

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

FIELD SERVICE
Kiowa Indian Agency,
Anadarko, Oklahoma,
Oct. 29, 1934.

*Oct 23, 1934
Meeting*

Hon. Elmer Thomas,
721 West 29th St.,
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Dear Senator Thomas:

I am inclosing, herewith, original copy of the proceedings
of the meeting held by you with the Indians of this jurisdiction on Octo-
ber 23, 1934.

Respectfully,

W. M. Egan

Superintendent.

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Incls.

Proceedings of meeting held by Senator Elmer Thomas and Mr. A.C. Monohan, Assistant to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation, relative to the Wheeler-Howard law, at Anadarko, Oklahoma on October 23, 1934.

The meeting was started promptly at 10:30 by Senator Thomas who first made inquiry as to the wishes of the tribes concerning interpreters, stating that much time would be lost if interpreters were necessary but that he would be glad to accommodate them if they thought they needed interpreters. It was decided that it would be more satisfactory to have interpreters and the two following men were chosen: John Wimmerahy to speak for the Comanches and George Hunt for the Kiowas, no interpreter being chosen for the Apaches.

Senator Thomas: Ladies and gentlemen of the several tribes of Indians supervised by the Anadarko Agency we are glad to be here today to have a conference--a sort of pow-wow--of matters in which we are all interested. I am very glad myself to have this privilege of being with the representatives of all the several tribes residing in Southwest Oklahoma. In company with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. John Collier, and his Acting Commissioner, Mr. Monohan, I have now spent more than one week traveling over the State, having visited each agency and having seen many thousands of our Indian citizens residing in Oklahoma. The Commissioner, Mr. Collier, is a very busy man as he has charge of all the Indians of the United States and these Indian citizens when added together make more than 300,000. These 300,000 Indians reside in just a few states--I think fifteen or twenty--and of all the states having Indian populations, Oklahoma, our State, has by far the largest number. Almost one-half of the entire Indian population of the country resides in the State of Oklahoma. Because we have so many Indian citizens and because we have so much Indian land, so many Indian schools, so many agencies and so many hospitals, it is very important that the Office in Washington know exactly what we have here, and it is because of the importance of our having knowledge of your conditions that I asked Mr. Collier and his assistant to come with me and go through the state meeting our Indians face to face in the several parts of the state in which they reside. Every possible problem that confronts the administration of Indian Affairs can be found here in Oklahoma and because of that fact I was glad to have Mr. Collier with me last week. Mr. Collier wanted to keep on with us and visit the Comanche Agency and also your agency here but he was forced to return to Washington, flying back by plane in order to be there for an important conference yesterday. Mr. Monohan from the Washington Office, the good looking gentleman here on the stage, was with us last week and when Mr. Collier left he detailed Mr. Monohan to act in his place. So today we have with us not Mr. Collier, but a much better looking man who will act for Mr. Collier.

To my certain knowledge your Commissioner, Mr. Collier, has been interested in the Indian problem for twelve years because I have been in Congress twelve years. Mr. Monohan is in the Indian Service and he likewise is interested in the Indian problem. So we have with us representatives of the Indian Office who are the friends of the Indians and who want to learn of the Indian problems and then help solve these problems. As Indian citizens and as wards of the

Government you have already discovered that the Commissioner has great power. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is the last word in the power of the Government over the Indians. He might be called the Governor of the Indian population of America. So it is important that we have this great power here. By the votes of the Indians of Oklahoma, supplemented by some other votes, I happen today to be one of your two United States Senators. In the Senate I am the Oklahoma member of the Indian Affairs Committee as Senator Gore has membership on other committees so I speak officially for the Indian population on the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. When the next Congress convenes in January I will probably be the Chairman of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee. All bills and all legislation affecting the Indians here, affecting the Indians throughout our State, and affecting the Indians throughout the United States will come before my committee. If things turn out as they probably will, I will have a lot to do with the laws that are passed which are policies. Then when the laws are passed they are enforced by the Commissioner so it is very important for Oklahoma Indians that they have had this past week, and today, what might be determined in all fairness, the policy-making power of the Congress plus the administrative power of the Government. In order to have good policies and good laws of the kind that you want, it is necessary for you to advise the Congress and members of Congress your wishes. Then it is necessary for the Congressmen and Senators to become acquainted with you and understand your wishes. In order for the administrative branch, the Commissioner's Office, to give good rules and regulations, it is necessary that that branch also understand your problems so they can make these rules and regulations not only as you want them but to serve you in making progress for the citizens of our great State and country. So we are here today to learn of the problems confronting the several tribes under the Anadarko Agency.

