow them throughout their school careers. Even today, the
handicap of the Sac and Fox students in high school and college because
of this early language difficulty is a matter of common recognition on
the part of educators in Tama High School and in the colleges which the
Sac and Fox have so recently begun to attend for further education.
American educators and parents put a high value on the opportunity for
pre-primary instruction that we like to provide for our own youngsters.
How much more important this opportunity must be for Indian children who
must cope with major social and language handicaps!

This outlines one serious destructive consequence of the deci-
sions taken by your office. Another, and perhaps even more destructive
consequence, is due to the unilateral nature of the action itself. At
a meeting with the Sac and Fox tribal council in February of this year,
members of the council were reassured by representatives of your office
that the kindergarten was to be reopened as soon as possible. The coun-
cil chairman, Mr. E. D., was instructed by these representatives to learn
from the women of the settlement whether they wished to send their chil-
dren to kindergarten at the settlement school, as had been the case up
to then, or to send them three miles away to Tama. He was asked to get
this information immediately, so as not to delay the reopening of the
pre-primary.

No further communication came from your office on these matters
until receipt of your April 6 letters announcing summarily that you had
decided to discontinue the pre-primary grade and send the 7th grade Sac
and Fox students to Tama from now on. It would be difficult to imagine
a more destructive type of action than this, in terms of its conse-
quenccs for the Mesquakis community, unless it were to be another threat
of complete government abandonment.

The Sac and Fox, like so many others of our Indian communities,
are struggling to build an integrated community under an almost impos-
sestible handicap. This follows from the fact that while they, in effeot, reoceive a federal subsidy for essentioal community services they also suffering under the unique handicap of having the actual practical opera-
tiow of these community affairs done for them by outsiders who thereby "administer" their simple, homely community affairs. It is recognized by then that theirs is a community without genuine opportunity for a graduated structure of community leadership and service positions, a community without much of a say about its own vital community activi-
ties. This makes an almost impossible situation for those who would serve their community with leadership. Since, in fact, power is absent from the council, when actions are carried out by it the assumption is that they are actions either instigated or approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of no other kind. The inevitable feeling is, there-
fore, that the council can only serve as a sort of "rubber stamp" for Bureau administrators or not at all be involved in initiating the im-
portant activities.

In spite of all this, there are those among the Indian people who do go on trying to serve with leadership. Such a complete reversal of the decision they "reach" with Bureau officials as is exemplified in your two decisions makes their leadership a pretense, and, too often results in their becoming a local laughing-stock as a reward for their attempts.

In their long history of this kind of experience, one destructive consequence for the people of the settlement is the natural development of a sense of almost complete impotence with respect to their interest in trying to achieve an integrated participating community. They do not have such a community now, as we think of the term. They have a group of people struggling to have a developing community integrated within our larger political and social organization as a deviant minor-
ity of the type that we have always been proud to tolerate in America, in the face of overwhelming obstacles. It is understandable that peo-
ple of the settlement sometimes speak of themselves as feeling like "a conquered people," as they say, rather than as feeling like a partici-
pating minority!

It is my personal opinion that the Indian people will never have the chance to demonstrate the extent to which they are truly capable of taking their place as just such a participant, integrated, deviant minority until we learn to divorce the obstacle of outside administration from the fact of a desperately needed subsidy, and sub-
stitute a controls advisor for a body of direct operators. Be that as it may, in the face of this difficult situation for Indians, we look to men in your position to guide their actions in such a fashion as to minimize some of the unfortunate consequences of a situation you cannot fully correct.

Both the apathy with respect to community affairs and community aspirations following from the sense of community impotence, and the fact of having outsiders preempt the important roles of running essen-
tial community services, contribute as two truly major factors toward the formation and maintenance of an unfortunate stereotype of Indians on the part of non-Indians. In addition, the fact of their impotence and the overriding of their wishes without their participation in deci-
sions contribute heavily toward the formation and maintenance of an un-
fortunate stereotype of "white people" on the part of Indians. The sheer ignorance in which they have been kept because of the lack of any experience in the handling of the mundane housekeeping operations and duties involved in providing basic community services represents another
factor which makes its contribution to the formation of unfavorable stereotypes on both sides. I wonder just how much of what we call discrimination on both sides comes about through this vicious circle!

Perhaps it is the view of the Bureau that it would be more efficient to have Sac and Fox 7th grade youngsters go away to school in Tama, or that an enforced association with non-Indian students will have only good and not perhaps bad consequences, given the situation as it is. The problem of adequate educational opportunity for Sac and Fox youngsters exists within a much larger framework—problem of Indian community development. This greater and more inclusive goal cannot reasonably be sacrificed in the name of greater efficiency for one of its most important, but subsidiary, problems, since the greater problem has much indeed to do with limiting the chance that the Sac and Fox youngsters has to benefit from an educational opportunity, as we might see it.

In view of the nature of this general situation of the Sac and Fox, it is my most sincere hope that you will reconsider your decisions and reopen the pre-primary grade for them, and that you will continue the 7th grade youngsters in their home community school in the absence of any contrary decision reached together with the people of the Sac and Fox community, which appears to represent the present heartfelt wishes of the people of the Sac and Fox community.

I am hoping that you will be able to reply to this letter of mine very soon, as I am receiving many requests for information about the Sac and Fox school situation, which is to be expected, and I need to answer them.

Most sincerely,
Robert W. Rietz
Field Director

Exhibit 75

Robert W. Rietz
University of Chicago Field House
Tama, Iowa

Dear Mr. Rietz

We, the members of the "Elizabeth Campbell Circle" Women's Missionary Society of the Mesquakie United Presbyterian Church and other interested Mesquakis do hereby appeal to you to help this said group in regards to the school situation at the Sac and Fox Day School. We want the kindergarten at this school, we do need it and also the seventh grade.

We, the members of said society and others, would greatly appreciate your assistance in this situation that confronts our tribe, (the Mesquakie Nation) Sac and Fox of Iowa, we remain

Sincerely submitted

Members
Mrs. Pausy Waseskuk, Sec'y
Jean Adeline Wanatee, Pres.
Mrs. Grace M. Papakee
Mrs. J. M. Youngbear, Vice-Pres.
Mrs. Frances J. Mitchell
Mrs. Bertha Davenport
Mrs. Clara Morgan
Mrs. Esther Keahna
Mrs. Eleanor Pushetonequa
Mrs. Mary S. Young Bear

Non-members
George Young Bear
Richard L. Papakee
Mrs. Evelyn Papakee
Carl Jefferson
Mabel Keahna
Una Leaf
Exhibit 76

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
Office of Indian Affairs
Minneapolis Area Office
2908 Colfax Avenue South
Minneapolis & Minnesota

May 18, 1956

Memorandum

To: E. D., Chairman of Sac & Fox Tribal Council
Thru: Administrative Officer, Great Lakes Area Field Office
From: Area Director, Minneapolis Area Office
Subject: Sac & Fox Day School

This memorandum is being prepared so that if you have any questions concerning the discussions during the meeting held at the Congregational Church Camp on May 17, we can correct any differences of views while they are still fresh in our minds. It should be definitely understood by all those present, that full consideration was given to statements made by you and your people regarding the school program at Sac & Fox, and you requested the school program be changed back to what it was prior to the fire last February. You were advised we would write to the Central Office and request that someone from the Education staff outside of the Minneapolis Area, who is qualified in educational practices be detailed to visit the Sac & Fox School and make a study of the school program as it is now being conducted. Other than this, there were no commitments made regarding the school program at Sac & Fox.

If the above statements are not in accordance with your understanding, please advise us at your earliest convenience.

R.D.H.
Adj. Officer
Area Director

Exhibit 77

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
Department of Anthropology
Tama Indian Program
Field Station
Tama, Iowa
May 21, 1956

Dear Fred:

After receiving R's 5/10 letter telling me the date of the proposed conference between BIA officials and I & R of the Congregational State Conference SAC, I phoned him and suggested he write inviting representation from the Mesquakie Women's Missionary Society (hoping to get Adeline to go) Legion Auxiliary (hoping for Mary YB) the Legion. He did. The Women's M. Soc. also requested me to help them get their kindergarten back etc., in writing, at my suggestion. The Council had tried six dates for a meeting but failed of a quorum each time, from April 10 to May 9.

Meantime, as you know, Ed D. had written to H. two letters in which he gave council's position re kindergarten & 7th graders to return to day school in fall. He sent copies of these letters to a list of names I gave him (hence your telegram from M. of AAIF etc.), but neglected to add notes asking for support etc. You have received copies of the various letters in all this as I could get them copied.

R. came here on Wednesday before the conference to ask if I were going to speak at the Church camp (Sportsmans Lake - now "Pilgrim Heights") as I had tentatively promised; wanted me to be there at 4 p.m. I had to teach & arranged to get there for dinner. I. was there, of course, and he, I and R. talked at length re the Mesquakies & the school.
They were pretty much for us all the way when we finished. I suggested they get to see the day school & the old council room (available for a class in emergency etc.) and we all drove back to the settlement to do so. Got Ed to open up council room for us and R. & I. commented on its obvious adequacy, disagreeing with BIA's description of it as "sub-standard." R. & I. then on to see if they could see the BIA people I said were probably registered at Toledo Hotel. Weren't registered, and R. & I. strolled back at house as they had agreed to do. We all had a good bull-session for over three hours, ending up with tremendous agreement on value of "community."

Picked up Ed D. 9:30 and we pulled into camp directly behind BIA, H. & R. He had not received my letter, so gave him copy which he read facing me, sharing each sheet in silence with a somber R. No comment. We strolled to meeting place in diplomatic amiability.

H. obviously unable to take position against two points of my letter; Mesquakies need pre-primary, and unilateral action evil. R. tried to state that K had said he would not recommend sending 7th graders back to settlement in fall. Called on me to verify this, to everyone's apparent dismay. I did verify it. Then explained that K. had been saying for years that he would not recommend continuing settlement school for anyone, and that his meeting statement was in no wise a point of specific information re the present 7th graders. When I further pressed R. to point of discussion re what had been said by BIA at meeting re pre-primary, and then said that R. & K. had gone so far as to instruct Ed to learn from mothers within 5 days as to their preference between Tama & settlement for children, H. asked R. if he would say something re this and R. answered that "No, I don't think I'd better."

With H. not meeting the two points of issue with counter opinion, the discussion went to level of greater benefit of joining whites in state schools. I replied with the unilateral action point, backed by I., R., K., and Indians. K. finally retreate to position of this kind of action being BIA's policy for years, hence no surprise, much discussion with Indians, so not actually unilateral, but point doesn't stand up with anyone. McK. 's comment here that he thought "You fellows have opened up something very big here, this whole general situation" etc., further discouragement to H. type of argument. He finally agreed to ask for educational experts from central office to come and figure out if possible for Mesquakies to realistically have a real pre-primary with qualified teacher and approved curriculum. Flatly refused to reopen pre-primary meantime or to promise return of 7th graders to Settlement in fall. In closing, I remarked that the Mesquakies couldn't afford to gamble on his decision because delay means loss of their opportunity if he decides against, and stated that "we" would continue "to put pressure on people to put pressure on him" in the meantime. H. did not like this at all but said nothing. During the discussion Ed said that K. had told him privately that "they were trying to get rid of Mr. J. (day school teacher released 3/31) because he was negro." H. declined to believe this of K. & I. & R. agreed to expunge this from record. Adeline and Mary contributed much to discussion of discrimination against Mesq. in Tama. Kenny YB (forgot to include him as one of those I asked R. to invite) made most of his comments re duplicity of Bureau & fact that agreement was reached with R. & K. to return 7th graders & reopen pre-primary. All Mesq. who spoke spoke about settlement recognition of value of education. I. (who left after lunch) and R. kept informing H. re the moral requirement that we grant Mesquakies self-determination and the fact that this s-d essential for Mesquakie community.

H., McK. & Mesquakies worried about possible disastrous conse-
quences of having Indians manage schools. I had to carry discussion to illustrative points of how county superintendent of schools severely limited in use of earmarked funds but specifically responsible for particular performance. Don't know what Mesquakes got out of this; others apparently satisfied. At one point Kenny querulously to R. as to what all this had to do with opening the kindergarten. R. tries to explain how these decisions and attitudes underlie decisions on specific things like kindergarten; Kenny answering with an "Oh" of tolerant disbelief.

R. came over to our house later in afternoon with one more worry-point. He talked with H. at some length showing him camp grounds. He obviously wanted to do this (also attempt by him and I. to see BIA in Toledo, so I left for home with H. in his company). H. carefully explained to R. how Mesquakes had tremendous areas in which they could exercise decisions, and Rietz making too much of this point. So I explain to R. that decisions to which H. refers, e.g., what to do with logs from pine forest, are decisions as he sees them only to people of our bent and in our culture; to Mesquakes equally possible to be matters of indifference or points of danger, etc. R. satisfied, with some mystification. Suggest to R. that it more profitable not to look for blame, but to try to think of what would have to take place for the Mesquakes to act in such a way as to realize what they and we want for them, otherwise he finds it hard to make contribution. He agrees.

Have conspicuously refrained from being sir Galahad on this thing, to the point of losing time on it, but not at sacrificing of anything for Mesquakies. Do believe that if we work right the outcome might well be a truly valuable type of pre-primary for settlement; what they had was a mess, teacher not qualified; helpless and somewhat indignant at behavior of younger the etc., teacher's openly hostile to it and advising K. to cut it out of day school etc. No doubt of value & better than nothing, but always questionable and hard to defend to others on its own merit.

Would like your comments,

Best regards,

Bob [Rietz]

P.S. George Yb's comment re settlement operation of Govt facilities was that it wouldn't work because of a large backward element who will only be changed by a long education. He also pointedly informed H. that it was the incident of a Mesquakie school strike against attendance in Montour that was the reason for the present day-school being built. McK. added that he thought that when the Govt was urging Mesquakies--forcing them--to send children to school, it implicitly promised to continue to make this a possibility that they could actually take advantage of; having implanted the institution, it is their responsibility to carry out a program which is needed, this situation having been brought about through their action, etc.

Exhibit 78

Field Station
Tama, Iowa

May 26, 1956

Rev. R.
Washua, Iowa

Dear Rev. R.: The copy enclosed of H.'s 5/18 letter to D. is a good illustration of what I mean by the "dickering" relationship to which the Indian
Councils have been reduced. The Indians say something, and the Bureau gives it "full consideration." By no stretch of the imagination can this be elevated to the dignity of "participation." The evil is inherent in the system through which we are related to the Indian group, and will not be remedied until there is but one federal employee here instead of nine, and that one in an advisory position, with auditing and approval authority over earmarked subsidy funds—and those funds, in an adequate amount, assured for the foreseeable future according to the extent to which they are warranted.

K. Y. says to point out that if the question of the kindergarten and 7th grade is as serious as all agree, then the most elementary consideration would say that the opinion of a qualified educational expert should be had, along with serious study as mentioned, before such a very serious step were to be taken, and not after what may be a grievous mistake.

With sincere thanks for your patience, understanding and hospitality.

R. W. Rietz
Field Director

Exhibit 79

United States Senate
Committee on Foreign Relations
June 1, 1956

Mr. B. D.
Chairman, Sac and Fox Tribal Council
Tama, Iowa

Dear Mr. D.:

In further reference to my letter of April 2nd I have now received a communication from the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs concerning the status of the school program on the Sac and Fox reservation. A copy of the communication is enclosed for your information, and I shall appreciate any further comments you may wish to make.

Yours sincerely,

Sgd/
B. B. H.

United States Department of the Interior
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Washington 25, D.C.

Honorable B. B. H.
United States Senate
Washington 25, D.C.

My dear Senator H.:

On April 17, 1956 we advised that upon receipt of a current report from our Minneapolis Area Office on the status of the school program on the Sac and Fox Reservation, we would write you further. We now have the following information.

Shortly after the fire occurred at the reservation day school in February, conferences were held between the Area and Agency personnel of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Tribal Council to discuss the problem and appraise the Indian people of developments to date. The Council was informed that due to the fire damage to the school plant it would not be possible to continue operation of all classes and that arrangements had been made on an emergency basis with the Tama
public schools to transfer the 7th grade into their system. Originally, it had been expected that the pre-primary group could be transferred to the public schools on a half-day basis, but the School Board advised they could not absorb them at this time.

Upon completion of temporary repairs to the damaged school building, classes were resumed for the first six grades within two weeks following the fire. Adequate space, however, was not available for the pre-primary children. Furthermore, it was the considered opinion of the Area and Agents personnel that the program for the pre-primary group was not accomplishing what was anticipated several years ago when it was initiated, and that because of the question of pupil readiness, the cost of the program in relation to the size of the school, and other factors, it was not advisable to continue classes for those small children. The Bureau personnel felt that the progress which they could make in their first year upon entering the regular program at a more developed age would more than offset anything they might have failed to gain by not starting at a pre-school age. These reasons were all discussed with the Council and they were informed that the Bureau is not planning at this time to provide classes for this age group.

With respect to the 7th grade students, it is believed their attendance in public schools is not only desirable but logical, in view of the junior-senior type of high school organization in effect in the Tama schools. Indian children entering public schools in the 7th grade will be making the change from the elementary grades set-up at the same time as the non-Indian children. They will be meeting somewhat similar problems, acquiring new interests and, in general, entering into this phase of their training on a more equal footing with others than would be possible if they enrolled later. The Council has been advised that it is the plan of the Bureau to continue the present arrangement of enrolling the 7th grade pupils in the Tama public school.

It is the primary objective of the Bureau, and we sincerely believe it is the wish of most Indian people, that eventually all Indian children will attend public schools, and that only then will they be afforded the educational opportunities which are available to other citizens of this country through our national system of state public school education. This has frequently been discussed with the Sac and Fox Tribal Council, and it is the intent of the Bureau to continue working with the Sac and Fox Indian people to give them whatever assistance is necessary to accomplish this objective.

We appreciate your interest in the welfare of the Indian people.

Sincerely yours,

Glenn L. E.
Commissioner

Exhibit 80
Draft of remarks for presentation to Commissioner E. by Mr. H., American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, 10 July 1956.

In order to be specific, my remarks will relate to information I received less than two weeks ago at Tama, Iowa. The problem there is a small one, on the national scene, but seems to be too typical of those aspects of BIA functioning which worry Indians and which need correction. This is one side of the picture, it may be incomplete or even in error, but it is one which should not be left without making an effort to reach
understanding or correction thru better communication.

A fire in Feb., 1956 in the Tama Indian school necessitated a temporary closing of the kindergarten and shift of the 7th grade to the Tama town public school three miles away. The BIA assured the tribal council that the kindergarten would be reopened as soon as possible. Altho the council stated that the people needed the kindergarten and wanted it to be in their own community, a representative of the Minneapolis Area Office asked that the women of the community be consulted to see if they would be willing for the pre-school children to go to the town of Tama to kindergarten. The Area Office did not wait for this information. In fact it was apparent that they would probably give it little consideration, for one of the BIA representatives had said that it wasn't worth while to consult the Sac & Fox, because they never reached agreement with them in any case. There was no further communication until April when the Area Office notified the Council that the kindergarten would be discontinued and that the 7th grade students would continue to go to the public school in Tama.

I will not go into the details of the facts that suitable classroom space and teachers were available, that those children start school without ability to speak English and need this assistance to prepare for high school and other contacts with white. All that need concern us here and now is the way the BIA Area Office approached the matter of consultation with no anticipation of reaching agreement, ignored the expressed wishes of the people, and then made the decisions and proposes to run a program. The decisions might be "right" and the management might be honest and efficient, but it leaves the Indians hostile, frustrated, and robs them of the learning experiences which are essential if there is ever to be an end to the Indian problem. The Tribal Council must be assisted to grow in ability to lead the people. Instead it has been deprived of responsibility and power, and has been humiliated by being disregarded.

Well-meaning people who have the best interests of the Indians at heart urge the withdrawal of federal services in order that the Indians may be free and may develop self-sufficiency in running their own affairs. This sounds fine, but it will be tragic if it is done without the readiness and consent of the Indians. This example of the current problem at Tama indicates that the BIA is still trying to control the Indians, to work for and on them, but not to help them to help themselves.

Another matter is also indicative of the lack of consideration which these Indians have received from federal agencies. I was informed at a meeting of the Sac & Fox Tribal Council that no member of the Council had ever seen the contract under which a local physician renders medical services. They do not know what services should be provided. They do not know if the same doctor will be reappointed, or who may serve them next.