I hope that every Indian present will get the impression that the representative of the Indian Office and I come here because we are friends of the Indian citizens, not only of this section, but of the entire State and entire country. I hope that the Indians of this section of the State have learned the lesson that other Indians elsewhere have learned--that is that you cannot make any progress spending your energy and time fighting among yourselves. The Indian tribes throughout the United States who are making the best progress are those tribes who spend their time and energy in studying their problems and fighting for the best interest and general welfare of the entire tribe. Of course, I do not want you to understand that it is not sometimes necessary to put on a fight. The white people fight sometimes so we cannot blame the Indians for having a little scrap occasionally. But I am sure that as intelligent people as Indians are, you have discovered that many of your contests and fights will disappear after you understand all about what you were fighting over.

This particular conference was called by your Superintendent, Mr. McCown because of a telegram I sent him. I wired Mr. McCown, together with all the other agents, suggesting the day I would like to confer with the Tribal and Business Committees of each of the tribes under the Anadarko jurisdiction. I asked the Superintendent to invite all the members of the Tribal Committees to come and confer with me and also to send out a general notice that any and all Indians residing here or elsewhere would be welcome. Our conferences have been liberally attended by the Indians and in many places we have had great numbers of white people present also.

The Indian citizens residing in this part of the State have been here a long time and I hope you will all be here a long time in the future. To the extent that the Indian citizens make progress, make money and make advancement, to that same extent the white people will make progress and advancement. It is very important to Anadarko and the smaller towns of the Indian country that the Indians become prosperous, make money, have money and be able to buy what they want. It makes business for the white people. It is likewise very important to the Indians that the white people make money, otherwise some of these days the Indians will have to support this growing white population we have around us. So as a conclusion I will simply say that we must all grow up together, all make money together, all make progress together and advance together, or, all go down together. Now I am going to get down and tell why this meeting was called.

Last winter when the new administration came into power and Mr. Collier became Commissioner of Indian Affairs it was decided to try and do something to help the Indians more in the future than had been done in the past. For a long time the Indian race has almost been a forgotten people. Of course, you know that as long as you have a lot of land and money you are very popular but as soon as you lose your land and money it seems everybody forgets you. Some of our past administrations have seen fit to spend a lot of time and effort in taking care of the rich Indians and while they were taking care of the rich Indians it seemed they did not have any time to spend with the poor Indians. During the past administration some of them at least--the Indian Office and its agents work under instructions--were practically forced to give all their time to these Indians who have mills and other property, rich oil and gas Indians and others possessing vast wealth. Under this administration and under Mr. Collier's policy we are still looking after the rich Indians but we will not give them all of our time. We will take a little more time and as much time as necessary to look after the poor Indians that heretofore have almost been forgotten. This administration believes, and is acting upon the policy that the Government owes more to the poor Indian than it does to the rich Indian. This policy is based upon the fact that the poor Indian needs help and assistance far more than does the rich Indian. Therefore, in an effort to help all Indians, and especially the poor Indian, the Indian Office had prepared a bill and this bill was known as the Wheeler-Howard Bill. This bill secured its name from the fact that Congressman Howard of Nebraska is Chairman of the House Committee and Senator Wheeler of Montana is at this time Chairman of the Senate Committee, so the bill took the name of the two Chairmen, Wheeler and Howard. A great amount of time and effort was devoted to the preparation of this bill. The bill was intended to help every tribe and every Indian in the entire United States. The bill was intended to help more than 300,000 Indians located in some twenty states, making up more than 200 tribes, and under dozens and dozens of agencies. To make a success of drawing a bill or law that would help all Indians in all these states, among all these tribes and under different conditions, was certainly a gigantic task. The Indians of various states have different problems and the Indians of different tribes have different problems. Also different Indians in the same tribe have different problems so this bill, although seeking to help every one, perhaps failed in some particulars. Many Indians, like those in Oklahoma who have been allotted, and that embraces all of Oklahoma's Indians, those in the Dakotas and Montana and some in the central states, have similar

problems, but in the far Southwest with the Pueblos and Apaches, and in Arizona with the Zunis and Navajos, and with those living farther West, the problems are different. Knowing as I do the personnel of the Indian Office, and knowing as I do the members of the House and Senate Committees on Indian Affairs, I am glad to come to my home Indians, among whom I have lived 35 years, and tell you that every one in the Indian Office and on these committees want to do something to help all the Indians of the country. Formerly each of the Indian tribes in Oklahoma resided upon a reservation. At this time many of the tribes in the Western states still reside upon reservations. So you can easily see that a law that is made to benefit Indians residing on a vast reservation might not be the kind of a law that would help Indians living on allotments as you do here in Oklahoma. This was the last great Oklahoma reservation that was broken up and the land sold to the white people. That has been almost 35 years ago. Yesterday we met with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians. Their reservation was destroyed in 1891, or 43 years ago. Tribes like the Pawnee, Shawnee and Pottawatomie, likewise had their reservations broken up into allotments and the surplus land sold 40 to 50 years ago. So, the fifty tribes of Indians in our State resided upon reservations from 25 to 40 years ago. In many ways these far Southwestern Indians, such as I mentioned above, are now exactly where the Oklahoma Indians were 25 to 40 years ago. I am trying to point out rather briefly the difference between the problems of the Oklahoma Indians and those of the Indians in the far Southwest and West. Those Indians, in the main, have vast tracts of land called reservations, all in one block, and on this land the tribes live as you lived here 25 to 40 years ago. You Indians of Oklahoma have your own lands, in the main. You have your own homes and you have good land while the Indians of the far Southwest and West have lands in common and the poorest land you can find anywhere in the United States. Many of you have seen these reservations and if you have not seen them I can describe them briefly. They are vast tracts of ground, in most places resembling deserts and are composed of sand and alkali. A few scrubby trees are found here and there, some cactus and sometimes a patch of grass is found but the land is very poor. Not all of the reservations are made up of that poor land for there is some good land out West. For example, the Mescalero reservation has timber and grass land. The Menominees in Wisconsin and the Klamath in Washington have vast growths of timber on their land. They make money by selling timber.