Some special assistance to Indians is still necessary, but it should be divorced from the paternalism of the past, that has done the Indian's work for them, that has insisted on controlling the Indians and managing their affairs, has insisted that Indians must become like us, must cease to be Indians.
Exhibit 81

Field Station
Tama, Iowa
July 7, 1956

Mr. H.
Haverford, Pa.

Dear Ted:

I'm sending along such documents as I have at hand. In addition, the tribal council passed a resolution on June 25, 1956, asking the U. of C. Field Station to join with them in a common effort to get the kindergarten back for their children and for the return of the seventh graders to their own community school. Also, the "junior-senior" high school system of Tama is not even under one roof, but it a curriculum program which could easily be reproduced for the 7th and 8th graders of the Mesquakie settlement right at their own community school so that they would be participating in it as much as if they were going to one of the school buildings in Tama.

We are all anxious to learn the Bureau's intentions with respect to the day school. There has been absolutely no further contractor discussion, no back-and-forth exchange as to the progress of planning or thinking, nothing to suggest that the Indian people are any but a subject of manipulation and outside decision so far.

Sincerely,
Sgd/ Bob
Robert W. Rietz
Field Director

Exhibit 82

July 21, 1956

Honorable H.
United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator H:

Thank you very sincerely for your interest and concern in our problem of the loss of our pre-primary grade at the Sac and Fox community school. We have read over the letter from the Commissioner very carefully, and we can only decide that the Commissioner has been very badly misinformed in this case. We are enclosing a collection of letters for you, which will show some of the development of this case from the beginning, and we will try to give you the facts as we know them from our own experience.

Also, on June 25, 1956, we of the Tribal Council passed a Resolution asking that the Tribal Council and the University of Chicago Field Station here work together in a joint effort to get our pre-primary grade children back in school, and Mr. Rietz, Field Director of the University of Chicago, Anthropology Department, Tama Indian Program, is writing this with us. He was present at the original meeting between the Tribal Council and representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, following the fire at the Day School in February.

The Commissioner states that

"The Council was informed that due to the fire damage to the school plant it would not be possible to continue operation of
all classes and that arrangements had been made on an emergency basis with the Tama Public schools to transfer the 7th grade into their system. Originally, it had been expected that the pre-primary group could also be transferred to the public schools on a half-day basis, but the School Board advised they could not absorb them at this time.

We were completely left out of all the planning and thinking on how to work out this problem, and then the Council was "informed" what the Bureau had worked out. At that meeting when we were "informed," we agreed that the 7th graders should go off into Tama to somebody else's community school instead of our own community school, but only on an emergency basis. We made this very clear at the time, and we also clearly said that we did not think that the move was at all necessary. We knew that if the Bureau of Indian Affairs wanted to do as we all hoped, the children could continue school at our own school.

We were asked at this meeting to find out where the mothers of the pre-primary children would like to send them to school—whether to our school or to the school in Tama. We found out afterward that they all want their children to go to our own community school.

The Commissioner's letter reads:

"Originally, it had been expected that the pre-primary group could be transferred to the public schools on a half-day basis, but the School Board advised they could not absorb them at this time."

In other words, it was only after representatives of the Bureau found out that the pre-primary children would not be able to go away to school in Tama that they decided that the children were not "ready" to go to school, and decided about all of the other reasons mentioned for keeping them out of school. What we are afraid of is that the Bureau has decided that either our pre-primary children go away to school or they cannot go to school at all. We have been told by the local Tama School Board that there would be no room at Tama for our pre-primary children this fall even if we wanted to send them there and they wanted to go there.

The Commissioner states that:

"Upon completion of temporary repairs to the damaged school building, classes were resumed for the first six grades within two weeks following the fire." "Adequate space, however, was not available for the pre-primary children."

This statement is not correct. There is more than ample room. In fact, there is room for both the 7th grade and the pre-primary grade even if the Bureau should fail to keep its promise to have the school building repaired by this fall, although the conditions would not be as good as they should be. (There is no evidence of any work being started to repair the school, and we are getting worried about that, too, as we have had no communication at all about it.) Besides, room at the Day School, our community school, there is another large room in a building where we meet for council meetings. This room was a school room formerly, and it is fully equipped with blackboards, a good coal stove, and indoor plumbing and washroom right in the next room. We have had this room inspected by members of a Committee for Social Action of one of Iowa's largest church denominations and these men found the room entirely satisfactory. We have also had others
inspect this room, including a member of the Society of Friends central organization who was visiting here, and all have said that the room is a very adequate one.

The Commissioner's letter says:

"These reasons were all discussed with the council and they were informed that the Bureau is not planning at this time to provide classes for this age group."

This statement is not correct. No such discussion was ever held. The first that we heard of these "reasons" was in the April 6, 1956 letter which told us that the Bureau had decided to take away our pre-primary school. The only previous talk we had on the question was at the original Feb. 14, 1956 meeting, when we were urged to find out if the mothers of the Sac and Fox settlement would really prefer to have their children go to school at our school rather than send them to Tama to go to school.

There are 31 of our children who should enter the pre-primary grade this fall. Most of them are not very familiar with the English language at all. Those that do speak English pretty good do not speak it nearly as well as other children of their age. Without the pre-primary to teach them some of English and to teach them what it is like to go out into a group situation and be disciplined to work at a regular program indoors, they will start school later at a very great handicap. Yet they are expected to compete with others who do not have this handicap. The people of Tama value their pre-primary very much. Enrollment is so large that they have had to change the pre-primary to a half-day schedule there. We want very much to see our children get at least almost as good a start too, by having the chance to go to a pre-primary here in our own school.

The Commissioner's letter mentions a junior-senior high school organization in Tama:

"With respect to the 7th grade students, it is believed their attendance in public schools is not only desirable but logical in view of the junior-senior high school type of organization in effect in the Tama schools."

This only means that the 7th and 8th grades, who do not go to the high school building at all but stay right in the grade school, are thought of as a unit—"junior high." There is no reason at all why our own curriculum should not match that. We do not believe that there is any other group in the state of Iowa that is forced to send their children away to a community school other than their own. Even so, if the parents of our school children wanted this thing we would not stand in their way, but they do not want it.

Several years ago we were told that our 8th graders were to be sent away to an outside school in Tama as an experiment. For two years they were to go to school in Tama and then the program was to be evaluated to see if we would want to keep it up. No evaluation was ever made. Now we are told that we are to have our pre-primary taken away from us and that the 7th graders are next ones to go away to school.

The Commissioner says that:

"It is the primary objective of the Bureau, and we sincerely believe it is the wish of most Indian people, that eventually all Indian children will attend public schools, and that only then will they be afforded the educational opportunities which are available to
other citizens of this country through our national system of state public school education."

Our community school is only one of many other community schools in Iowa. We hope that the Bureau tries to keep our curriculum and our teachers up to the standards of the others, and that we share therefore in the benefits that the Commissioner mentions. We think that we do, and we hope that the Commissioner does not mean that we are to be deprived of them unless we send our children to somebody else's community school instead of our own.

Please help us to get pre-primary schooling for our children back again and to have our children in the 7th grade in our own community school instead of being sent away against their wishes and against the wishes of the people of the Sac and Fox settlement.

This letter is the message of the Tribal Council, worked out in regular meeting.

E. D., Chairman
Sac and Fox Tribal Council

in support and cooperation
Robert W. Rietz, Field Director
Tama Indian Program
Anthropology Department
University of Chicago
Field Station, Tama, Iowa

Exhibit 83

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 16, 1956

Hon. E.
United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator E:

This is in response to your letter of July 31 concerning the Sac and Fox Day school at Tama, Iowa.

The school situation on the Sac and Fox Reservation was the subject of our letter to you of May 29. Since that time, we have received no further information which would indicate the Minneapolis Area Office is planning to reopen in September the preprimary class or the seventh grade in the school operated by the Bureau on the reservation.

Although the administration of the Tama school is the responsibility of the Area Office, considerable discussion has taken place between the Area officials and this office regarding the Tama situation, and the Area officials especially have given considerable time and thought to the problem in an effort to resolve it satisfactorily. Our records indicate discussions between the Area Office and the Indian people have taken place, specifically in February, and again in May. It is our understanding that the Area is again studying the problem in all of its aspects. We feel, therefore, that everyone is deeply concerned and interested in working out the best solution possible.

E. D., Chairman
Sac and Fox Tribal Council
With reference to your specific question about the kindergarten program, we wish to advise you that we fully appreciate the value of kindergarten and preprimary programs as a means of developing social and language skills. We would favor kindergarten programs if they could be established for all Indian children, but funds appropriated by the Congress have not been sufficient to provide such services for even the most unacclimated Indian children of preschool age who would have greatest need for them.

In an effort to meet the needs of the younger Indian children from non-English speaking homes, the Bureau accepts for enrollment at the beginning of the school year, children who have reached the age of 5 1/2 years. The program for these beginners is specifically planned to meet their particular needs. The varying degrees of acculturation of the children, their language problems, and many other factors are taken into consideration in planning the curriculum so that their adjustment to school life will take place easily and without conflict. We believe the request of the Tama group is in the nature of a nursery program rather than a kindergarten program. Even though we are not able to provide a nursery-type program for the Sac and Fox children below age 5 1/2, we want to assure you that we will provide the kindergarten type of instruction for all children 5 1/2 years of age and over who are in need of it.

Sincerely yours,

(agt) O.
Acting Commissioner

Enclousures 9

Exhibit 84

Mr. Robert Rietz
R.F.D.
Tama, Iowa

Dear Bob:

Yesterday in Minneapolis I met with H, K and R for a good three and ½ hours. The session over came a lot of bad feeling, I believe. At the end Mr. K stated that he would like to get together with you for a whole day just for the purpose of discussing goals and procedures in Indian work. I think he has a good point. What do you think? It might be a session which would include one or two others from the Minneapolis office and some other few here in Iowa who are interested in the Settlement. The group would be made up of non-Indians.

After you read the report which is enclosed you should rightly take the credit for the thought behind it. I outlined the whole idea first of all to K. and he stated that the other two men would be glad to hear the idea. So I repeated again in their presence. R stated that this was the apparent plan of the co-ordinator who has recently been assigned to the Settlement. They asked if I had met him; I replied to the negative. I did not tell them that you had discussed this idea with me, but I did think to myself that you had probably shared your ideas with the new government man on the settlement and he quite recently set them forth to his superiors in Minneapolis. The whole thing is a good illustration of co-ordinated efforts. I'll be down to camp the 8th of
September and try to get by to see you.

Respectfully,

Rev. R

P.S. Could you send me the name and address of the man from the Des Moines office of the American Friends Service Committee?

The School Situation at the Sac and Fox Indian Settlement, Tama, Iowa

A Report by R, Nashua, to:

Department of Social Relations
Congregational Christian Conference of Iowa
N. U., Chairman

On February 10, 1956, there was a fire at the Indian Day School operated by the Federal Government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the Sac and Fox Settlement near Tama, Iowa. Members of the Minneapolis office of the Bureau arrived on the 14th of February to survey the damages, consider emergency needs and meet with the Tribal Council to discuss the whole matter. The seventh grade was transferred to the Tama Public School system where the eighth through the twelfth grades had been attending for some time. The pre-primary class (equivalent in some respects to "kindergarten") was not resumed due to lack of space.

Early in April, 1956, the office of the Bureau of Minneapolis notified the Tribal Council that the seventh grade would remain in Tama and that the pre-primary class would not be resumed at all. Several reasons were listed. The tribal Council was quite unprepared for this as they had understood that the February meeting only dealt with emergency arrangements. The concern of the Tribal Council was expressed by the Chairman in a letter sent to several people in Iowa, one of which came to the Superintendent of the Congregational-Christion Conference of Iowa. This particular letter was turned over to the Department of Social Relations of the Conference. I was asked to look into the matter as I had some immediate acquaintance with the Settlement.

In the middle of May I arranged a meeting at the Congregational Camp, three miles from the Settlement. Invited members of the Tribal Council, and other Indian community leaders were present together with other members of the Tribe. The anthropologist from the University of Chicago Department of Anthropology Field Station, Tama, was present. The Conference Social Action Director was present as was a representative of the American Friends Service Committee, Des Moines. The Area Director from the Minneapolis office of the Bureau together with one other officer was present.

It was the purpose of the meeting to discover why the letter of complaint had been sent out in April by the chairman of the Tribal Council. The representatives of the Bureau had not been prepared for this type of meeting, but they participated fully. Most of the discussion at the meeting centered around what had been said at the February 14th meeting. A great deal of misunderstanding between the parties was apparent.

The situation deals with a school fire and the administrative details which grew out of it. All the angles of misunderstanding do not need to be repeated in this report. Although it was a limited affair it serves as an illustration of a much larger problem, namely the relation between the Bureau and the Indians on the Sac and Fox Settlement at Tama.
Factors in the picture include the following:

1. The elementary school enrollment up through the sixth grade numbers about 100. As a rural school it is not extremely small.

2. There is a keen interest on the part of a large number of Sao and Fox Indians to have their children educated. The Bureau has very little difficulty in getting the children to enroll at the Day School or, in older years, at the Tama public school. In comparison with other Indian groups the Sao and Fox has a high rating in this respect.

3. The Federal Day School on the Settlement is the one institution which integrates the life of the community. Following the decision in April to keep the seventh grade in Tama and discontinue the pre-primary class a wave of apathy was strong among the people. This was especially noticeable in the Tribal Council, which had apparently lost out in the eyes of the people.

Date: October 30, 1956

Exhibit 85

Hon. H. United States Senate
Washington 25, D.C.

Thank you very much for letting us know the comments of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the termination of our pre-primary grade at our day school here. We see that there are some inaccuracies in the Commissioner's remarks, and we want to tell you about the actual state of things here.

We did not ask for the establishment of a nursery-school program as the Commissioner suggests that we did. We ask that our pre-primary grade be given back to us. Pre-primary, or kindergarten, opportunity for all other Iowans starts at age five, and we are asking that this same opportunity be given back to our children.

Our children are not accepted for enrollment in the substitute for the pre-primary grade that the Indian Bureau has set up here at the age of 5½ as the Commissioner says that they should be and are to be. They are kept out of school here unless they are at least 5 years and 8 months old.

This means that the program that the Bureau has substituted for our pre-primary is taking care of only a very few of the total number of our children who should be in school at that grade. Only 4 children are allowed to take part in this program, out of 24 who should be in school. The few who are admitted have to sit in the first grade room along with the first grade all day long. This is a very, very poor substitute for the pre-primary training that the Commissioner agrees that our children should have. We have understood that a pre-primary teacher was trained to teach smaller children at that age level, and that the job could not be done by someone with little or no experience and understanding of the special work that is called for.

We are very glad to notice that the Commissioner's attitude toward the need for pre-primary instruction for Indian children is more favorable than that of the Area Office. He speaks of the most unacclimated Indian of pre-school age as having the greatest need for pre-primary instruction. You will remember that the Area Office was instead concerned with something they called "pupil readiness," and such things as the relative size of the school building, and did not recognize the obvious need as the Commissioner does.

What we can only understand then from the Commissioner's remarks
is that the Bureau just refuses to give back the pre-primary grade they took away from us, and will not allow our children to have the same school opportunity that is provided for other Iowa youngsters their age. This they insist on taking away from us even though the Commissioner realize the necessity of the pre-primary grade, and even though the same appropriated funds are still available for our children that have been available up to now.

As we understand it, then, our pre-primary grade was just taken away from us against our very deep wishes, and for reasons which are not going to be given to us. You know that we appreciate your interest very much, and that we are hoping that you will be able to help us to get our pre-primary grade back again for our children.

E. D., Chairman
Sac and Fox Tribal Council

in support and cooperation
Robert W. Rietz, Field Director
Tama Indian Program
University of Chicago Station
Tama, Iowa

Exhibit 86
UNITED STATES SENATE
Committee on Agriculture and Forestry
December 19, 1956

Mr. E. D.,
Chairman, Sac and Fox Tribal Council
Tama, Iowa

Dear Mr. D.:

In further reference to my letter of November 30th, I have now received a communication from the Acting Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, a copy of which is enclosed for your information.

I am hopeful that the suggestions which you have made in regard to the school program may be favorably considered.

Yours sincerely,

H.,
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Washington 25, D. C.

December 14, 1956

Hon. H.,
United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator H.:

We are pleased to acknowledge your letter of November 30 with which you forwarded the October 30 letter from Mr. E. D., Chairman of the Sac and Fox Tribal Council. In his letter Mr. D. referred to the statements made in earlier correspondence with reference to the program of the Sac and Fox Day School at Tama, Iowa.

We have made a copy of Mr. D.'s letter for our use and we wish to assure you that we shall give careful consideration to the questions raised in it. We shall work cooperatively with the Minneapolis Area Director and his staff to determine whether there are adjustments which can be made in the school program in accordance with Mr. D.'s suggestion.
Your continuing interest in the program of the Sao and Fox School is appreciated.

Sincerely,

G,
Acting Commissioner
PART VIII: THE PLACE OF "ACTION" IN THE FIELD OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Since the very beginning of action anthropology when a group of students felt the need to help as well as to learn, there has been a continuing dialogue on the relations of this new endeavor to traditional academic social science. The employment of anthropologists, by governments is not a new thing, and the last war with its aftermath greatly increased the number of social scientists occupied outside the universities. But whether the ends of anthropology and administration are essentially non-congruent as Tax argued in 1945 or whether the anthropologist can serve best as an attached critic, employed advisor, or policy-maker are questions on which no substantial agreement has yet been reached. In the introduction to "A Reader in Action Anthropology" prepared by Gearing in 1957, Tax was seen as creating a sort of intellectual kinship chart by which to relate "Action" to the established discipline of applied anthropology and to contemporary interventionist experiments as pursued by Holmberg, McNickle, and Spillius. The contrast of predictive science and clinical research was again emphasized, as was the central importance of the value position adopted by the Fox project. Here for the first time Gearing inserted into Tax's thought the possible conflict between two meanings of self-determination (which Tax never accepted) and considered situations in which "Action" would not be applicable. Tax discussed the problem later (Exhibit 92). Drawing from the experiences of Riets and Holmberg, Gearing and Tax also considered the ability of the anthropologist to reject power, even when occupying a position of authority.

In a section on the methodology of action anthropology, in the Reader, Gearing amplifies Tax's comparison with applied anthropology. Polgar, in a letter on the Reader, evaluates the project's development to 1958 and comments on "kinds" of action anthropology. This process of triangulation which attempts to fix the position and boundaries of action anthropology by reference to similar scientific endeavors is given depth by Lisa Peattie's historical discussion of interventionism and applied science. A summary statement suggests some of the new dimensions of interest in process, small group dynamics, mood, leadership, and factions which practical work is adding to the parent field of traditional anthropology.

Exhibit 91 includes part of an address given by Tax at the University of Michigan in 1958. Speaking to an audience interested in "culturology," Tax placed "Action" in the tradition of cultural anthropology with a special inclination toward cultural difference and acculturation. "Action" is seen as essentially field research with a philosophy which places it in the less scientistic wing of the discipline.

Exhibit 87: TAX—Extracts from "Introduction" to A Reader in Action Anthropology

This volume depicts the species of applied social science in community development work which I have called "action anthropology." Broadly, we who engage in community development work by doing "action" do two things not usual in applied social science. First, we purport to do the work usually assigned to administrators as well as the work of research; and, in so doing, operate clinically—in a way that does not assume or require much firmness or precision in our predictive findings (not that we do not believe our predictions often to be as
good as anyone's). Second, action anthropologists assume a value position in which we want above all else two things: that the people we study have the effective right for self-determination and that science be advanced; and we want those two things co-equally.

Most readers, I believe, will feel that this species of community development work does depart in essential ways from much of applied anthropology as judged, say, by the bulk of articles which have appeared in the past several years in Human Organization. Certainly it is an activity different from the tasks Barnet describes in Anthropology in Administration and different from the model of applied science which Spioer suggests in Human Problems in Technological Change. If applied anthropology were likened to academic physiology, then action anthropology would be like research medicine. Our method is clinical—with all the empiricism, trial-and-error-and-correction, and, we hope, inventiveness that should characterize good clinical research. However, much in applied anthropology strains in the direction we have taken. Allan Holmberg's project in Vico, Peru, D'Arcy McNickle's project among the Navaho, and the program of James Spiliue at Tikopia look much like our Tama program.

We shall argue in this volume that for most of the community problems which applied anthropology seeks to treat, the model of predictive science is simply inappropriate. We shall further argue that the method of clinical research and only that method is adequate to the intellectual and practical needs of those problems.

Perhaps all of us in applied anthropology have talked about our work in terms which are much more "scientific" than are our real actions in our field programs. If so, then our plea in this volume may only be that we describe our work more precisely. But surely it goes far beyond talk; for it is with the talk that we first train our students; and one blushes to think how many have been misled about how an anthropologist does community development, and how painful the unlearning in the field must be for everybody concerned. If we lean in our talk toward the side of the model of predictive science in order to be better regarded and better understood by our clientele, by the public, and by our sources of funds, let us remember that we must then be misunderstood by our students and colleagues. And even more dangerous, we risk feedback on ourselves; we then tend actually to half-use methods that are very often inappropriate to our work.

There is a second difference between the way an action anthropologist works and the way applied anthropologists more characteristically work; it has to do with the value position we assume. In the Tama program, and in other action programs, our value position is:

We will contribute to the general, scientific understanding of human behavior.

We will help the Mesquakies to do the things they want to do.

These are parallel, equal; neither can become subordinate to the other.

In 1948 a group of anthropology graduate students of the University of Chicago went to the Mesquakie community to do orthodox anthropology. They wanted to see what social changes had occurred there since my studies in the 1930's and hoped to learn about the dynamics of those changes. In coming to know and like individual
Indians and in listening to their stories of hopes and fears, that field party had the impulses to help which most anthropologists feel. Unlike most anthropologists, they decided they wanted to discover how to make helping a major focus of their work.

During the next two years, the group (which some students left and others joined) held numerous discussions in Chicago and at Tama and decided that they could yield to that urge to help—if they could help in a way that, at the same time, they would continue to learn, scientifically. Their first approach to reconciling helping and learning was to choose to understand as social scientists the same things that the Indians told them were problems. Their early inquiries were so guided. Most readers will judge that Peattie's "Being a Mesquakie Indian," treat of scientific questions; and she says in the paper that she had learned from the Mesquakies that "being an Indian is a problem situation." In 1952, I called this activity "action anthropology" which is "an activity in which an anthropologist has two coordinate goals, to neither of which he will delegate an inferior position. He wants to help a group of people to solve a problem, and he wants to learn something in the process. He refuses ever to think or to say that the people involved are for him a means of advancing his knowledge; and he refuses to think or to say that he is simply applying science [i.e., scientific 'knowns'] to the solution of these peoples' problems."

Action anthropology then had from the outset two goals—to help people and to learn something in the process. Learning something is the goal of all science; presumably, it needs no justification. But helping people involves interfering and that does seem to need justification.

When any anthropologist enters a community and begins to elicit kinship terminology, he has already interfered. At the very least, in an isolated community, he has revealed to the community that its manner of reckoning kinship is not universal; at most, in an enclaved, subordinated community, he has revealed that at least some people in the superordinate world think that their manner of reckoning kin is not only noteworthy but good or bad. In either event, effects will follow and in some instances they may be great. Willy-nilly, the only way not to interfere is to stay home.

But, assuming anthropologists are not going to stay home, there still remains a choice. Either they can attempt to know about such effects (and, one would hope, take cognizance of them in their analyses) but minimize them; or they can hope to maximize the goodness of the effects. Action anthropology does the latter.

What, however, is a good effect? We discover that we have come to lean very heavily on the thoughts and feelings of the Indians. If they think a thing is good we usually discover that we think so too. Essentially this is a value position; we value their self-determination. We have not tried to account for this value—self-determination for the groups we study—in ourselves. We come from a culture which is democratic, true; but we are more democratic in this regard than most of the people we encounter in our work and we suppose some individuals from despotic cultures are very democratic. Nor do we attempt to justify it. Democratic values make a good climate for science; perhaps that is a relevant justification but it has not much entered our minds. Rather than to account for a value, it seems more important to recognize the presence of the value in our work and to know its implications.
Self-determination means simultaneously two things. It is a check on what we will do and what we will not do in the field. In that sense its meaning is that we cause ourselves to be permissive in our dealings with the Indians. The logical extreme is the position that, where the group studied faces a choice point, their decision is by definition the good decision; I have written of "the freedom to make mistakes." As individuals, action anthropologists vary in their proximity to that logical extreme. But self-determination means a second thing. It is a goal; we try to cause the Indians to be self-determining. In principle, the two meanings can conflict. We might, in principle, be very unpermissive if by force or badgering or duping we could get the Indians to determine their own destiny. The second meaning, then, sets a limit on the first; we are permissive but, in principle, we might not be if Indians asked us to decide an important issue for them. In matters of concrete action, though, a real conflict between the two meanings is hard to visualize. We have not yet heard of nor imagined workable ways to cause Indians or anyone to be self-determining against their wills. Since the two meanings do not conflict, for every-day practical purposes we choose to formulate our value position in terms of the single meaning of permissiveness; it is a more concrete and effective reminder in the rush of day-to-day activities.

Self-determination by a human group is not a thing that is ever achieved. It is not a goal that can be "reached" in some definite sense—not even by a tribe in isolation leave alone a group in the modern one-world. Rather, it is a way of valuing one state of affairs relative to another in two groups or in one group at different times. But even relatively, self-determination is difficult to see or measure. In the Tama program we hold in our minds a notion of the nature of human society which acts as a measure. A human society is, at bottom, a group of people doing some series of tasks—of work, play, and worship—which they see as necessary or important. Insofar as tasks thought necessary or important are not being done, or insofar as outsiders not responsible to the group are doing them, the group is not determining its destiny. A human society is more than that, but it is necessarily and irreducibly that. If a human group is not self-determining in some large measure, it is recognized by common sense and by solid science to be sick. In Chapter II we will discuss in some detail the visible effects of a marked absence of self-determination.

In instances of factional split, whose decision counts? Implied by the ideal model of a self-determining society are mechanisms of making decisions and implementing them. An impasse between factions is itself a sign of social conditions which fall short of a self-determining community. One acts then, if one is inventive enough, in a way which might remove or make irrelevant the factional split. It might be, for example, that the factions are paralyzing because two groups which would normally have separated have not been able to. At Tama we have, in contrast, been moderately successful by essentially ignoring very bitter factional feelings; when Mesquakies are busy doing real work, they tend to think not much about the factions.

The value position of self-determination in its permissive meaning is the effective guide of our action. It may be, however, that by our conscious actions we are bringing about one very drastic change that neither we nor the Indian see clearly; it follows that, not seeing, they cannot want. In order to help them to get what they want, we have to make choices available to them, the more, we suppose, the better.
Yet anthropology has long supposed that the incidence of choice points is very low in folk-like cultures and very high in urban cultures. It may be that anthropology has been wrong. Or it may be that, by increasing the incidence of choice as we try to do, we are in effect bringing about in the Indian community the largest change in human history.

Nonetheless, we have as our working value helping them do the things they want to do; and the essential way this can be accomplished is to open to them the greatest possible number of free choices among alternatives. Holding that value position requires the absolute rejection of a position of power over the people and the community which he is helping to develop. It is not clear that, from the usual position of applied anthropologists, hired as expert advisors to administrators with power, it is possible to reject power over the community.

Even under the rare circumstances in which we have operated at Tama, unconnected with any source of direct power, it is difficult to avoid having undue influence over the people. In order to reject power we must actually work. We find it necessary actively to convince the people that we have no goals of our own other than a desire to help them clarify, compromise, and achieve their own goals. That is still more difficult, if not impossible, if the anthropologist is placed structurally in a position of power. For example, at Vicos the Cornell group took over administration of the plantation—became the patron of the plantation which included a large community of Indians. If as the patron Holmberg indeed could really divest himself of power and undue influence, it proves that the action anthropologist can operate properly in very adverse circumstances.

Perhaps it is most difficult of all when the anthropologist works for an administrator, since his obligation then as an action anthropologist is to satisfy not only the ends of the community, but the ends of an administration which characteristically has its own problems. An administrator has power and he normally must show results, be successful in terms of criteria derived in part from needs and circumstances outside the local community. The anthropologist has to help him too, as well as the community. It is impossible to reject this obligation entirely in order to remain genuinely disinterested in ends other however. Robert Rietz spent four years successfully as an action anthropologist on the Fort Berthold reservation in North Dakota; and he was an employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He succeeded because in fact he was able to view the Indian community and the bureaucracy as well as all of North Dakota as parts of the "community" he was helping to develop. As an action anthropologist he set himself the tasks of learning about competing goals of that whole community and of helping to reconcile and compromise those goals where possible. In other words the subject matter of his research and his action included the local and national bureaucracy which paid him; he learned about the needs and goals of his fellow bureaucrats and he learned to behave so that he could reject much of the power over Indians that his position gave and still satisfy some of the needs of his fellows. However, it must be supposed that each time the Bureau used its power coercively, Rietz, as a part of that bureaucracy, in some sense failed; at very least, each such act made his succeeding work more difficult.

Homer Barnett in his recent book Anthropology in Administration describes the difficulty of the position of the applied anthropologist as advisors to administrators; and I gather that Rietz's view of the total complex of interests at Fort Berthold is what many successful
applied anthropologists achieve. But, because Barnett realizes that to learn well about the culture and society of the natives requires that the anthropologist divest himself of power, he argues that the anthropologist must avoid administrative functions. The action anthropologist, however, does not have this solution; he chooses to perform essentially administrative functions but, to do it as we say it must be done, he has to divest himself of the usual concomitants of administrative functions. This is what Holmberg tried to do as patron of a community; it is what Rietz tried to do even when he was working for the patron. The two cases show that action anthropology is imperfectly possible even where the anthropologist has formal, but unexercised, coercive power over people.

In the Tama Indian program we have studied and come to understand not only the Indian community but something of neighboring towns. Our analysis of the problem there sees a complex system of cause and effect which importantly includes the white residents of Tama County. Yet our value position states that we propose to help the Indians do what they want to do. We came to this position, probably, because we went there first to learn about the Indians and probably because, as our interests shifted to the problem-dimensions of their life, our sentiments intuitively moved to the side of the underdogs. But we were able to maintain that value position because in Tama County, there are no real conflicts of interest between the Indian community and the white communities.

When the white men there propose to act vis a vis the Indians, they act "for the Indians' good." In effect we say: it is not for their good if it does not work; it will work well or ill depending on how they perceive it and how they like it; therefore it is not for their good unless it is what they want to do. By our own actions we demonstrate what we take to be a better way for the white men to act to accomplish the good they seem to want.

If there were oil on the Indian land, a Tama citizen or a New Yorker would not pretend that getting that land was for the Indians' good. We might, following our sentiments (and joined by most of the citizens of Tama) fight him; we would not do "action" on or with him.

Need I repeat that, even under ideal circumstances where the anthropologist operate unconnected with administration and its power, it is exceedingly difficult not to exercise undue influence. The anthropologist does know many things; he comes from a culture where strong, aggressive behavior is valued; and as he comes to understand the situation, he things he knows answers and he becomes enthusiastic. His friends in the community understandably want to please him. He has power whether he wants it or not; to succeed in stripping himself of this power takes time, patience, luck, and a genuine desire to do so.

Our model of science is clinical rather than predictive and our value position maintains the right of self-determination for the communities we try to help. These two things are not unconnected. Together they mean that, ultimately, the community knows, better than we, what is good for them. If action anthropology is like research medicine rather than academic physiology, it is also more like psychological research medicine than the more somatic branches. In psychotherapy, the on-going interchange between patient and doctor is simultaneously exploration, cure, and a decision as to what it is the patient wishes to become. The doctor's general knowledge about the nature of all personalities helps the patient and the doctor together discover this person-
ality and its ills. Basically (and leaving aside psychoses), the truth of the diagnosis is measured by the patient's recognition of that truth, the preferred path of cure is measured by the patient's feeling of preference, and when these two things have become clear, that is a signal that the treatment is complete.

In community development work, we feel, our value position sets the stage for more careful thought, more candid speech, and more sincere listening on the part of both the anthropologists and members of the community; it sets the stage for learning. And the model of clinical science provides a framework, better than the model of predictive science, for picking up the multitude of cues which are our data, and for ordering that data so as to remember it, understand it, and use it.

The second aspect of our value position is that we want to advance science. This means that, necessarily, the action anthropologist seeks to maintain academic connections; no matter what his particular role in the field, he thinks of himself as a research scholar. His reference group is the body of research scholars. It is to anthropologists that his important reports are due. In the course of work he always runs the risk of losing that connection for a time; and to minimize the risk, effort is required. The community with which the action anthropologist works comes to understand this self-image he has and comes to learn the ways of scholars and the requirements of academic freedom. In giving up his power over the community, the anthropologist gains the possibility of frankly demanding that the community not exercise authority over him. If he succeeds in treating them as equals, so to speak, he necessarily succeeds in being treated as an equal.

The action anthropologist as in our case at Tama is conceived of ideally as being an independent agent. He gets foundation or university support to learn about communities; in order to learn about them he uses the method of trying to help them. To do this well requires all the changing knowledge of the social sciences; and it requires criticism equally of the new knowledge that he gets in the field. In science, knowledge is not knowledge unless it is part of the fund of knowledge which is shared by the whole scientific community. It would be contradictory to conceive of an action anthropologist as having learned his anthropology so that he can then be hired for a position in which he can apply that knowledge. Graduates of this training do not become practitioners; they are anthropologists. The action anthropologist requires to learn in order to do; hence he must remain a constant and active part of the scientific academic community from which he came.

The knowledge that we gain in our work we trust will be useful to administrators and to experts. We hope that we can also communicate work-ways and the philosophy in terms of which action anthropologists have learned that they must work. If we do communicate this important part of what we have learned in the field, every practitioner—every administrator and his research team—will become more like an action anthropologist than he would otherwise be. But he will not have become an action anthropologist and the action anthropologist himself must continue to work as research scholar.

These two qualities, the model of clinical science and the value position, set action anthropology off in essential ways from many instances of the usual applied. Our model of science is clinical, not
predictive; our value position requires self-determination for the communities we treat and requires that we must be and remain research scholars.

I often think therefore that it is better for emphasis and clarity to make a clean break by using the term action anthropology to denominate not simply a kind of applied anthropology, but to label a competing philosophy and method by which the anthropologist operates in community development programs. But, of course, it is not for me to decide the status and label of this activity I have termed "action," it is for the anthropological community to judge.

Do these characteristics indicate that we are or should be within the bounds of applied anthropology? If so, then applied anthropology, in at least community development programs, is not only an activity which applies to a case some fund of general verified scientific propositions. In action, we do not do that and therefore we can rarely talk honestly in the scientific jargon that is popular today. It seems to me that the choice before us is this: It may be that there is no essential difference between the species of action anthropology and the way most or all applied anthropologists work in situations that are similar. I think there is an essential difference between action and a few applied projects on the one hand and most applied projects on the other, along the lines this volume will spell out.

Assuming that we recognize some essential difference, we have a further choice: Are both methods of community development work legitimate in anthropology and social science? Needless to say, I expect the answer that applied anthropology, like any scholarly discipline, is broad enough to include both the applied science way of working and also this clinical approach with its several attendant peculiarities and to include them in ways appropriate to their different virtues.

There are probably a variety of circumstances where the general principles of action anthropology would not be applicable. The right of people to decide their own destiny is qualified by possible serious infringement on the rights of others. Where there are serious conflicts of interest defying compromise, as in Kenya, it is questionable whether an action program of the kind this book describes is possible. It may also be asked if this kind of enterprise is possible among any groups under colonial administrations; are we limited to situations where the authority over the group is not so great as to preclude sufficient freedom of action by the anthropologist and the group? Does the nature of our method strongly favor action in small communities and in cross-cultural situations, or has this been only an accidental preference to date? Applied anthropology has proved useful in industry, and anthropologists have dealt with large modern communities; one wonders what action anthropology in larger societies would come to look like.

Finally, there are values which most anthropologists can be expected to hold higher than the value he places on a group's right of self-determination. Action anthropology, as so far imagined, might be impossible and would certainly be difficult in a tribe which desired to practice cannibalism, infanticide, trial by ordeal; or perhaps, even cruelty to animals.

Have we, in fact, at Tama, succeeded in keeping co-equal the two values we set? Have we helped and learned and done neither at the expense of the other? This book is the main data and the judgment is left to each reader. Insofar as we have succeeded, a major reason is that we are a group; a lone man could not, very probably, hold himself in adequate check.
Since the Tama Program has been the major focus of our collective thoughts, we are especially indebted to the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation for the generous grant of funds which has made that project possible.

Exhibit 88: GEARING—Extracts from "Action Anthropology as Method"

In studies of applied anthropology, the anthropologist typically assume the task of making predictions about the outcome of events so that, in terms of the predictions, others can more wisely choose a course of action. Most applied anthropologists hope, after having made their analysis of a community, to conclude with something of a blue print which says: If one does A, X will follow and if one does B, Y will follow. The apparent notion is that, until such a proposition is made, a study is not a complete instance of the application of science to affairs (though the study might be thought fully legitimate in its own right).

In Human Problems and Technological Change, Spicer says, "It is apparent from the Papago case, as well as from others in the book, that a knowledge of how a given people's culture is integrated, how the different customs and beliefs are related to one another, gives a basis for predicting what the effects of a proposed change will be." And Homer Barnett in Anthropology and Administration, says, "... a prediction is properly phrased in the conditional tense: If A happens, then B will follow."

Sometimes the applied anthropologist draws up this blueprint for administrators or with administrators. Or the applied anthropologist is called in as a consultant by an administrator at some point in a long-range planned program and predict some one link in a total chain. There are other cases, much fewer in number, where the anthropologist sits down with the people of a community and draws up a blueprint taking into consideration their felt needs and goals. In any case, however, the end product is a blueprint. Of course, the predictions are not always confirmed and most applied anthropologists are not wedded to a plan that does not succeed. But when something goes wrong, the assumption is that the blueprint did not take into consideration enough relevant facts; so the task indicated is to make another analysis and set up another plan taking into account these overlooked facts. There is, a sort of last resort in the comforting thought that anthropology is not yet at the stage where this or that kind of events can be predicted.

This model of the task of applied anthropology is not pursued without exception; probably every applied anthropologist departs from it on occasion and some on most occasions. Yet, it is a central tendency.

In Human Organization since its inception in 1941 there have appeared fourteen reports of applications of anthropology to programs of community development. (We included, as problems of community development, only those studies of real social wholes [villages or regions or nations] which dealt with man in most of his aspects, not only occupational status or the like; adult education studies were omitted. It is important to note that, besides those 14 reports, there were 24 other reports on community development programs, but these 24 either presented analytic descriptions or discussed field methods or reported on programs that had failed and did so in ways which made impossible the judgments relevant here.) Of these, ten clearly accept the task of making predictions while four explicitly reject that task.
An instance of a report which accepts the task of prediction is Louis Dupree's "The Changing Character of South Central Afghanistan Villages." He concludes that "... the abolition of the split-farming system will bring about a social reorientation toward greater village unity and responsibility."

In the volume edited by Ben Paul, *Health, Culture, and Community*, two case assumed the task of prediction and three did not; it seemed in these cases that, by and large, the medical men found blueprints less congenial than the anthropologists. In Spicer's *Human Problems*, each of the cases is organized into two parts, an analysis prior to some instance of innovation and the outcome after the innovation; the reader is invited to try predicting the outcome before reading it. Most readers probably read the volume to say that drawing blueprints is the way to apply anthropology. However one case clearly rejects the task of prediction.

Although none of the reported studies made it explicitly clear, we may assume that in all the above instances, the predictions were intended as statistical statements of probability potentially reducible to number. Indeed, we may here assume that all scientific predictions are statistical, that absolute predictions have no legitimate place even in Newtonian mechanics, let alone nuclear physics or anthropology. Kinship studies are probably anthropology's most precise realms. Should an anthropologist land on an island and discover that one's mother's brother's daughter is called by the same term as one's own mother, the presumption is strong that the people have the kinship system we call Omaha. Yet I am sure that we recognize that that conviction rests on an uncalculated statistical probability—on anthropology's cumulative experience that, whenever that one fact occurs, the whole set of terms we call Omaha usually occurs also. A few wisely chosen inquiries will confirm or deny the conviction. And, knowing then the terminological system, a few further questions will reveal the significance of the male line in, say, handling wealth. This knowledge is very quickly acquired, nonanthropologists are rightly impressed and anthropologists rightly proud. From it, too, the presumption is strong, though a good bit less strong, that a new economic resource if introduced will be exploited most fully and its income distributed most smoothly if done by the male line.

The ways to this and similar knowledge are almost as broad as the great variety of methods of modern "pure" anthropology. It is not apparent that any of the current interests of social or cultural anthropology remain wholly irrelevant to the applied problems in community development. It is also not apparent that these applied researches have interests which are not also pursued in knowledge-for-its-own-sake researches. It could therefore follow that the variety of methods are identical; apparently this is not quite so. If there is a difference it is slight and probably this: Some pure scientists seem a bit less nervous about the notion that their own nature, their own selective perceptions, importantly enter their studies; hence these few scholars tend to include in their analyses methods more usual in the humanities. This part of the range of anthropological method seems not much represented in *Human Organization*. The methods, then, of applied anthropology in community development research are as broad and no broader than that large part of pure anthropology which takes the stance of objective, disinterested science.

Some of the results, such as the kinship illustration above, are impressive. The experience of a few correct predictions based on knowl-
edge quickly gained is very encouraging to a science. There is little doubt that most of social science will continue under the working assumption that such knowledge can be made perfect and that most of applied social science will continue under the assumption that their proper task is to draw predictive blueprints from such knowledge.

Yet some applied anthropologists seem imperfectly convinced. Among the fourteen cases in Human Organization, four seemed explicitly to avoid the task of prediction. Holmberg's report is one instance. Holmberg terms his activity in Vicos, Peru "participant intervention" which he likens to the relations between a psychoanalyst and a patient. The anthropologist's task, he says, "... is to assist the community to develop itself, and to study this process while it is taking place. He cannot 'cure' the community as a surgeon cures a patient; the community must perform the operation on itself." However, it may be that even though Holmberg is straining away from the task of prediction, he sees himself doing so only temporarily; he may intend the Vicos activity as an experimental situation to test hypotheses, and he may hope that, in the future, anthropologists will be able, from what he has learned, to draw up predictive blueprints for the transformation of communities like Vicos.

A second and similar project is that of D'Arcy McNickle at Crown Point, in the Navaho Reservation in New Mexico. In this program of "citizenship education" there are no predicted outcomes other than better citizenship which is very imprecise (though nonetheless real) and there is no very precise set of steps which McNickle predicts will take the community from its original state toward that goal. It is apparent, too, that McNickle holds himself very ready to follow the leads of the community, to drop activities and assume others as community sentiment seems to point.

Holmberg, McNickle and Spilius use, in many instances, language much like the language we have used in describing the Tama program. We sense a diffuse strain in applied anthropology of which the Tama program is an instance.

We have come to call the method of research at Tama "clinical." By that we mean that we systematically mistrust our predictive thoughts by making them known to the people we study who, by their responses, confirm or deny and usually make more precise those thoughts.

Exhibit 89: TAA---"Action Anthropology"---Address at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, March 20, 1958 (extracts)

The central concept of anthropology has always been that which we call culture. As the world is discovered, it becomes compelling to notice that peoples live by different standards, in different ways. The particular way of life of a population we call its culture. We know that cultures pass down in a community from one generation to the next; that they persist at the same time that they change. We sometimes talk about culture as the social heredity of man. Anthropologists have developed a tremendous volume of data on the cultures of the world, past and present. The data—descriptions of the cultures that man has developed on this planet—are indeed so voluminous that it has become impractical to compile or summarize them in a single work. They require a library, no less, from which we may select; and we are on the way to using
the great computing machines to make this possible. Out of the bewildering variety of cultural forms that we see—the variety is so great that we sometimes wonder if any custom we can imagine has not in face been practiced by men somewhere—out of this variety we have in the past 120 years since the founding of our discipline hammered out a great many generalizations about man and culture and about cultures and societies of men. The theory of cultural and social anthropology becomes enlarged and modified, and enriched, as do the theories of all sciences, with each passing year, decade, generation. We gather our fads and novelties, probing and playing as all scientists must. We also develop a lot of new words, which come in and out of fashion; and in the profession we fuss and fume about them, and even call names.

I recall for example when I was a graduate student the great word was functionalism; people were or weren't functionalists, and some who were supposed to be denied it. It turned out of course that the label covered many things, and was a different symbol for different people. After all, a community of scholars and scientists is a community and subject to variations of the same cultural and social processes as other communities.

I have come here this afternoon to speak about something called action anthropology. It is a phrase which appears to be my invention—first used publicly in 1951. I do not know how widely it is being used, and what it means to all those who may use it—not whether in some circles it may not even be a bad word. There is a growing circle of anthropologists who have worked together at the University of Chicago, and what I propose to do here is try only to make clear what we mean by the phrase, and how we have been practicing action anthropology.

The first thing to make clear is that we are theoretical anthropologists who are part of the tradition of cultural anthropology. Culture is our central concept, and everything else depends upon it. We see that American Indians for example have ways of looking at the world and themselves different from the ways characteristic of the general society which surrounds them. The Indian groups with which we have been working are generally not comfortable in situations where they are expected aggressively to get ahead of the next person; our idea of success, which we take for granted, they must learn about—and when they learn about it they often do not like it. It runs counter to a moral system of their own. This moral system respects the individual so much that majority rule is hard to accept, implying as it does that the views of some people are less valuable than the views of other people, and can be ruled out. At the same time the individual feels that he exists only as part of a community of him and neighbors, and that the harmony of the group is the most important value. The individual personality generally developed in Indian culture is different from that generally valued and developed in ours. These are propositions well known to anthropologists, developed as part of the general body of information and theory. Action anthropologists are heavily involved in this kind of cultural difference. We take for granted that wherever in the world we are likely to work we shall be faced with the probability that the value systems of two peoples in contact are very different. We use this theory and it is our object to help develop it.

We are interested in developing this theory in a fairly restricted context. All over the world there are communities of people under pressure to change their way. In anthropology this is often called the acculturation situation. I am happy to use the term provided there is no implication that the inevitable result of the pressure of large societies on small will be the disappearance of either the small society or its culture. Cultures are always changing, of
course, but they do not always change in the direction of another culture. When demands are made on a community to do things which it deems wrong, even impossible, the demands frequently are simply not met. People stubbornly want to change in their own directions; and an impasse results. American Indian communities are good examples close at hand. They are not conservative except if you call it "conservatism" when people won't change the way you want them to change. In aboriginal times the American Indians were notoriously able quickly to adjust to new environments and new circumstances. In the early days of European contact they made rapid and constructive adjustments. It is only when they could not freely adjust in their own way—and would not give up what seemed to them essential—that the impasse developed.

This is a world-wide syndrome, we believe; and it is what we are more specifically studying. We think that the general method and theory has applicability to a wide variety of situations, of course; I am willing to discuss in these terms teen-age behavior under the pressure of adult norms, or the interrelations in a Chicago neighborhood of urban middle-class people and the new immigrants from the rural south. But we are satisfied to confine action anthropology to the syndrome I have described where peoples of radically different cultures are in contact, with a relatively small community under pressure of a power-laden larger society which has technical and political advantages. In these situations we are more comfortably in the anthropological tradition.

In the anthropological tradition, we study such a situation at first-hand. We are field researchers. Indeed I cannot imagine action anthropology except in the context of field work. We go to the field to learn something new about the circumstances in our context of change and of resistance to change. This requires that our field work include in a single purview all of the people involved in the contact situation—a native tribe and the missionaries, traders, or government representatives, and the residents of other cultures with whom they have contact. Therefore, in our project with the Fox Indians of Iowa (for example) we have had to deal with selected people and organizations not only of Tama County, but of the whole State, and also of course Washington, D. C. and to understand the cultures and the needs and wants not only of the Indians but of the government bureaus and others who are part of their situation.

All anthropologists studying processes in the so-called acculturation situation probably must extend their field study in this manner. A major characteristic of the action anthropologist in the same situation is that we have adopted what might be called a clinical or experimental method of study. We do not conceive of ourselves as simply observing what would happen "naturally"; we are willing to make it happen, or to help them along, or at least to be catalysts. We believe we can learn many things in this way that we could not learn in any other way. So we are anthropologists interested in anthropological problems, but we pursue them in a context of action. Hence the phrase, action anthropology.

And now inevitably we come to the philosophical context in which we work. We have had to adopt and develop a philosophy of science and also a general philosophy—a value position if you wish—which fits the kind of work we do, and makes it possible.

We think our philosophy of science is quite within the major historical tradition of the discipline. Anthropology has roots rather in natural history—like geology, biology, and the like—than in the kind of positive science that Comte pronounced for the origin of sociology. In all of our disciplines there are the more scientific and the
less scientific wings; anthropology has its scientistic wing too, but I think it is not as large as in sociology and psychology, for example. The philosophy of action anthropology is on the less scientistic side. We try to learn, and we try to be as exact as possible, and to know why we think we know something. But we could not do what we call action anthropology if we did not have a great tolerance for ambiguity. One simply cannot wait to act until he knows enough to calculate the statistical probabilities that he knows what he is doing. So we have cast off the straight-jacket of a model of science that looks like high-school physics, as at least it was once taught, and accept one that is a little more clinical.

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Exhibit 90

Interventionism and Applied Science in Anthropology
Lisa R. Peattie*

I. "Interventionism" is not a new thing in the profession of anthropology; it is one of its oldest elements. The account of the first French anthropological society, La société des observateurs de l'homme, as given by one historian, indeed confirms the worst fears of some modern sceptics of applied anthropology; we are told that in 1808, three years after its formation, the infant organization "was united with La société philanthropique and lost its scientific identity." The ethnological societies of London and Paris were also abolitionist organizations; the French organization was founded in 1838 under the leadership of a member of the British Society for the Protection of the Aborigines. The anthropological societies of London and Paris were formed after them, partly by the secession of some conservative elements of the two ethnological societies. Thus at the outset organized anthropology had two wings—a liberal or radical wing, frankly interventionist, and a conservative wing, proposing to study man "in strictly scientific manner." Although avowedly directed towards "pure science," even the latter organizations were not free from the taint of intervention, although in a direction the reverse of that taken by the earlier, "liberal" organizations; a pamphlet by the head of the London Anthropological Society, James Hart, was published as one of a series of anti-abolition tracts, of frankly propagandistic intent. Even the term "applied anthropology" is not exactly a recent novelty. The term is used by Daniel C. Brinton in a speech of 1895 as retiring president of the AAAS, and for all I know was used before that time.

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This paper was presented at the symposium on "Values in Action" at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, Illinois, Dec., 1957.

1 Robert Fletcher, "Paul Broca and the French School of Anthropology" (lecture), April 15, 1882.

2 Ibid.

"Applied Anthropology" and "Action Anthropology" as the terms are now used do seem, nonetheless, to be new. If intervention and taking-up causes are as old as organized anthropology, the notion of scientific intervention seems on the whole to be a more modern phenomenon in the profession. The members of the Ethnological Society in working for the abolitionist cause, seem to have felt that their work for the cause was in itself an application of general scientific principle to solve particular practical problems either. "Applied Anthropology" in this sense is thought of as the general moral and practical enlightenment which anthropology can provide men in considering the problems of their day. Applied Anthropology, says Brinton, aims "accurately to ascertain what are the criteria of civilization, what individual or social elements have in the past contributed most to it, how these can be continued and strengthened, and what new forces, if any, may be called in to hasten the progress."1 So also Boas, in 1907, considering the practical uses of anthropology, finds these in such areas as teaching the relativity of values, in showing men that they are not as reasonable as they think, and in demonstrating that mankind is evolving away from nationalism.2

Applied anthropology as it appears today may be looked upon as having two roots. One is the element of concern and of special knowledge arising out of the peculiar position of the anthropologist. He is a member of the western peoples who have been rapidly making themselves rulers of the world, and whose way of life is still spreading over the other peoples. He nevertheless knows the native peoples in the path of that civilization as informants and friends, and, to a degree unique among westerners, he sees the natives as having moral systems, aesthetic sensibilities, and ways of life completed and proper in their own terms. His own society will accept this special concern because his special knowledge is useful to that society, trying to cope with the job of dealing with all sorts of people of different ways of life. The anthropologist is thus the man in the middle, and he tends to take on himself the job of speaking for the native to the west, and at the same time interpreting and filtering the forces of the west down to the native. This root—represented in those early ethnological societies—is the older of the two.

On the other hand, applied anthropology may be seen as part of a general movement of social science away from the humanistic studies, and toward the model of the physical and biological sciences. So anthropology strives for a higher degree of predictive precision, and sees as a goal the possibility of scientific management of social situations. It becomes possible to think of anthropology as doing more than giving man a certain enlightened perspective on themselves and their problems in the way that Brinton and Boas thought. Now we imagine the applied anthropologist as curing the ills of society through science, as the doctor of medicine uses science to cure the ills of the body.

If modern applied anthropology and action anthropology are looked upon as springing from these two roots, one sees that there is at times a tendency of either one or the other root to appear the dominant one,

1Ibid.
anh even at times for there to be marked lines of cleavage, of incompatibility, between these two aspects of anthropology in action. The first root arises out of the special interest of the anthropologist in native and minority peoples. The second affirms the possibility and urges the value of disinterested consideration of social phenomena—as a biologist might view protozoa on his microscope slide. Action anthropology is in part an attempt to treat interest disinterestedly. Applied anthropology tries to move back and forth between value-interest and disinterested consideration of relevant fact. Anthropology in action is suspended between these two poles and swings between them.

II. There are many different kinds of applied or action anthropologists, and as situations vary, even more kinds of applied or action anthropology.

In the first place, the action and scientific components of the hyphenated creature are variously divided. At one extreme, there is the kind of applied anthropology represented by a considerable part of research in Africa, in which the anthropologist is supported by government funds in order to do what is essentially pure research relevant to administration. The anthropologist's job is here to describe the cultural reality with which the administrator must deal; he tells the administrator what the golden stool means to the Ashanti, or describes the native legal system of the Tswana. In other instances, the anthropologist has a closer relationship to the taking of action and the exercise of power; he may be commissioned to find the facts with regard to some particular problem with which administrators are to take action—ritual murders in Basutoland, or the functioning of medical services in Latin America. Still more closely allied to action are those anthropologists who become regular, specialized members of the administrative group, with a mandate like that of the Staff Anthropologist in the Trust Territory to "recommend practical measures to achieve given program objectives." From this role it is not far to the single individual who combines under one hat the roles of scientific observer and actor, whether anthropologist turned administrator, administrator with anthropological training, or "action anthropologist" with a diffuse personalized power ("influence") not derived from a role in a formal managerial system.

Applied anthropologists have also variously conceived the balance between science and action in their work. Applied anthropology has been thought of as scientific experiment, with the interests of the subjects enhanced as well as protected; as social service using the conceptual apparatus of anthropology; and (as in the Fox program) a blend in which "helping" and learning-from are equal goals, inextricably blended. But even the most "scientistic" of the applied anthropologists seem to worry a good deal about the ethics of their operations.

There have been a number of instances in which anthropologists have worked among people of their own general culture, in ways which are more or less "applied" science. The field of "anthropology in industry," the community studies made for the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and some more recent studies in the mental health field are examples. But it is still true that the largest part of the situations in which applied anthropology comes into being are those in which western government impinges upon peoples of other culture, whether in European colonies in Africa, technical assistance programs in the underdeveloped countries, or on Indian reservations in the United States. The typical applied anthropologist works in a cross-cultural situation, and tends to find his patent to practice in the traditional concern of his profession with non-western and especially the primitive peoples.
The typical applied anthropologist works with such peoples in a situation of great disparity of power, and, most typically, he is supported by and responsible to management (or is, as in Vicos, himself management). Although I know of anthropologists who have informally put themselves at the service of the "underdog," I do not know of any clear case of the underdogs hiring themselves an anthropologist.

The typical situation of the applied anthropologist is thus to find himself working for or at least with those who have power over other people with different values from themselves, and with regard to whose values the anthropologist is somewhat more sensitive than the other members of the administering group. It is not remarkable, then, that applied anthropology is sensitive on the subject of values and is attentive to the ethical problems surrounding the ends toward which power may legitimately be exercised and the degree to which the anthropologist may legitimately associate himself with the exercise of power. This concern in turn adds force to the anthropologist's worries lest the applied branch of his profession fail to measure up as science. The attempt to remain value-neutral in the interests of science may appear a dodging of the responsibilities inherent in his relation to power; the attempt to use his skill and his relation to power to "do good" may appear unscientific special pleading; the attempt to avoid power while using special skills to clarify and to mediate between conflicting values may seem to involve him in philosophical and practical difficulties of hopeless complexity.

III. The roles which applied anthropologists have taken have been shaped in part by the necessities of particular situations, and in part by the feelings of the anthropologists concerned towards these problems. So, too, criticism of these various roles must recognize that there are various sets of postulates, usable and used by anthropologists, relevant to such judgment.

The first axis along which the species and varieties of applied and action anthropologists range themselves may be identified by the question: What sort of science should anthropology be?

There is, at one extreme, a group of anthropologists who hope for, from their profession, a kind of prediction and control and of precise, compendent generalization similar to that in the natural sciences. There are, at the other end of the scale, those for whom their profession's center of gravity lies somewhere closer to the humanities, and who conceive of their science as offering mainly illuminating insights and useful organizing concepts for experience and action. Men in the former category are likely to conceive of applied anthropology, on the action side, as a process of applying scientific generalization to particular practical instances and, on the scientific side, as a process of experimental testing of generalizations. They strive for a precise stating of goals and predictions, and for a paring-down of a factorial complexity in such a way as to make their science-action program fit the picture of the laboratory experiment. Those in the second category tend to operate in the way which Sol Tax speaks of as "clinical": they "work in a way that does not assume or require much firmness or precision in (their) predictive findings"; they are characterized by "empiricism," "trial and error correction," ad hoc "inventiveness," and sensitivity to a "multiplicity of cues." Workers in the first category try to so arrange their intervention that its nature, time, and place are clearly marked, and then withdraw --actually or conceptually--to watch the results, as the laboratory technician, having planted a bit of tissue in his mouse, waits to see its growth. Men in the second or "clinical" mode of working tend to
remain in continuing involvement with the social situation which is
their subject-matter, and which they are both altering and observing
at the same time. They find in this way of working a greater stimulus
to the illuminating observation and the useful new concept which is
for them the chief fruit of scientific endeavor; an accompanying loss
of precision which would distress the scientistic applied anthropolo-
gist does not so much distress them, partly because they hoped for less
from that precision at the outset.

Anthropologists differ also in their conceptions as to the pre-
vailing and proper relationships between science and values. Within
anthropology, the extreme positivist viewpoint which would debar value
from the field of proper subjects of study is not importantly repre-
sented; values, indeed, have for many social anthropologists occupied
the center of their field of subject matter. (Donald Levine, in an
unpublished paper ["Values and the Study of Society"] has made a con-
vincing case for the proposition, germane to this discussion, that the
different methods of treating values as subject matter are character-
istically related to certain modes of conceiving both the bearing of
values on science and of science on values.) Anthropologists have
differed, and continue to differ, however, as to the bearing of values
on science and of science on values.

With regard to the first of these issues, the way in which
values should properly affect scientific anthropology, three general
sorts of position may be distinguished. There is first the "conserva-
tive" view that anthropology is and must be an intellectual discipline
in its own right, needing no justification in practical utility, and
indeed in danger of digressing from its own proper aims or of ceasing
to be science at all if it is too responsive to the demands of men of
affairs for help in solving practical problems. Thus Evans-Pritchard
writes:

It may be held that it is laudable for an anthropologist to
investigate practical problems. Possibly it is, but if he does so
he must realize that he is no longer acting within the anthropologi-
cal field but in the non-scientific field of administration. Of
one thing I feel quite certain: that no one can devote himself
wholeheartedly to both interests, and I doubt whether anyone can
investigate fundamental and practical problems at the same time.

Men holding this view are unlikely to hold any great enthusi-
asm for applied anthropology; in any case, they do not comfortably be-
come applied anthropologists.

A second view is frequently held today by those who are glad
to own themselves applied anthropologists. In this view, it is proper
and indeed laudable for the anthropologist to let values and practical
concerns set his problem and define his subject matter, but he must
then, in the interest of proper scientific objectivity, keep his values
strictly out of his work. Men conceiving of their work in this way may
or may not hold it proper for the anthropologist also to express his own
value-based preferences for what should happen. But in any event, it is
considered that the more the anthropologist can keep his observations
and descriptions separate from his valuing, the better the quality of
his scientific production will be.

There is a third view—that in Nadel's words "value judgments
are inseparable from an investigation" and may indeed contribute to it.
So Redfield finds that without the personal value-laden reactions which
the ethnologist brings to the cultural reality he is observing he would
not observe so well nor be able to describe that reality so precisely;
"valuing is part of the ethnologist's work." This view of the science of anthropology is by no means the same as an insistence that anthropology should be of practical utility, that its problems should be set in terms of values. For both men cited, the value-infused observation is a way of carrying out scientific enterprises of no direct practical utility. But from this position, the value-involvement of the applied anthropologist in his scientific problem may appear less a disadvantage than it does to the would-be "pure scientist." It may even seem an advantage to be maximized and used, rather than a kind of "friction" to be reduced.

We come then to the question: What is the relevance of science for values? What can knowledge of the Is tell us of the Ought? A good many anthropologists—including applied anthropologists have taken Max Weber's position with regard to this question; their answer is that knowledge of fact can never tell us anything as to what should be; science can never contribute to making a choice between values. In this view, the applied anthropologist can in his professional role only point out the factual consequences of alternative modes of action, or recommend the best technical means for bringing about an end previously value-determined. If he presumes to urge one course of action as against another, he has moved outside the realm of science.

Within anthropology there have been, however, many who have considered it possible to draw value-deductions from science. There is, first, a point of view connected with functionalism, and related to the notion of biological adaptability, in which that is good which can be shown to contribute to the survival of men—and by extension, of cultures. There has been also the attempt to identify "universal" values and to find a sanction for these in the demonstration of their universality. At the opposite pole, there is that anthropologically based value theory which finds the sanction for value-systems to lie not in universality but in particularity; the doctrine of cultural relativism. Although in the first instance asserting the relativity of values and thus negative in reference, this has clearly been expanded into positive injunctions to protect other cultures from destruction and to conform to one's own culture. There have also been in anthropology those who have found the good, not in comparing cultures laterally, but in tracing the evolution of cultural life vertically along the axis represented by time: evolutionists, old and new. So even Boas in 1908 seems to have seen a more than descriptive significance in the observation that mankind was evolving away from narrow nationalisms. So Kroeber sees trends in human history which make it possible to speak of "higher" cultures.

But these various tendencies to derive at least some Ought from the descriptions of the Is which anthropologists make have, by and large, not been so much an occasion for intervention, or for taking action, as a third position, standing somewhere outside the question as to whether or not science can tell us anything of values. This is the position which finds the anthropologist obligated to speak or to act just because of his special knowledge. Anthropologists need not, in feeling such obligation, believe that they can prove their values by their sciences; they know that they do hold some values, and when these are endangered in a field which touches their subject-matter and in which they feel involvement—Nazi racism, government policy towards the American Indian, racial segregation in education—they feel somehow a duty to act. Nor do they feel in most cases that, in thus stepping outside the realm of descriptions of what is, they cease to be anthropologists; it is because they are anthropologist, with certain special knowl-
edge and special interests, that they feel obliged to act as they do.

This is intervention in the tradition of the early ethnological societies—or it is disciplined and combined with a scientific discovery goal into action anthropology, or cast still more into the traditional mold of science as an "experiment" in cultural change.

IV. In such action, it must be noted, anthropologists do in fact draw value deductions from their science—even when they claim the impossibility of doing so on a logical basis. Is not the emphasis placed on cultural self-determination an example of an implicit extension of methodology into ethical imperative? In studying the various ways of life other than his own the anthropologist learned to suspend judgment, to regard, for that time, those practices and beliefs as having their own internal logic and their own validity. The study of culture demanded cultural relativism. So also the stress, in many statements on applied anthropology, on restoration of equilibrium and the prevention of friction and violence in social relations, while representing a value general in the society from which the anthropologists are drawn, seems to be given special force by the functionalist approach in anthropological theory, and the general tendency of many descriptions to center around the concepts of equilibrium and integration.

It may even be argued that the recent tendency of anthropologists to put greater stress on values surrounding the well-being and self-fulfillment of individuals, as contrasted with the stability and integration of cultural wholes, is in itself partially a result of the experience of anthropologists with applied anthropology and the underdeveloped peoples. Anthropologists have been drawn into the great current of change connected with the attempts of such peoples to get the things which the West has, and they have become identified with it, and come to see the needs of the peoples who are their subject matter in a new way because of it.

Applied anthropology thus contains within itself two distinct strains of value-emphases: one concerned with "the relativity of values," the "right of cultural self-determination," the values of "integration"; the other speaking of universal individual needs, satisfied better by some cultures than others. "Every cultural shoe pinches somewhere." Typically, a single anthropologist uses both these sets of values, implicitly carrying in his own mind a working separation of areas into one category or the other. Technology is usually seen as an area in which one has a right to work for change, as also medical care; they are thought of as means, farther from a central core of value, and as closely related to the universal biological needs of man. So new plows yes, new religion no. Sorcery is seen as violating some universal right to mental health, a particular kinship structure as representing the right of cultural self-determination. Such a gradient may be argued as one representing greater to less disturbance to the person, or it may appear simply as a given.

V. In summary, then, the following seem to be some of the main problems for discussion—in most cases, continuing, not-capable-of-resolution discussion—with regard to applied or action anthropology.

Applied anthropology will always continue to raise the great unsolvable questions of ethics. What is the good life for man? To what extent is it proper for present generations to undergo discomfort in the interest of the (presumed) advantage of future generations? To what extent has one man or group of men a right to exert power over others, even in their own interest? To what extent may men ever be said to have free choice, and in what circumstances?
These fundamental philosophical questions raise also others which are, in theory at least, capable of some empirical investigation. It would seem worthwhile, for example, to investigate the forms of power and influence in applied anthropology. To what extent, for instance, may the members of the Fox field project be said to be exerting power over the Fox through their questioning, clarifying, and occasionally persuading functions? How may the rationality of human choices be increased? And how may mechanisms be developed for expressing these choices?

It seems clear that applied or action anthropology is bound to be qualitatively different, as science, from traditional anthropology. At least it is evident that it is adding to anthropology a greater interest in process, in small group dynamics, in what has been called "mood," in the relations between social groups, and in phenomena, such as leadership and factionalism. In the literature of the Fox project we find described, for instance, a field of interpersonal relations in which relations of power and items of "mood" are quite as important as those societal bonds and cultural uniformities more traditionally at the center of the anthropologist's field of investigation.

The methodology of such investigations is still in need of refinement. Most especially we need in applied anthropology attention to the methodology of validation. Much of the literature of applied anthropology is a fairly impressionistic description of "what happened when." We need better. Anthropology will have to develop ways of better recording of process and better measurement of change—in attitudes and in interpersonal relationships. Most especially I am struck by the lack, so far as I know, of any really thorough and convincing account of how a group of applied anthropologists are seen by their "clients"—and this although one of the advantages of applied anthropology should be that it takes the effects of the investigator into account in description. To put a group of "pure" scientists to studying the interaction of the applied scientists with their clients may be a humiliating solution, but it is at least a logically possible one.

Exhibit 91: Letter—Steve Polgar to Sol Tax, May 4, 1958

The documentary history emphasized a pattern in breaking down the course of the project into several phases. The first period from the early Tax field trips to the 1952 field party shows a high concentration of "interactions" between action anthropologists and the scientific community. Most of the basic factors about the Mesquakie community were assembled during this period. It also shows some interaction with the Indian Bureau, which culminates at the end of the period with our being labeled uncooperative. The second period, including newspaper articles, pamphlets, and the Peyote congress, is characterized by the high intensity of direct interactions toward the "public," and a relatively low return of "data" per student time in the field. The third period, from 1954 on, shows a dramatic decrease of direct action on the public (although the scholarship program and the Tamarack Project had much indirect effect), a renewed intensity of interaction with the scientific community (more in terms of presentations rather than reports) and an increase of feedback: from the public (reactions to Tamarack especially), from the scientific community (comments on symposia—-as contrasted with the pattern of feedback from the University of Chicago community before this), and from the Mesquakies (reactions volunteered to scholarships and Tamarack).
In terms of the values-in-action, the first period was the one
in which the value-problem was posed and preliminary answers given.
The second period was the time that our values were given more expli-
tude (with some help from Dissing) and were broadcast in an attempt to
influence Whites and Mesquakies. In effect we were saying: we believe
in self-determination, do thou likewise, and lo the Indians will become
less of a burden. In the third period we started to really implant
our values by listening to what the Mesquakies told us they wanted (rather
than coming to them with proposals such as the kindergarten telegrams,
the trust fund, selling the pamphlets, etc., which would help them towards
what they wanted on a more abstract level).

In terms of the students who were out of the field, the first
period had its tone set by Peattie, Miller, Fallers, Rietz and Wolffson.
Gearing set the tone for the second period and Gearing and Rietz are
setting the tone for the third. The number of students shows a similar
relationship. At first, there were many students, with the purpose of
training being relatively important. After the artificial interruption
by the Ft. Berthold concerns, the number of students again became high
in 1952, and reached its peak in 1953 with the addition of the S.U.I.
contingent and the Ford Foundation Junior program students. The point
of diminishing returns was reached (the Fox becoming highly unfashiona-
ble among the student body at Chicago), and the goals of action anthro-
pology took precedence over those of providing field work opportunities
for graduate students. In the third period Rietz was the only person
spending a great amount of time at Tama, and the fruits of action anthro-
pology (to be lyrical) began to ripen, both in terms of results at Tama
and in terms of talking to the anthropological community at large. In
terms of action anthropology away from Tama, after the first period in
which action anthropology was born, we had a scattering of the "faithful"
(and not-so-faithful as well) into administration (Rietz), social work
(Borman and Miller), community development and public health (Polgar),
and education (Peattie). The conclusion of the third period should now
logically entail a coming together again of these various streams: so be
it.

Parallels between Tama anthropology and clinical research do
exist: the reluctance to undertake any measurements of success which
might mean possible jeopardy of even the smallest result of the treat-
ment; the emphasis that the patient himself make decisions (but not
decision to his feelings!); the co-valuable goals of helping and learn-
ing; the deliberate intervention in a (presumably pathological) process
involving humans, and the high degree of consciousness of one's own
affect as a person in this intervention (limited to psychiatry mostly).
There are probably others as well.

Even the idealized conception of Tama anthropology is sufficiently
different from clinical research in medicine to make me hesitant about
retaining the term, much less using it as a shield to ward off all attacks
of "you are unscientific."

The main reason for not using the term clinical research is that
we are not even using the primitive criteria of "pathology in remission"
of the doctors. Close to it is the fact that we are only dealing with
one case. The third reason is that clinical research is coming to be
locked down upon in medicine too, so it would be climbing on a sink-
ing boat. Perhaps all of us in action anthropology have talked about
our work in terms which are much more "scientific" than are our real
actions in the field program. If so, then our plea in this volume may
only be that we describe our work more precisely. If, as Fred writes
and Diesing argues, what we have been doing is original, why try to legitimize it by attaching it to the methods of another field?

The basic question is the following: if we start a program in another community now, what would we do? I think we would follow pretty much the model which this chapter describes. The only exception is in terms of the "resolution of feelings." Self determination does not result from a resolution of sentiments, although such a resolution is probably an essential prerequisite. I wonder whether this whole elaborate argument and the appeal to "clinical research" is not merely a defensive maneuver to make the issue of "results" and evaluation irrelevant. If we genuinely want self-determination, we should say that our hunches are made with the value of self-determination in mind, which results in valuing that the community both resolve itself in favor of Tamacraft, for example, and then act to implement it. Putting it in this way, however, demands that we find out whether Tamacraft in fact increased self-determination, or not. Despite a passing reference to the possibility of evaluation in the memorandum on the Cooperative Arrangement for Research in Tama County (between S.U.I. and Chicago), to be undertaken with the possible cooperation of N.O.R.C. (Documentary History, p. 331), we have steadfastly and sometimes violently opposed the idea of evaluation. This is perhaps the core of the "not scientific" criticism levelled at us, and I have attempted to show that replying "clinical" does not help.

Why didn't we pursue the suggestion of interesting N.O.R.C.? Opinion polling is not particularly appealing to us. We worried that "strangers" going around the settlement and in Tama County asking a lot of questions would create antagonism toward us. If this is so, why not come out and say it? In any kind of research there is a problem of validation. How can we convince our colleagues that what we say is true? The answer in the reader is that we have a structure of consensus. But if this structure of consensus is achieved by the loss of those who disagree from the structure, this is not validation.

I would suggest that if we started a program in another community, we would not be as reluctant to provide for evaluation of results. We would be much more confident that what we are doing is legitimate, and we would be able to think of ways in which evaluation would not disturb the results. There are certain indices of self-determination, such as the number of people voting in state and national elections, the number of times the tribal council stands up and fights the Indian Bureau, the participation in lobbying on a national level, etc., which could be measured without people going around and ringing doorbells. At the same time, certain data gathered by anthropology students in the course of non-action research could be used; the 1948 field team for example, went around and gave structured interviews to a number of people asking questions about the future of the community. Asking these same individuals the same questions again might provide a fairly good index of changed attitudes. How many believed in the inevitable death of the community then? How many do so now? Is there any difference in the reasons given? These are examples applicable to Tama; in another community there would be similar ones.

My answer to critics about "not scientific" would be that the Tama program was where action anthropology was born. It was an exploratory project; we were still feeling our way. Towards the end, with the scholarship program and Tamacraft, we knew pretty well what we were doing. Our reluctance about prejudicing the results, however, precluded measuring our effectiveness even in these actions. Not only was this reluctance a carry-over from the earlier days of insecurity,
but the community itself was over-sensitive as a result not only of our intervention, but also the history of Michelson's visits. If we had done a project in Indonesia we would have been similarly reluctant to evaluate our results because of the history of association between Dutch anthropologists and colonial rule.

I agree wholeheartedly with the proposition that applied anthropology was traditionally concerned with prediction as an end result of its efforts, and action anthropology (together with other projects of recent years) is concerned with prediction as a starting point. Precisely this difference makes action anthropology experimental. We consider ourselves as an important variable in the situation and act in a way to benefit from this rather than to discount it. The scientific objection to this is that there are too many other factors which we cannot control, therefore our results are not solid enough. We answer that our results are not only solid enough as far as the Tama situation is concerned, but we are ready to try the same elsewhere. The results are solid enough for us because of our value position. We feel we must act, therefore we cannot wait until we know everything. But how can we say this and at the same time say that we are not really interested in "predicting the future outcome of events?" The question is not whether Tamacraft will continue to increase self-determination after we have left the settlement, it is whether it has increased self-determination as of 1958. If it has increased it, we can say that it is not particularly important whether this self-determination will manifest itself in the future in Tamacraft or in some other "resolution of sentiments"—cum—action on this resolution of sentiments. Other anthropologists and interested people ask themselves: is it worth my time and money to do something like the Tama program? Will I both contribute to science and help a community if I do? If we are going to write anything about the Tama program and recommend it as a model for others to follow we must convince them that we did in fact learn something (and we have good material on this aspect) and that we also did in fact help the Mesquakies and Whites of Tama County. The feedback we got from Mesquakies and Whites about the Tamacraft project is a good indication that we did help them. This means that the experiment was completed successfully. We had a hunch that something like Tamacraft would increase self-determination. We tested out the idea by asking the Indians about it (in words and in actions). The Indians reacted favorably, the Whites reacted favorably, we lent them money, and Tamacraft was launched. As of 1958, the end of the period of observation, Tamacraft was doing well and increasing self-determination. Conclusion: the experiment was a success. We acted on the basis of some knowledge about the situation, we acted in a way which enabled the Indians to choose whether they wanted this thing. They did choose to want it, they acted on it (with our help), and the result increased self-determination. This is the meaning of abandoning the means-ends model for me: in this process we valued self-determination all along; in considering the means of Tamacraft and the end of self-determination; in the means of self-determination and the end of a community industry to raise income.

The essence of action anthropology is our value system. Your presentation at the University of Michigan last March is good evidence of this. I would be willing to call (in case he wants to be so called) any anthropologist who eschews the model of traditional applied anthropology (prediction as end-result) and accepts the values of research-and-helping and "freedom" an action anthropologist. All anthropologists, I hope, are already committed to truth as a value. The law of parsimony, I suspect, is most important for Tama anthropology and may not apply in the same way to all action anthropology.
In line with the memorandum on anthropologist in public health, I would like to distinguish between two kinds of action anthropology:

1) Programs in which the anthropologist is independent of any other organization involved with administering or helping the community.

2) Programs in which the anthropologist works within the framework of another action organization.

"Independence" here is measured in terms of administrative responsibility. When you act upon the NCAI as Sol Tax, you are independent of any organization administering or helping the NCAI as long as you speak as an individual only; when you address them in your capacity as president of the AAA, you are probably engaging the second kind of action. I mentioned this instance to explore how clear the division is: obviously it is not absolute.

A prerequisite for carrying on the first kind of program is that the anthropologist have the permission (not necessarily explicit) of the community and of the official administering body to be present. Perhaps, by the law of parsimony, he can act until told to go away. In addition, it is advisable that he have available to him lines of communication to other organizations that have power over the community. A second prerequisite is that he present his actions to the scientific community for periodic review.

The prerequisites for the second kind of program are more stringent. There must be a large amount of agreement between the aspirations of the action organization, the recipient community and the anthropologist. The anthropologist must have a large measure of independence of action, with explicit recognition of his responsibility to his scientific goals. At the same time it is necessary that the anthropologist have a line of communication to the policy-makers of the action organization (see Leighton and Spierer appendix to The Governing of Men, and Gladwin in Some Uses of Anthropology: Theoretical and Applied).

Relevant to the problem of action anthropology among cannibals is the question of agreement of aspiration. The anthropologist acting independently might be successful in circumventing cannibalism as long as he is not threatened with being eaten himself (this is also a simile for less extreme situations), just as we try to circumvent the problem of the factions. One may conceivably act in a way to make cannibalism irrelevant, but this is only possible if there is a large area apart from cannibalism where the aspirations of the community are not in direct conflict with those of the anthropologist. Even in traditional anthropology it is accepted that a community may be so uncongenial to the anthropologist that he would have to give up working in it. The more touchy problem is raised when an administering organization is making an all-out effort to stop cannibalism and meets with great resistance of the community involved. Perhaps Rietz was successful at Ft. Berthold when he limited his area of concern to certain areas of interaction between the Indian community and the Indian Service, areas in which no great conflict existed. Given the four prerequisites of the second kind of program, an action anthropologist might even be able to work in a colonial situation if he could limit his area of concern to certain areas. The pre-emption of decision-making, as by the Indian Bureau at Tama, after all, is one of the main characteristics of the colonial situation also.

One of the ticklish problems that still bothers me is the one of permisiveness. While there may be a large area of agreement in aspirations between the action organization, the community and the anthropologist (or at least compatibility), and while the action anthropologist
may reduce his area of concern to the areas of maximum agreement, there are still specific actions by the action organization which would be coercive in the very area where the anthropologist operates. You have mentioned that each time the Bureau used its power coercively at Ft. Berthold, Rietz in a sense failed. A partial answer lies in the difference between staff and line positions in an organization. A person in a staff position does not have power in an organization the same way a line person does. He advises, influences, but does not act imperatively. Yet, in the eyes of the community he is a member of the organization that has acted coercively. The problem at Vicos is also relevant: even if you attempt to divest yourself of power, you have assumed the power originally, otherwise you couldn't divest yourself of it. I have already argued that action anthropologists do not perform administrative functions—at least not in the sense of being a line administrator. If Holmberg's group handed over power to the people of Vicos gradually, he did perform administrative functions for a while. Holmberg also mentioned very definite goals that the anthropologists have set for themselves and the community to achieve. If they only used their influence without exercising any sanctions to back it up (and if they overtly denied that they would use sanctions), they did not do anything too different from what we do at Tama, where in virtue of our position we have a great deal of influence. When we try to influence the action organization not to be coercive we are abandoning permissiveness—a dilemma similar to the Madagascar one, where we don't know what we would do in the face of refusal to be self-determining. Concrete data about the Ft. Berthold, Kalmuk, Special Youth program, etc., will help us answer these questions better, I am sure.
Part IX: Action Anthropology as Theory

With the growing practical experience at Tama, Ft. Berthold, and Philadelphia and the parallel development of other anthropologically oriented programs of intervention, it became possible to collect and integrate some of the insights obtained into a body of theory. Gearing's chapter from the Reader written in 1956-57 was an effort to make such a statement. For example, in a section on Mesquakie life careers, he discussed the manner in which project personnel had come to understand the Fox identity as it contrasts with that common to their white neighbors—e.g., in terms of "being" instead of "becoming," living in the present instead of the future, patterned perception of fact instead of patterned opinion, and a different conception of such matters as land and work. Gearing also evaluates "Action's" contribution to anthropological theory, stressing its need to capture the whole reality of each situation in systematic interconnection. Though this approach may have failed to throw a great deal of light on any one area of culture, it was an effort to achieve the sort of holistic view which has always been central to anthropological thought.

A lecture delivered by Gearing to the Workshop on American Indian Affairs justifies the premises and methodology of "Action" in terms of a philosophy of history. He contends that advancement through history is intimately connected with the communication of ideas among communities and the free competition of these ideas. Action, insofar as it is based on these goals, is thus in the mainstream of human events.

A excerpt from an essay by Tax read as part of the symposium on "Values in Action" given at the meeting of the American Anthropological Association in December 1957, clarified the value position of the Project. In a significant extension of this theme, Tax proposed a Law of Parsimony which refuses to settle questions of value unless they concern a specific case in which an action program is involved. Re field's objection to this stand from exhibit 83. He affirmed that it is incumbent on a generalizing science to face hypothetical as well as real and immediate problems.

Robert Rietz left Tama in August, 1958 to become Director of the American Indian Center in Chicago. He continued as field director of the Fox Project on a part time basis through December, 1959.

Exhibit 92: GEARING—Extracts from "Action Anthropology as Theory" in A Reader in Action Anthropology

Deep-seated cultural and psychological differences between most Indians and selected non-Indian Americans have been suggested by scores of students. Leaving aside the Northwest Coast culture area, the contrast seems to vary surprisingly little across the continent. Often the difference has been characterized by the terms shame and guilt. The contrast is well-established though as yet imprecise. We descriptively characterize that same contrast, in Tama County, in terms of self-organization. In Tama County, Anglo-Americans tend to adopt as they mature a personal, ideal self. That self is a more or less consistent collection of virtues. The life careers of those white men are, ideally, a ceaseless effort to make the real person coincide with that ideal self. In terms of ethos, the primary ethical principle among Tama County Anglo-Americans is virtue. In spite of individual and class variation, and in spite of the doubtlessly true tendencies away from inner-directedness, and in spite, even, of variation within the Mesquakie community, contrast with the Indians is striking. The Mesquakie individual does not seem to create such an ideal self; he tends not
to see himself as becoming at all; he is. When a Mesquakie misbehaves toward his fellows, there is no sign that other Mesquakies view him as having some kind of inner coherence, a personality; at least there is no sign that Mesquakies imagine that that inner constancy admits of any molding or alteration. Rather the affair is handled as behavior, purely; Mesquakies frown or apply other sanctions, the man stops, the sanctions stop; that is all. Mesquakies conceptualize consistent wrongdoing by defining the wrongdoer as a different kind of man, not quite or not yet fully Mesquakie, "halfbreed," say, or "young man." In terms of ethos, the primary ethical principle of the Mesquakies is harmony.

That basic psychological and cultural contrast expresses itself in the contrasting ways the Mesquakies and their neighbors pursue their respective life careers. White men hope to move upward through a set of imprecise but hierarchical statuses, usually connected with wealth. The Indians, instead, see the main axis as from youth to age. In matters of wealth they are not very competitive; these Indians do not live for themselves in the future as middle class whites characteristically do. The Indians see themselves more as incomplete pieces of a whole, their good behavior dependent upon the interests of their kin and their fellows. An Indian might, say, be getting into his car to leave for work when his uncle walks up. They talk some about the weather. The uncle mentions casually that he thought he might go to Marshalltown—a certain Chippsaw might be there today. Nephew and uncle get in the car and go. The Indian is not a disorganized derelict. He is a nephew. Further, he is not electing, with calculation, to follow a traditional opinion about how a good nephew should act. In the eyes of most Mesquakies, he is a nephew and, in this context, deferring to uncle is what a nephew is. It is seen as a categorical objective fact, like a law of nature. It is not that the Indians are not conscious of what white men expect; that too affects their behavior importantly. It is rather that, here in this context, the expectation of the white employer is deemed irrelevant, unnatural.

The same contrasting sense of life career is seen in the farming activities of the Indians. Iowa is rich farm land, but the Indian settlement is not a good sample. The river bottoms flood; much of the land is rough and wooded hills. Iowa farmers grow corn which they feed to cattle which, when fat, are sold; it is an intense tightly scheduled way of farming. The Indians are not farmers of cash crops and do not depend on the land for much of their living. The land is like a suburb—a place to live, to be with; not, in this century, a source of livelihood. A geographer who looked at an aerial photograph could trace the boundaries of the Indian settlement. Years ago, at the doing largely of a government farmer, much tribal land was cleared in the sharply geometric farms of white farms. Through the years, the fence rows grow wider, the corners more round. White men wrest wealth from nature, turn much of the wealth into machines and turn the machines back against nature. Indians seem no bent on such conquest—indeed seem not much committed, in these cleared plots, to holding their own. The whites in Iowa, who assume that people living in the country must be farmers in their image, never cease to wonder—3,300 acres and not a cow on it! Only four Indian families receive important income from farming.

White individuals, if psychologically healthy and not self-consciously marginal, can engage in a sustained, routinized effort in a single direction over a long period of time, and—here is the crux—they can do so more or less independent of their group. In contrast, a Mesquakie is guided almost exclusively by his moment-to-moment relations
with others; he bridles under long-term, rigid work schedules; he becomes uncomfortable in situations requiring isolated self-direction. Hence they cannot easily operate in many of the jobs they can get and they seem to gravitate towards jobs often filled by white semi-vagrants—railroad repair work, seasonal construction work. The economic riches in the American economy which Indians generally have found is instructive; for example, commercial fishing, cowhands; more recently, high steel work followed by periods of leisure plus a strong feeling of group spirit. See Tax'e discussion of peasants and hunters in his essay on acculturation. Tama county is economically diversified. Besides farming and serving as a trading center for farmers, there are two sizable industries. However, the greater number of Indians find their work in larger cities within a radius of some 60 miles and with construction companies and railroads working out of those cities, usually in the vicinity of the Indian community.

Whites who know Mesquakie Indians almost invariably interpret the contrasting work pattern as laziness, and unreliability. And, omitting the value judgment bound up in that English word, it is laziness. But conversely, of course, the Mesquakies look at white men and say they aggressive and selfish.

We have moved to a second item on the diagram, noted in a square which annotes attitudes: the notion held by non-Indians in Tama County that the Indians are "lazy." We have further suggested that there is a difference between this and the more familiar phenomena of racial prejudice. In Negro-white relations in the U. S., the analogous stereotyped beliefs are highly distorted and are essentially adjustive maneuvers inside the minds of whites. The connection here is from Mesquakie behavior to white belief. Essentially the white beliefs reflect and fit the Indian behavior. The connection is causal.

It is apparent, however, that the belief and the behavior are here described as qualitative things—as if they were wholly present or wholly absent. Neither the behavior nor the belief is so unambiguous. Tama white men tend to be aware of Indian individuals who are "good workers" but they think of them as exceptions. Some white men, significantlly individuals who themselves hold how prestige jobs and who do not see themselves as on some climb upward, recognize the general fact of Indian work behavior but, like some anthropologists and more successfully than other anthropologists, do not attach the usual negative value judgments. These, of course, are the persons with whom Indians most comfortably work and play.

Yet, in spite of the internal variety within both Mesquakie work behavior and white perceptions of it, the two can be treated, in pragmatic truth, as if they were wholly present or wholly absent. If Tama County whites ask themselves why the government has to provide services for the Indians, they answer that it is because the Indians are lazy and therefore cannot take care of themselves. Conversely, they feel they know the Indians are lazy because the government has to take care of them. The two white beliefs tend to support one another. In other words, as the objectively variable white notion that Indians are lazy enters a whole system of facts and notions, it comes to join other facts which support the central tendency and fail to support the variations. Individual white men who do not think "laziness" is bad have no important influence in Tama county affairs; other individual white men may employ a known "good" worker or even, for humane or other reasons, a worker known as not so good, but when his Congressman asks him about a piece of Indian legislation, he acts thinking about "Indians" and the unfair burden of taking care of lazy Indians.
The white notion that Indians do not work well supports and is supported by the white notion that the Indians are a burden. That mutual support accounts for the fact that white men behave as if the notions were unmixed. But the mutual support does not account for the notions themselves. White men see real things in Mesquakie work behavior which they label laziness. When white men say Indians are a burden, they see other, independently derived, real things.

We are scientists and we therefore demand of ourselves, and our fellows rightly demand of us, that our work contribute to man's general understanding of the behavior of humans in groups. It is proper to ask whether the analysis here presented of the human situation in Tama County so contribute.

It is clear there is here not systematic attempt to contribute to one or a few easily recognizable bodies of anthropological theory. We touch at several points on data which anthropologists who study personality and culture will recognize as familiar. They will recognize also the uses to which we have put their analyses and concepts. But if we contribute in any important way to personality and culture as a body of theory, we are not aware of that contribution. Similarly, we touch at many points on matters relevant to the theories of social structure and do not, we suppose contribute except, perhaps some little of vocabulary and fact in our analytic comments on factions, on the effects of the pre-emption of the running of vital services, and on the Indian handling of authority, three areas of much fluidity and objectively real imprecision and, for that reason, not usually treated in studies of social structure. Perhaps to studies of value systems, some potential contribution is made in the very brief and inelaborate comments on competition among values, and in the ever more brief comments on the "is" nature in folk-like societies of many of the ideas which, to urban minds, seem ideas about how the good life "ought" to be. The word economy occurs once or twice, the word ecology and the word religion not at all; economic facts, and ecological and religious facts enter but nothing is here of theory in those three areas. To theories of social change, something substantial is probably offered in the comments on changes accepted and those resisted by Indians; the notion of social death, the idea of adding rather than substituting new identifications, the suggestions about the necessity of uncoerced public resolutions of competitions among values, and in the ever more brief comments on the "is" nature in folk-like societies of many of the ideas which, to urban minds, seem ideas about how the good life "ought" to be. The word economy occurs once or twice, the word ecology and the word religion not at all; economic facts, and ecological and religious facts enter but nothing is here of theory in those three areas. To theories of social change, something substantial is probably offered in the comments on changes accepted and those resisted by Indians; the notion of social death, the idea of adding rather than substituting new identifications, the suggestions about the necessity of uncoerced public resolutions of competitions among values, and in the ever more brief comments on the "is" nature in folk-like societies of many of the ideas which, to urban minds, seem ideas about how the good life "ought" to be.

All this, we are suggesting, is not much. The contributions, seen from the familiar subrics of anthropological theory are haphazard and they are potential rather than shown.

But there is a reverse side to the same coin. That quality of random meandering among theoretical realms permits a kind of compromise between two scientific desirables, a compromise which is happier, we suggest, than any possible when one stays within a given frame. Here is found a very large portion of the real, complex human facts "out there." Not all of that reality certainly—an ethnography would not have to be exceptional to capture more—but more of it than could be found in a very excellent study of social structure or of values, or of personality and culture. To anthropologists, quantity of diverse observation is a good. But not only is a great deal of that real complexity captured. Unlike an ethnography and like theories of social structure, values, etc., that complexity is held in systematic connection of part to part. To see real behavior in systematic interconnection is another, and more difficult good.
Further, anthropology has moved from the model of the primitive isolate and more and more proposes to study villages in their relations with regions and nations. Here, the single analyzed system includes what would normally be deemed two communities.

Robert Redfield, who has had not much connection with the Tama program save as occasional friendly critic, has shown in a context removed from Tama concerns, that the human mind, of its own accord sees a community such as the Mesquakie settlement and such as Tama, as a whole—automatically, intuitively. All human minds do this though some with more sensitive accuracy than others. The words which come to us when we try to describe that intuitively grasped whole, he said, are connotative, carrying much association to the mind of the reader and evoking in him a similar intuition about the whole. On the other hand, man, especially scientific men, begin to break apart that whole to see parts precisely, to describe them with denotative words which mean this and nothing else, and finally to see precise connections among the parts precisely seen. Most of the energy of social science this decade, Redfield said, is spent in making precise descriptions of these selected parts and their connections with other selected parts. But, he suggested, some of us should not so much let go of the whole. Some of us should allow ourselves to be drawn to those community studies which are "analyzed in terms of the intellectual forms [which are] comprehensive of the whole" but intellectual forms which also are "susceptible of denotative development." (Redfield, The Little Community, 149-168).

This analysis of the human situation at Tama County does, we imagine, grasp very much of the real whole and grasps it, not intuitively any more, but in terms of parts and connections between parts seen with some degree of precision. If, in fact, that is found to be so, then we have by this work moved a little toward very demanding scientific ends.

Such, then is that the Tama program has to say toward the theory of man's social behavior. It is a poor and inexact thing to show, perhaps, for 10 years of work. But it has some of the important qualities we believe science should have: it captures much of the whole reality in Tama County and does so, not intuitively but in systematic interconnection of part to part. We have not attempted with any consistency to say how much here is humanly universal, how much true in some class of contacts between some classes of societies. Still the description admits of such questions; it is a separable task and we use vocabulary, where possible, which would seem to help. The study fails in one important quality of good science in that the total system seems to admit of a test, some operations or events which we and other scholars would agree would prove or disprove its truth. Very little of our anthropology meets that test. Here, instead, we can at best hope for greater precision and some modification of our perceptions of some of the connections of part to part. This diagnosis would have been written somewhat differently a year ago; we hope it will be some different and more exact in subsequent years. Most of the data which has and will permit those modifications stem from semi-experimental activities which the next two chapters discuss.

Exhibit 93

Culture Contact, Free Choice, and Progress

Fred Gearing

Robert Emmitt's The Last War Trail is a convincing study and it
has a certain profundity. He tells a simple story of the relations
between white men and Ute Indians in the late 1800's. He describes
the events of those years as they appeared to the white men who were
involved and the same events as they appeared to the Indians. The
story is convincing because Mr. Emmitt shows himself to have the qual-
ities of a good reporter. When old Utes tried to explain those years
to him he listened seriously and long; so when, in his book, the Indi-
ans speak or act they are convincingly Indians. But I said also that
the study is profound; I do not know if Mr. Emmitt intended it to be.
It is profound because here, in sharp focus, is an obvious truth about
the coming together of cultures. It is a truth which is so obvious
that those who study acculturation seem content, usually, to note it
and to pass on to more obscure (and less germane) things. Culture con-
tact, besides the many other things that it is, is the coming together
of ideas; history, besides the many other things that it is, is the
competition among such ideas. I am saying that in this simple story
we can vividly see an instance of something humanly universal and im-
portant.

In 1878, Joseph Meeker went to the Utes to become their Agent.
All his life he had been an idealist: he had been an abolitionist and
a participant in sundry experiments in co-operative living. He went
to the Utes with idealistic and selfless motives. He went there, also,
with certain ideas about human virtue—ideas, especially, about the
virtue of work.

The notion of the virtue of work—with related ideas about punctu-
ality, rational economic calculation, etc.—did then and still does
characterize a very lot of Europe and America. There have always been
segments in European and American societies where thinking about the
virtue of work has not been characteristic; and there is much evidence
that contemporary America is turning away from that notion. Still, to
say that Americans believe that work is virtuous is to say something
importantly true about the culture of United States then and now.

Why Europe and America should have that notion about virtue and
other societies should have very different notions is still debated.
The world over, peasants seem to hold that work is virtue. European
society was recently based on a peasantry and some scholars have sug-
gested that that peasant background was the source of these ideas about
the good man. But we know further that the Protestant Reformation, most
especially the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, gave added force to
those same ideas about virtue. Every man, Calvin argued, is by divine
selection of the elect or of the damned; no man can ever know with cer-
tainty which is his destiny. But man can garner bits of evidence as to
his destiny and those bits of evidence were comforting. The best evi-
dence, Calvinists came to believe, to support a man's hope that he was
of the elect was his actions in everyday life. Good actions, comforting
actions, were actions in which he followed that same notion about the
virtue of work. Before Calvin, peasants believed they should work hard
on the plot of ground on which they were born; after Calvin, men believed
they should work to increase the material wealth to which they were born.
Whatever the source of those ideas about virtue, it is clear that they do
exist in the minds of many Americans and that they shape much of the
everyday behavior we see around us.

So, holding those ideas about virtue which stemmed from his own
cultural background, Meeker came to the Utes. He thought of those vir-
tue as human absolutes. He looked out upon a world and upon persons and
found those virtues and did not find them as the case may be. He saw
these virtues or he saw nothing. In his mind it was a case of human
virtue on the one hand and a vacuum, a void, on the other.

Thinking this way, he soon fell into puzzlement and frustration.
Then blindly he lashed out at the Utes in his impotent, aged way. And
from this, actions led to reactions and finally to the massacre of Meeker
and his aides and to more killing by U. S. soldiers and by Ute warriors.

But what was the notion about human virtue shared by the Utes—
that set of ideas invisible to Meeker? If we look at Emmitt's study, we
find here and there bits of behavior which somehow all seem to be saying
the same thing. Emmitt describes the Utee preparing for their annual
hunt. He describes how the idea of leaving for the hunt would be raised,
dallied with a while, and how the conversation would drift to other things;
he describes how, in this non-compulsive way, the Utes leisurely made
plane, changed then, and finally, after some days, how the bands went off
one by one to begin the hunt. Again, Emmitt describes the puzzled resist-
ence of Quinkent's band when told that they should "take up those shovels
and long knives on sticks and such Maricat's tools and do what the white
man calls 'work'." And finally, Emmitt describes two Utes watching a
white man plow and describes their great amazement as it slowly occurs
to them that, very likely, that white man would walk back and forth be-
hind those mules, hour after hour, all day long.

But those reports are of behavior simply. The actions imply an
idea about virtue shared by the Utes but they do not formulate such an
idea in Ute terms; nor is that idea explicitly formulated anywhere in
Emmitt's work. However a formulation of the Ute notion of virtue becomes
dimly visible when Emmitt tells about a Ute myth:

. . . . The story goes on and on so long and so far that one man can
never tell all of it. It is the story of the land that changes many
times—a land with a face that grows old but always becomes young
again. It is the story of the People who lived with that land. They
never went away; when the land was sick they watched over it; when
the land was cruel to them, they made better friends with it.

And then, using the words of the myth itself, Emmitt continues:

The Land is the body; the People are the spirit. When the land and
the People are cut apart this is death.

Now the Maricat's have come, and they are not like those who
came before. They do not go away. They stay; but they do not live with
the Land. The Maricat's change everything to their own way, like the
Old Coyote, the spoiler. The white men fight the land; they fight against
the Land, like an enemy, and they must believe their enemy is weaker than
themselves.

That set of ideas about good conduct is very similar among many,
probably all, American Indians. The word "harmony" is perhaps the best
one could do in a single word to summarize the sense of that idea: the
good man lives in harmony with nature. Perhaps the white man's ideas
about virtue can be summarized by the word "conquest": the good man
lives to conquer nature. These are two sets of ideas about how men ought
to live. Each, we may be sure, was believed and followed at some cost
and to some profit. It was this coming together of contrasting ideas
which Meeker viewed as the presence and absence of the European idea—as
human virtue and a void.

This study by Emmitt is so excellent because it presents the con-
tact between the Utes and Americane as, importantly, the contact between
those two ideas about the way men ought to live. Emmitt has shown that fact vividly. The coming together of European cultures and Indian cultures has been, and often still is, in a very basic sense just that. The coming together of European and Indian cultures is many other things but it is nothing more significant that the contact of these two sets of ideas about virtue.

It has seemed to some, and it seems to me, that an extremely important thing in human history is the competition among such ideas. The capacity to have an idea is, of course, a quality that marks the human animal. Through human history, under certain circumstances difficult to discern, the sweep of an idea can have tremendous effect. We may see in our own lifetimes the final disappearance of the colonial domination of people; in very great measure, that change will come about by force of the sweep of the idea that all men are by nature equal. It has been said with some truth that "nothing is as strong as an idea whose time has come."

It is perhaps not clearly demonstrable but it is very probable that, as Robert Redfield has suggested, the competition among ideas about the good life has determined certain larger directions in human history. In any society certain ideas about virtue come to be shared by the group or by most of them or by the most influential among them. Over the generations, these shared ideas are altered and developed. They are, or come close to being, the preserved best efforts of a people. The contact of people, each with their contrasting shared ideas, has, I believe with Redfield, set human history in a direction; that direction is an increasing humaneness among peoples the world over, among other things an increasing respect for life.

Redfield suggests in The Primitive World and Its Transformations that we must assume a common nature for all mankind. When peoples meet, the shared ideas developed by each become known, however imperfectly, to the other. Through this communication, a selection among ideas seemingly has occurred over the long stretch of human history. Societies with particular practices which serve that common human nature less well, discover, in this way, the practices of other societies which seem to serve somewhat better. Their human nature causes those alien practices to appear attractive. Bit by bit over the face of the earth, societies have dropped practices less humane and taken up practices slightly more humane. All of these small changes add up to a large and good direction in human history. The shared ideas of a people are wisdom, however imperfect. The hope of mankind rests on the competition among such shared ideas of peoples.

Redfield cites an example. The Pawnee once practiced human sacrifice. The human nature of a young Pawnee chief, probably awakened when he viewed the lives of neighboring tribes who did not practice human sacrifice, cried out against this practice and, in time, the custom was dropped from Pawnee life. Perhaps, John Collier reveals a partly analogous case. Collier was profoundly moved by the respect for the human personality and for the natural environment which he saw in Taos Pueblo (but which might be identical to the Utes ideas Emmitt has told about). Western Civilization, Collier thought, must understand and adopt that idea or, in the end, perish.

In the Pawnee case, the new idea won over a people; in the Taos instance, the West has not so responded. Neither instance is compellingly clear. The Pawnee were already aware, at the time, of the power of the United States and aware that Americans, like the neighboring Indians, did not condone human sacrifice. The West has not come to think
more like the Taos Indians and John Collier; that may indicate that, Taos and John Collier notwithstanding, the Taos idea is not more congenial to human nature or it may indicate that economic or other facts have so far prevented communication or choice.

To say that customs more congenial to human nature tend to win out is not to say that ideas float free and that men often rationally choose. Economic situation often more remorselessly along, causing men to think one way and act another or to rationalize their thoughts to make them fit their necessary actions. Further, when societies meet, only some members of each meet only some of the others and what is perceived and retold is selective and can be made to serve the interests of the tellers. The competition among ideas is tortuous and slow and runs against social facts which guarantee that it will be imperfect. Yet all that does not deny that ideas which are congenial to man's nature tend to be persistent and insistent and that the strong tendency is, through history, for a set of circumstances to occur sooner or later which will allow such ideas to break through and become established in the life of a people.

It might come to be demonstrable that, through history, societies all over the earth have, custom by custom, dropped from their lives certain practices and adopted others and that the customs dropped will be seen to have a common quality and those added another common quality. Then we will see more precisely this larger direction in history. Further, it might become demonstrable that that direction cannot be wholly explained by the extension of the power of the great civilizations. Then we will know something more precise about human nature.

If one accepts the probability that the competition among ideas has this role in history, one is then caused to believe, I submit, in freedom of choice—self-determination—for societies irrespective of their power. Redfield says that, seeing the large trends in human history, reflective and civilized men can see better than others, primitive or not, what is good for men. As a central tendency, that is so. But the implication is strong, and men of affairs with power and responsibility over trust territories or Indians would so take his words, that peoples less enlightened should be maneuvered or coerced into doing the things that seem from the visible direction of history better for them. This, I submit, does not follow and is not so; indeed, quite the opposite follows. Leaving aside any and all other reasons such as fear of causing cultural disorganization of what-have-you, this is not so because of the common human nature we have assumed and because of the historical competition among ideas we have discussed. I submit, differently I think than Redfield, that, assuming adequate communication, when a people seem to resist a general human trend, that fact is as significant for mankind and as revealing of human nature as the trend itself.

In the Ute story there were two sets of ideas. Those ideas, by their mere existence, were contenders for the attention of the world. One set of ideas asserts that man is best served if he lives in harmony with nature; the other that man is best served by a ceaseless effort to conquer nature. They are very basic ideas. They are complex and difficult both seem true and they are obviously important. In such large and complex areas, human nature cannot easily choose. Both ideas, in their different ways, are attractive. So it may be that different peoples will choose differently. That must be and it is good. If in these complex questions, different choices are made by different societies, that at least is some guarantee against too hasty choices by mankind at large.
It might ultimately turn out that the two sets of ideas are not each inseparable bundles, that, in each set there are items which would be preferred by all men and other items not congenial to any man. It might also turn out that some new combination is possible. History typically presents ideas to peoples in bundles. The vacillation in the Asiatic world between Communism and Western democracy surely indicates that these two political and economic systems are holding out two bundles which, together with their own institutions, those peoples would unbind to choose among the parts if they could but find a way to do so.

Alternatively, it might turn out that human nature cannot choose at all, that each set of ideas is irreducible and equally congenial. In which event the idea of the more powerful society will probably come to win out, to no great profit or loss. Or it might turn out that the Utes, after all, were right—or that we were.

I have said that the common human nature of mankind will best be served by two things: (1) by the greatest possible contact among peoples of the world so that every society may come to know the important ideas of the world and (2) by the greatest possible freedom for every society to choose those of the world's ideas which seem to it best. Meeker did a disservice to all men when he tried to prevent that sharing of ideas and that free choice.

What does this mean to us in 1957? When men attempt to serve the welfare of communities, they act in one of three ways. The first we may term "blind manipulation," the kind of unquestioning behavior which Meeker indulged in. No one supposes that this is good though it is all too common; indeed it has characterized, save for a brief interlude with John Collier, America's policy toward Indians from 1785 to 1957. The second is a type of program that begins with scientific analysis leading to a plan or blueprint for action. And the third is a similar yet very different model which a group of us call action anthropology; it begins with study and analysis but from that study, instead of drawing a plan, we do two things: first, we work to improve communication, to transmit skills and understandings; and second, we work to make possible free choices by the community among alternatives.

These thoughts about the competition among ideas indicate something of why the second model will often go amiss. I have already said that, between two basic and difficult ideas, choices are usually difficult. Our human nature finds attractions in both. It is virtually impossible to draw a plan which steers clear of those larger, more complex choices. It is clear enough, usually, that a community dislikes poverty; so the community or some outsider could easily agree that the reduction of poverty is a good thing. In the usual cases, starvation is not at issue nor having a swimming pool in the back yard. The usual issue is some relative wealth between those extremes. But one community might be less wealthy than another because, in part, of customs which follow from a shared idea such as the Ute ideas about the virtue of harmony. In Indian communities that is usually so. A plan which set out to diminish poverty would almost inevitably impinge upon such basic and complex ideas. As a community begins to work toward that end, the implications of its acts become visible to it; the acts might then be seen to impinge upon those basic and perhaps still desired ideas. Insofar as the plan, once started, moves unalterably along, it attempts to impose a choice among such basic ideas.

Following the third model, we who do action anthropology turn our attention to communication and freedom of choice. I think when we turn our attention to improving the communication of ideas among communities and
to increasing the freedom of choice of communities, we get in the history. Action anthropology is less a method and more a way of living with the world. It seems to me that anthropologists who think the competition among ideas is important in history will, if they do anything but observe and think, do action. It seems to me that this conception of history will prove to be (other action anthropologists do not now agree) the only possible justification for doing action; in any event, it is the only selfish justification.

Anthropologists, from the present imperfect demonstration of such a conception of history, if they are convinced, can say something about Indian policy. This can be said by anthropologists as anthropologists; saying it does not necessitate stepping into some other role. That conception of history indicates the necessity of free choice for people of other cultures who are under the power of great nations. Good policy is to permit and make possible such free choice and anything else is bad policy. Free choice includes freedom to choose to be a community and freedom to choose to cease to be. Such policy is not a matter of value except in the ultimate sense that we think it good that mankind will find those ideas most congenial to human nature. Allowing free choice is not to be done for the sake of the administered peoples simply; it is to be done for the sake of the administered peoples simply; it is to be done for future mankind.

Such free choice must, to have meaning, be free choice in the minutiae of everyday community affairs. At that level, free choice means, as Tax has put it "the freedom to make mistakes." Any other freedom is false. And any false freedom will destroy a human community. Until a community has the freedom to make mistakes, it has no freedom and indeed cannot be a community. If it is destroyed, its ideas are lost. Since it has seemed to prefer those ideas to our those ideas might, it must be assumed, prove tomorrow to be a boon to mankind.

House Concurrent Resolution 108 states the intention of Congress to be the early termination of federal service to Indians and the transfer of the supervision of Indians to the States. Most Indians have grave doubts about that statement of policy. I too have grave misgivings. At the same time, I do not see this action as a revolutionary departure. I see it as the last of a long series of actions, not greatly different from those that went before. At the bottom, all it suggests is that, in the place of one set of bosses, Indian communities should get a new set; as before, the new bosses would come from outside the community. Of course I am not saying that the objections Indians have raised to this legislation are not very serious. Indian communities under these new bosses would, in all probability, be more vulnerable to local pressures than they are now; the fear often expressed is real enough that, by this action, Indian communities will lose their status as historical political entities with reciprocal rights and duties with the United States. But basically, HCR 108 is but a ripple in the long series of policies which, in common, attempt to mastermind the affairs of Indian communities—to decide what is good for them.

Public Law 280 transferred responsibility for law and order to certain states and established the rights of other states to assume unilaterally similar jurisdiction. Again this is but a switch of bosses and, in the same sense, a ripple in the long series of policies which mastermind for a people.

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The revolution, the real basic change, in Indian affairs which I am caused to hope for has not been touched by these two items of legislation. In the place of the long series of policy actions designed to
civilize people or, occasionally, to preserve their cultures, I would like to see a policy which truly freed Indian communities, I do not mean that spurious type of emancipation which, at the bottom, merely removes needed federal money that has heretofore been spent on necessary services. Nor do I mean the spurious kinds of emancipating which merely switches bosses. I mean the freedom to make mistakes. I mean an action by Congress which would redefine the responsibilities of all officials of the Bureau. They would have no further responsibility for the operation of the vital services of Indian communities. They would have responsibility only to advise to the best of their abilities. The responsibility for running the services would belong to the community and it alone. The real freedom I am thinking of recognizes that until every Indian community actually runs its own vital services, with or without federal subsidy as the need may be, there will be no real change. That real change will have to come. It will have to come because so far as anyone can tell, Indian communities intend to be a part of the American scene for the foreseeable future. Some Indian individuals will, as in the past, assimilate. But their places have so far been filled by the natural increases within the community. The communities remain and indeed many are growing.

Indians share with mankind a common human nature. Until Indians voluntarily come to adopt Western Civilization (or Chinese) we should assume that human nature finds in Indian cultures something congenial. Western men, out of their own self-interest, would be wise to try to increase communication across these cultural boundaries and wise to allow such cultures to stay around as long as the people choose. Western men might, or might not, find something important and worthwhile in Indian cultures—something beyond the things he has already found there.

This conception of history is not cultural relativism. It believes in progress. Nor is it real politics. It holds that the least culture among us is equally the bearer of ideas which will move along man's future progress.


If you ask me what are the values that are involved in our interference, I must say—looking back now—that they are three in number:

First, there is the value of truth. We are anthropologists in the tradition of science and scholarship. Nothing would embarrass us more than to see that we have been blinded to verifiable fact by any other values or emotions. We believe that truth and knowledge are more constructive in the long run than falsehood and superstition. We want to remain anthropologists and not become propagandists; we would rather be right according to canons of evidence than win a practical point. But also we feel impelled to trumpet our truth against whatever falsehoods we find, whether they are deliberate or psychological or mythological. This would be a duty to science and truth, even if the fate of communities of men were not involved. But as some myths are part of the problem of American Indians it is also a duty to humanity and to outraged justice. Our action anthropology thus gets a moral and even missionary tinge that is perhaps more important for some of us than for others.

Second, we feel most strongly the value of freedom, as it is classically expressed and limited. Freedom in our context usually means freedom for individuals to choose the group with which to identify and freedom for a community to choose its way of life. We would also be embarrassed if it were shown that we are, for example, encouraging Indians
to remain Indians, rather than to become something else, or trying to
preserve Indian cultures, when the Indians involved would choose other-
wise. All we want in our action programs is to provide, if we can,
genuine alternatives from which the people involved can freely choose—
and to be ourselves as little restrictive as in humanly possible. If
follows, however, that we must try to remove restrictions imposed by
others on the alternatives open to Indians and on their freedom to choose
among them. We avoid imposing our values upon the Indians, but we do not
mean to leave a vacuum for other outsiders to fill. Our program is posi-
tive, not negative; it is a program of action, not inaction; but it is
also a program of probing, listening, learning, giving in.

Such a program requires that we remove ourselves as much as pos-
sible from a position of power, or undue influence. We know that knowl-
dge is power, and we try hard to reject the power that knowledge gives
us. Perhaps this seems contrary to the functioning of applied science?
We realize that we have knowledge that our Indian friends do not have,
and we hope to use it for their good. But if imposed our choices on the
assumption that "we know better than they do what is good for them" not
only restricts their freedom, but is likely to turn out to be empirically
wrong. The point is that what is best for them involves what they want
to be. Operationally this is knowable only by observing which alternatives
they actually choose, and we defeat ourselves to the degree that we choose
for them. Hence we find ourselves always discovering and not applying
knowledge.

So our value of freedom is partly an ethic and partly a way of
learning the truth. At least we see no contradiction between our first
two values.

A third value—or is it a principle of operation?—is a kind of
Law of Parsimony which tells us not to settle questions of values unless
they concern us. This in a way is a value to end for us the problem of
values. In the beginning of our Fox program, having decided to interfere
for some good purpose, we were beset with value problems. Some of us
were for and some of us were against the assimilation of the Indians; what
a marvelously happy moment it was when we realized that this was not a
judgment or decision we needed to make. It was a decision for the people
concerned, not for us. Bluntly, it was none of our business. This not
only freed us, but the particular instance was the beginning of the phil-
osophy of our action program. As I look back now I see that this has
been our general solution to value problems. When it became necessary
to decide which of conflicting values to choose, we eventually found our-
selves not deciding at all, and finding some way around it. Perhaps it is
time now to set this down systematically as an operating value.

People are always asking us whether we think cannibals have a
right to self-determination. With respect to cannibalism, would we not
have to impose some value of our own? Now, I neither eat human flesh,
nor like the thought of being eaten; I am as revolted as others in our
culture by the whole idea. I have no notion what I would do if I found
myself involved in an action program on a cannibal isle; I can only think
of jokes to say. If I attempt to answer seriously I am beset with all
the value contradictions involved in so-called cultural relativism. But
whatever my personal position on this, it has no significant bearing on
what we should do tomorrow to help the Fox Indians develop more construc-
tive relationships within their community, or with other Iowans.

I do not want to be interpreted now as anti-philosophical; prob-
lems of values are intellectually and personally important to all of us,
and to anthropology. We need to discuss them. The only question at issue is the degree to which they need to be resolved before action can be taken. Clearly the answer depends upon the actor, the problem, and the alternatives open. It must be different for every case. The general rule that we have found useful is therefore only a limiting principle. It is that which, I understand, underlies the operations of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Court will not decide constitutional questions in the abstract, but insists that a case be at issue; and even then it tried to decide the case on technicalities if possible, and avoid as long as possible deciding the general issues.

I take it this is wise and necessary because in human life issues arise only when there are no good easy answers, and the decision becomes a choice of evils. By definition, it is good to postpone doing something bad.

In the same way, and generally for the same reason, we, too, avoid making decision when 1) (as in the instance of Indian assimilation) they are not clearly ours to make, and when 2) (as in the instance of cannibalism) they can be postponed. This is a general rule of action for us, to be followed—like all our rules—as well as humanly possible. But I mention it here only in the context of the problem of values itself, to the point that this rule of parsimony puts a limitation on our liability for value judgments as they relate to our programs of action.

An issue that has lately arisen among us, for example, is whether we put freedom or self-determination as a higher value. What we ask, if a community wants to remain dependent? The book by O. Mannoni recently translated into English as *Prospero and Caliban* (translated from the French, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1956) argues that Melagasy communities resist being given independence, and the question arises: Does self-determination include the right to determine not to be self-determining; and if so, are we still for it? Or do we rather force freedom on a community? These questions seem critical only because some people think that American Indians have become dependent in this sense, and that an umbilical cord tying them to the Government must be cut. Our procedure in the face of this is first of all to forget about Madagascar—we don't know if what Mannoni says is or is not true; we have no way of finding out, by methods which satisfy us, except by going there and working with a community in an experiment with freedom, and second to re-examine the factual situation of American Indians to be sure of our conclusion that American Indian communities can operate independently under given conditions that they help choose. The result is that we analyze the conditions of independence. This is our answer to the question for purposes of action; we find we do not need to settle the hypothetical problem of the general issue, and need no longer be diverted from our task. Thus new data, new alternatives, new value issues give rise to new problems for analysis and study—but the problems are settled in the concrete instances where we operate even though left unsettled forever in the abstract.

I would say the same thing about the problem repeatedly suggested here—whether science sets values, or whether we can scientifically justify our interference. I would simply postpone the general question and worry about the alternatives open to us for action tomorrow, and the consequences of each for ourselves, for the Indians and the general society and for science or for the profession of anthropology. I only hope that we are able to behave responsibly at each point of decision.

Maybe that is why we call this Action Anthropology.
Exhibit 95


These papers express a recent development in anthropology: attempts to reconcile or combine the scientific and the humane aspects of the anthropologist's nature into a single operation contributing to both scientific knowledge and human welfare. The two roots of which Lisa Peattie spoke—the concern for the native peoples the anthropologist so specially knows about; and the movement toward a science of social change with predictive precision—grow together, in certain cases, to produce a hybrid activity at once scientific and humanely active. She has reviewed some of the sources of the choices of positions taken by one or another anthropologist as to acting or not acting or as to how one acts in native communities, and as to the bearing of science or values and of values on science. She provides something of a map of the positions taken with explanations as to how various shades or extremes of doctrine have come about.

The range of positions taken as to action in anthropology are represented by three cases in the other papers immediately before us. I add to my considerations here the report (published this year in Human Relations) by James Spillius of what happened to him in Tikopia in 1952-53. With these four or five in mind, one may call the role of a small series of positions. On the far right stands Evans-Pritchard whose view, as expressed in words quoted in our first paper, is to keep away from action and administrators so that pure science can be done without distractions. He would be here to speak on this program because he is, apparently, opposed to the assumption made by Holmberg, Spillius and Tax: he doubts that anyone can investigate fundamental (i.e., theoretical or scientific) problems and practical problems at the same time.

In contrast, the anthropologist in the Trust Territories was an arm of administrative action. Himself no administrator, he provided the administrator with special knowledge to guide his action. Apparently the anthropologist accepted the policies of government. Dr. Barnett holds the view that his better knowledge of the natives gave him no better right to an opinion as to what ought to be done for them. As scientist, he might study questions either theoretical or practical. As adjunct to administration, he might give advice as to means to reach ends set by administrators. But, as a person he was free to express opinions and value judgments. For answers to other questions about this, we may turn to Dr. Barnett's book and to Dr. Barnett: Did differences of judgment occur as to what or what was not a matter of policy? What kinds of policies toward the natives would have left the anthropologist comfortable—or uncomfortable? Did the official policy include the stimulation of self-determination in the natives—that end or value so important to Holmberg and Tax? Was there ever a difference of opinion as to which way to accomplish an end was the more "healthful"?

In the action anthropology of Tax and in Holmberg's remarkable work at Vicos are represented the anthropologist-intervener, the man who both seeks theoretical knowledge and also strives to bring about a local improvement in human welfare. Both hope to do both good and science. These men have taken positions on the left, or progressive wing of the series of positions as to anthropology and action. Both move toward realization of extra-scientific values of which they are very conscious. For Tax the supreme such value is self-determination; for Holm-
berg it is a cluster of values headed by human dignity. In conceiving how to make science of their interventions, the two men differ, however. Tax conceives of his science as learning through intervening in a clinical situation in which the knowledge of purposes on the part of his Indians always contributes to the forming of action. Holmberg, also involved, conceives not so much a clinical situation as a predictive science in which his own administrative actions are experiments in social change. Tax works out something for the Indians largely as the Indians come to think of doing those things. Holmberg, with power in his hands, takes firmer hold of progress, material and ethical, and initiates steps that move Vicos in the direction of the good which he—and a great many other people—have defined.

Between Barnett on the one hand and Tax and Holmberg on the other stood James Spillius on Tikopia in 1952-53. Where the first two men became intervener-scientists by choice and program, Spillius, scientist, became an intervener malgre lui. A hurricane and a famine forced him to act for the welfare of the natives. His radio brought food to the starving; his decisions guided the distribution of food; his advice moved the chiefs to act in certain ways; his energy cured a troublesome spirit-medium; his intervention saved two thieves from execution. From this experience Spillius too derives a program for research related to action. His "operational research" has, again, mixed purposes: to reach theoretical knowledge of social change; and to effect, practically, the situation under study. That situation is Government and indigenous community together. Spillius would see the two as one system of interaction, and would learn something for science out of studying it. Like Holmberg rather than Tax, he sees the things that happen as elements in an experimental situation. But Spillius would not, as did Holmberg, initiate the events. Spillius sees governmental power not far off. What he had to do in the crisis of the hurricane was exceptional, perhaps undesirable, he thinks, for research. As an actor toward welfare, the operational researcher has the simple duty to interpret events to both parties in this enlarged social system. Out of better mutual understanding it is believed that good will come. His experience on Tikopia has directed him to one of the questions Lisa Peattie brought forward as suitable for empirical investigation: How may the rationality of human choices be increased? The controlling value, for Spillius as an intervener, is, in his words, "to leave . . . Government and indigenous people better able to cope with their problems in terms of one another." There is thus suggested an underlying faith that rational understanding leads to wiser action in the double community of native and Government. It is not quite self-determination, and nothing is said as to the increase of human dignity. But one feels once more, as with Tax and Holmberg, the acceptance of social change in native communities as an unavoidable fact, and the acceptance of some value-guided responsibility outside of the duty to science, for the anthropological intervener's acts in native communities.

I turn now to two questions. The first is: What do these cases suggest as to the effects, on anthropological science, of action anthropology in these various forms? "It is evident," say our first paper today, "that it is adding to anthropology a greater interest in process, in small group dynamics, in what has been called 'mood,' in the relations between social groups, and in phenomena such as leadership and factionalism." All these matters of freshened interest are abundantly present in what has been written by Tax, Holmberg and Spillius. I do not need to cite relevant passages in Holmberg's paper, and most of us here know the work of Tax's group well enough to provide instances from that. Spillius was deeply involved, as both observer and actor, in the shifts in leadership and in faction during the Tikopia crisis, and his paragraphs about tension and the relaxation
of tension are a small study in mood. In short, as anthropologists more and more go along with native communities in which change is rapid, disorganizing, and closely connected with the great universal shifts that we sometimes call "progress," by that fact inevitably the thing that is studied becomes a different kind of thing. It is not conceivable as a machine or an organism working regularly through the three-generations of time necessary to complete the cycles of maintenance. It is a flux of event involving indigenous and civilized peoples, and, whether by design or by accident, the anthropologist himself.

As these papers have been written, each writer says more about how he learns, or proposes to learn in these situations of change and intervention than he says about what he learned; further, what is reported as learned relates fairly close to the particular situation in which the intervener-anthropologist was engaged; there is not much in them that could be lifted out in the form of general propositions as to the nature of things to be contributed to the inventory of social science knowledge that I believe is now being made. The reports of what happened are impressionistic, and they are largely bound to the immediate circumstances. One might at this stage, suppose that interventionist anthropology is more likely to contribute to that general moral and practical enlightenment of which our first paper spoke than to the realization of a higher degree of predictive precision. Barnett emphasizes the lack of precision in his own predictions, and Spillius tells us how many times his predictions—hardly based on science at all—went wrong. I feel this general-wisdom outcome, if I may use such a phrase, most strongly in Tax's action anthropology. Holmberg's purposes are certainly directed toward greater precision, and in Spillius's account one sees the study of static social structures changing in a way that might build that kind of theoretical social anthropology into a new dimension. Consider what he has to say about the fono or council: through what happened in the crisis he learned that the fono was not so much an important institution in normal times as an institution potentially able to function in crises. He was, in short, forced to conceive of a social system in longer duration and in wider scope of possible circumstance; the fono is what it is in not one kind of situation but in two or more kinds of situations (an idea similar to Gearing's view of Cherokee institutions). One might begin to see the study of social structures moving into conceptions taking account of crises and social change. So it is not safe for me to say that interventionist anthropology will not develop theoretical anthropology. Similar observations could probably be made about the work of Holmberg and of Tax.

The other question I raise is double: What are the values that guide the anthropologist, as intervener, to act on way rather than another? And, does he derive these values in part from his particular circumstances of scientific work?

I accept Lisa Peattie's assertion (in the first sentence of her fourth section) that anthropologists do in fact draw value deductions from their science—even when they claim the impossibility of doing so on a logical basis. Several of these papers confirm this impression. Formerly, when the anthropologist was developing objectivity toward values, and when the community he studied kept to the same values while he studied it, cultural relativism, with its injunction, necessary to science, to be detached, and its moral injunction to respect all cultures, followed naturally. But now that anthropologists study rapidly changing communities of natives who are worried about quite new kinds of choices they have to make, and now that certain anthropologists take part in what goes on in such communities, values come to prominence appropriate to the new situation. If anthropolo-
gist and native are in this thing together, then, to act well together, they need to have some values in common. So integration, or equilibrium, concepts mixed of description and evaluation, give way to values attachable to individuale and communities who are going place, changing their lives, moving toward something else now thought of as something better. It is better that the Fox Indians themselves determine what they want to do. It is better that the Indians of Vicos become a community of responsible men and women, peaceable and morally and intellectually progressive. It is better that the people of Tikopia understand what they are up against and act rationally to solve their problems of over-population and exposure to famine. All these are values that native and anthropologist and perhaps even Government may share in that situation in which more and more we are all caught up the world changed by technical and material progress.

Value-positions are necessary to take any action at all. Yet, if we think beyond the immediate time of science and action going on together, to the possibilities that the future holds, we know that the value-positions now taken will not last forever, nor will they answer every question. Each value may serve the present circumstance, but not all circumstances. Dr. Tax has today disarming told us that he turns his back on people self-determining themselves to be cannibals, and on peoples in Madagascar who are alleged to self-determine themselves into dependence. Yet I think we can properly push the questions that he choose to avoid because he need not face them in working with the Fox. The Fox are to have self-determination. Suppose the Fox Indians asked for political self-determination and admission to the United Nations? I suppose this will never happen in Iowa, and Tax is safe. Could something like it happen one day in Tikopia? Or suppose, following Spillius, the Tikopia make a rational choice that brings them into conflict and disaster. I do not know if the choice, on the part of at least some Tikopia, to kill the two thieves was or was not rational, but Spillius did in fact rage against the charismatic leader and stopped the execution of the two thieves tied to posts ready for death. There are limits to self-determination, or to the toleration of the ends to which rational choices is put. No value of the intervenor-anthropologist, however generally stated, can provide easy solutions for all the problems we have to face, as the future unrolls. When the anthropologist intervenes, he lives, and life is making difficult choices. And the two halves of the anthropologist-intervener are not equally served by Dr. Tax's "principle of parsimony" by which he favors no problem of value-choices that he need not now face with the Fox. It is a good, sound, working principle for a man of action. For a man of science it is not so appropriate, for is it not the nature of science to seek to define the possibilities and the limits of its discourses? To welcome the case that makes difficulties for his generalization? Dr. Tax finds in action anthropology a way of acting and a way of learning. As scientist, should he not strive to find the extensions and limitations of the way he has found? And this means, does it not, the making of comparisons with other situations and with rival principles, and the welcoming of even imaginary or speculative situations that may help to find these extensions and limitations of the method discovered?

As I conclude, I move aside from matters of science or of the principles to guide us in acting, however much or little, in the affairs of other peoples. I look at these new intervening anthropologists as fellow-men who have undertaken new difficulties and new responsibilities. So seeing them, I admire them. They have indeed shouldered a heavy double load. They have given up the privilege of uncommitment, the easier value of approving whatever another people does provided that other people has been doing it so for a long time. They have, in fact, joined themselves with native or exotic peoples on an assumed common basis of involvement in this
troubled world of bright and terrible progress. They have acted to do what they thought was right, although they know, beyond their declarations of supreme value, that they have helped to bring about or to affect a course of change the end of which they cannot see. What Spillius did on Tikopia was brave and good. But he cannot know to what it will all ultimately lead. Holmberg's accomplishment at Vicos (an account of which he modestly omitted from his paper) is extraordinary and admirable; but he knows, as we all do, that progress is a thorny and uncertain road. Some lines in The Republic come to me: about that good man (he might be a good pure scientist) who keeps quiet and minds his business like a man cut in a storm of dust and sleet sheltering himself under a way. "Yes," says Socrates' interlocutor of this man, "he will go away from achieving not the least of things." "But not the greatest," says Socrates, "for he has never found a state which was fit for him... in such a state he could be far bigger himself and could eave not only himself but the commonwealth."

Exhibit 96

MEMO TO: Sol Tax
FROM: Bob Rietz—re: Comments at the close of Tama field work

Now that the active field-work phase of the Tama Indian Project has come to a close, we can freely indulge our hind-sights about what would perhaps have made it a better operation. The whole experience of the program has been such a rewarding one to me, that the critical backward glance has still more of anticipation than regret, more of interesting hypothesis than of dissatisfaction.

For a next time, I believe that we could work out a better research design, for example, in setting up a staff organization for the project. I hold the opinion still, that it is possible to be both observer and participant; to do research and to take part in and investigate practical problems, but I believe this to be true mostly at the moment of action, or during the course of the field-work as it happens. What tends to eliterated is the systematic recording and re-evaluation of description and hypotheses; the more or less regular progression along some systematic general inquiry. A daily mechanical recording of experience, forwarded to University staff of the project for transcription, and a periodic review or seminar on the course of the project with field and "office" staff would add much to what gets saved from the whole experience. In the case of our Tama project, I expect that this would have been especially rewarding, because of the way in which Action Anthropology tends to get into considerations of rather basic and usually implicit assumptions as to the nature of human nature which underlie the various disciplines and approaches of social science generally. The periodic reviews could well have brought together workers from the variety of social science disciplines in discussion, to all our benefit. In our own situation, we might have maximized this benefit. We did get a great deal out of what we did do of this, and, of course, there are many Action situations where nothing like this would be possible.

A second dissatisfaction, closely related to the first, and one in which I believe that we have all shred, is that we did not develop further an on-going program of evaluation of the relative consequences of our activities in the field. I do not mean by this some means of quantitative measurement, although our discussions about this with NORC certainly led to some interesting insights. Rather would the evaluation have to do with the adequacy of description and theory, in the light of the course of events, as we have been doing this all along, to some extent. If this
periodic examination involving representatives from other disciplines could have been more systematically recorded and incorporated in the general research design we would have the bases for that much more of a comprehensive analysis.

In looking back, I feel that the most rewarding experiences which came about in our total research program were directly related to the nature of an Action program. The problem of interventionism with regard to Action has never been a very real one, for me. I believe that it would be extremely naive to expect to do field work without a group intervention such as the Fox, who are undergoing a process of differentiation in a minority group status and a cross cultural contact situation, and where the fact of field work itself is such obvious intervention. The real question was whether the nature of the field work intervention was to be ignored, or discounted, or taken into account as an integral aspect of the inquiry. We know that we are going to affect people and their situation under such conditions, and to be ourselves affected. If we choose to ignore this affect, we will know much less about the data of observation than we should know as good social scientists. If we choose to recognize this affect and include the observer as part of the data of observation, we will inevitably be facing choices between the alternative ways of being affective that are open to us during the course of the field work. In making such choices, we have the responsibility that goes with having a hand in what happens, in a simple limited causal sense as well as a moral one. Again, if we do not make the attempt to recognize the bases upon which we make the choices that we do, we will know much less about what is going on than we should. Inevitably, we are led to an almost constant concern as to the nature of the process of interaction, or transformation between human beings, at least to bringing out into the open our conceptions of what this process is like, or we will have too limited a recognition of what is taking place. And from this point there is no pause before the necessity arises to know our own presuppositions as to the nature of human nature, as we bring these to our inquiry. I like the Action approach for the questions that it does not beg. It is good to recognize the extent to which the research project is a creative rather than an investigative activity or a simple voyage of discovery.

Not too long ago, the kind of acculturation situation in which the Fox are found was felt to be an anthropological no man's land. When we first came to the Fox, it was hard to think of Fox culture or of Fox society in view of the bewildering individuality of the people within it, the wide range and variety of the people of which it was composed, and, I suppose, this is a first impression quite to be expected. At any rate, it was a little difficult to think of studying a culture in these circumstances, unless perhaps we could find some old-timers who could tell us about the real Fox culture. And so, at first, contemporary Fox behavior was of most interest to me to the extent to which I could find some explanation for it in terms of its relationship to an older Fox pattern.

Nevertheless, there was a Fox community, and people did conceive of themselves relative to one another with reference to it. They related to one another as antagonistic elements of one social group, out of a common tradition, as one community and one people. There were many different definitions of what this community was supposed to be, and of what it was like to be a Fox Indian, and the community owed part of its form to what whites thought about it and the ways in which they related with its membership. These major differences of opinion were very divisive, and the fact that the community was such a divided one was the great common distress. It was no longer possible for the Fox to enjoy an exclusive
common enterprise, as the more traditional Fox felt that they should, nor, apparently, to have just a common enterprise, as the more acculturated Fox imagined their role in the general American scheme. In this situation, the ways in which we related to Fox individuals had important implications for their relationships to one another. We were into the responsibility and facing the choices.

And so the general problem involved more than just trying to get along with different kinds of people. There had to be some method of systematic inquiry through which the situation as a whole could be to some degree analyzed and comprehended, and through which the practical action and the theoretical analyses would be aspects of a unified effort. It was more productive, for example, to think of culture as a way of life, or as a way of being, than to think of it in terms of ways of behaving or performing, or as a system of beliefs and practice can be better comprehended in the necessary dynamic sense when it is recognized within the definitions of an individual universe. A belief may be intimately related to some basic definitive principle of that universe, and we have some grasp of what must be involved in just expecting the individual to "change his mind" about this. Or, perhaps, the belief may be of relatively minor importance, not requiring much of redefinition of the self in the changing of it.

It was important to appreciate that, in the processes of acculturation and socialization, man learns what he is, experiences himself relative to all else. What he is, the terms of his being, and the nature of his universe are aspects of a relatively unified set of central conceptions, and the nature of each is implicit in the final definition of the other. We know, for example, that the phrase "I see a white cow" names an event of personal occurrence that is different for an American farmer than it is for a Hindu. In just this way, individual Fox were differing from one another, and any one event could have many different meanings, among them. It was necessary to know something of the relative importance of differences of opinion in terms of what people were, and not just in terms of what they did, or said, or believed.

To separate a believer from believing and belief may sometimes be an analytical and statistical necessity, but it is never an advantage for the understanding of persons, for the events of being do not happen in the triadic form, and their essential nature is lost in the division. I recall a personal incident during which I came to appreciate with a rather dramatic vividness the different terms upon which an event of behavior can be grasped, or evaluated.

It was during the course of a Clan ceremony to which I had been invited, a rather serious occasion, in many ways, including the gesture of inclusion for me which was implied. Since this opportunity was not likely to be repeated very often, I tried very hard to be aware and appreciative of all that was taking place. But in addition to noting the various functions, the roles and relationships of the participants, the long hours of the ceremony in the closed atmosphere of the summer-house was perhaps particularly conducive to reflection upon the nature of what was taking place in terms of what it meant to be a Fox Indian; not what it meant to do what Fox Indians do, but what it meant to be as Fox Indians be.

On the one hand, there were the details of a performance particularly Fox. There might be the opportunity of relating these details to the tradition of the Fox, to environments they had enjoyed, to similar ceremonies of adjacent territories and like peoples. There were other things to appreciate; the expression of solidarity involved in the group
performance, the expression of the continuity of a people, the reiteration of Fox identity in some of the important roles of an inclusive social system, all of which brought the Fox into being as a people in a very powerful and effective fashion.

A sacred event was taking place. I was reminded that people live in terms of events which are personal occurrences; personal occurrences of themselves as whole persons, and not only as actors performing actions like doing, or believing, or feeling, or seeing, or perceiving, to be related back to the doors only in terms of correlations of some kind. The sacred event in which I was taking some part had a characteristic form in which it took place, and, today, along with others, one of the Fox, John Pete, was an aspect of it. Above and beyond the individual elements of the ritual, John Pete, the various articles involved, their spatial and temporal disposition, their meaning in the total performance, and the relationships between them through which the performance could be structurally portrayed as we must do in understanding it, there was another reality to be grasped in the form of the events that were taking place. Such an event was this particular occurrence of John Pete, for example, and of the Fox, for one another.

As John Pete, lighting the pipe, John Pete performed a sacred action as part of the ceremony. In this form of appreciation, we already have three analytically separated elements—the actor, the fact of action, and the objects of the action. And now I have added another; the event. The event is "John-Pete-Lighting-the-pipe," and this is the more inclusive, more synthetic, reality. This event is not an aggregate of separate elements, but a whole, which is now a part of the constitution of John Pete, and, in another sense, of the Fox. Not something that John Pete did, but how he had been, how he had existed as John Pete at a moment of his time, the terms in which he had occurred at some moment of his life-process, the nature of his individual human nature at an arbitrarily punctuated point of his on-going existence as a person.

And so, at one point in its course, the ceremony took the form of John-Pete-lighting-the-pipe, and this was, to a degree, a sacred event. John-Pete-lighting-the-pipe was a sacred event, and John Pete occurred as a Fox and in a sacred way. For him, and for the other Fox, the event had much more to it than it was a sacred event. For them all, it was something distinctive and definitive for Fox. Distinctive because only Fox take place in this way, and definitive because this is a way that Fox people are, and these events are Fox events. The Fox knew, perhaps before we did, that if these events do not occur there are no Fox. Just as the system of Fox kinship represents a matter of almost inescapable individual definition for Fox, so do other relationships to people and to things, in a general system which we find so much more difficult to locate and define than the system of kinship.

Nevertheless, the Fox do change, too, and the Fox yesterday were not the same as the Fox today, or as the Fox tomorrow will be. The Fox do different things, and do things differently, over time, but this happens in a context that is conceivable and acceptable, where not too much violence is done to the nature of the Fox as they are and as they see themselves to be. The Fox change, but the Fox do not stop being Fox, in this process, and the matters of change are handled along the way. The Fox are what the Fox do, as they have always been.

But often, when the white man talks about change, and about the future of the Fox, he speaks of change in a different way. He talks about assimilation and integration, about backwardness and progress, and
he defines Fox-ness not distinctively but along these axes. He tends
to define the particulars of change that are urged upon the Fox in terms
of an end-state that is not Fox and where there are no Fox. In this way,
instead of increasing the range of conceivable alternatives for the Fox,
he stringently limited those that were possible and acceptable.

In this last, I am speaking, for the most part, about the more
traditional Fox. However, the same general principle holds true for even
the most acculturated of the Fox, when they are expected to accept what
is to them an untrue funfair definition of themselves as something from
which they must try to escape, to reach, if possible, the higher form that
is naively presumed for the white man.

We used this kind of appreciation of what it means to be a Fox
(or a human being, for that matter) in our analyses of the sources of
conflict between Fox and Fox and between the Fox and the white man, in
terms of conflicts of identity, and in terms of the threats to identity
and faulty communication inherent in the form and substance of many de-
mands upon the Fox by whites. We sought as well for a practical program,
or recommendation we could make, that would be conceivable and acceptable
for most of the Fox, even though it could not perhaps represent the exclu-
sive common enterprise desired by some. I believe that our analysis of
the "structural segregation" inherent in the present relationships of the
Fox to white society through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and of the mal-
functional intra-community relationships which are an inevitable concomi-
tant, will stand. As will Fred Gearing's contribution of the concept of
the "vicious circle" in Fox-white relations. I feel much dissatisfied
that we were not able to influence those in a position to correct this,
more than we have been able to do.

In thinking about change and development in terms of the addition
or incorporation of new dimensions of the self which are modifications
not incompatible with older or prior ones, we were able to work with the
Fox in terms of acceptable Fox futures, or futures of the Fox per se. The
immediate practical activities in which we took a cooperative part were
importantly based upon this general theoretical appreciation, and we are
able better to understand the current development of these activities be-
cause of and through it. Again, I wish it were possible to develop some-
thing similarly useful at a more general, or "macroscopic" level.

And now I find it much easier to choose another field of effort
than to quit the Fox, which is the more drastic intervention! I believe
that something of value has been established as a product of our researchers
there, and I do not believe that it will long continue unless we, or other
similarly interested and similarly knowledgeable non-Fox, are available
to them. In both the scholarship program and in the crafts enterprise, the
Fox have found new and effective ways of relating satisfyingly and produc-
tively to important realities of their present environment. As first
pointed out by Walt Miller, and later brought out in my own work at Fort
Berthold and with the Fox, this was accomplished because we were able to
serve as advisor-catalysts, as reference points through which the Indians
could relate more effectively and more rewardingly with one another and
with non-Indians, with reference to the activities in which we took part.
Apart from any question of moral responsibility, which I would not wish
to minimize, I would much prefer to see this accomplishment continue for
the Fox than to see it halted or considerably delayed. At any rate, I
will be much better satisfied when I am able to get us replaced by local
non-Fox to the end that what has been established will endure.