The Wheeler-Howard bill, when first prepared, contained 48 pages and made a great many changes or suggested changes in the mode of living, land titles and other matters pertaining to the Indian citizens. Inasmuch as the Indians in the West live on reservations still and inasmuch as most of the members of the Senate Committee came from those Western states, this bill was so shaped and so drawn as to fit the reservation Indians more than the Indians we have in Oklahoma. Those of you who read the first copies or first draft of this bill, discovered that the word "reservation" appeared many times all through the text of the Act. The first bill undertook to define a reservation. Under the definition, an Indian reservation would be a body of land, solid, owned by either the tribes or the Government, on which Indians resided. These Western Indians I have mentioned have reservations and are living on those reservations in common just like you lived from 25 to 40 years ago and their reservations, so far as boundaries and solid blocks of land are concerned, are just like you had here a long time ago.

Because this bill, as I interpreted it, had in mind the reservations and the reservation Indians--I had no objection, of course, to permitting the Western Senators to draft a bill to help their Indians--I knew that a bill to help the reservation Indians like the ones I have mentioned, would not be of any benefit to you in Oklahoma unless you wanted to go back to the reservation. Today's meeting is the last we have called because this is the last agency in the state. We have been to all the other agencies so today when this meeting is concluded Mr. Monahan, Mr. Collier and I will have visited the entire Indian population of the State through their representatives. Of all the hundreds of Indians who have talked to me during the past ten days there have been but two who told me they wanted to give up their allotments, leave their homes and go back on a reservation. Now I am not saying there are not more than two Indians in this State who want to go back on a reservation. I simply stated that of all those who talked to me only two, and those were Seminoles, came to me and said they wanted to go back to a reservation. They were real old Indians.

This bill speaks all the way through about reservations and in order to get the benefits under the bill Indians must be on reservations and because I did not think the Indians of this State wanted to go back to the reservations I could not support the bill in those particular features. The Senate Committee being unable to agree in a short time on a long bill of 48 pages, cut the bill down to a very small act containing but 5 pages. This bill as reported and passed is not properly called the Wheeler-Howard Bill. It is the Wheeler-Howard law because the bill, as amended, was passed by Congress and signed by the President so today it is known as the Wheeler-Howard law. This law contains 19 sections, a section being a proposition or provision and 19 separate sections, provisions or policies are set out in the Wheeler-Howard law. Each of the 19 sections making up the entire Wheeler-Howard law is of benefit to all the reservation Indians and if all our tribes in Oklahoma desire to go back on reservations and become reservation Indians then this entire law containing these 19 sections will help you after you get back on the reservation. I want to make that plain. This entire bill or law is of benefit to the Indians residing on reservations but I was not sure the entire bill would be of benefit to the Indians living on allotments and for that reason I exempted six sections from being made applicable to Oklahoma Indians.

During the closing days of Congress the Wheeler-Howard bill came before us for final action. I had no chance to come back to the State and explain the bill. I had to act and not knowing what you thought I had to use my own judgment. I did not desire to take a chance so did not allow six sections to affect you until I could come down here and get your opinion of the bill. As your hired man--because that is what a Congressman and Senator is. I am working for the State and the Indian and white citizens are my boss--I did not dare to act to affect you until you knew what the affect might be. Now no doubt these Indians of Oklahoma and Indians of other sections, have heard that I am fighting the Wheeler-Howard law and that I am fighting Mr. Collier and the Indian Office. That is not true and I want you to understand thoroughly my position. As a member of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs I helped prepare this bill.

I approved of this bill for all the reservation Indians and should any tribe of Indians in this State, or group of Indians in this State, desire to go back to the reservation, I have no objection and would favor making this bill applicable to Indians wanting to go back to the reservations.

Of these 19 sections there are 13 which, in my opinion, are of advantage to the Indians of Oklahoma and to the Indians under the Anadarko Agency. These 13 sections have vast benefits and have vast possibilities for aiding and helping the Indians of Oklahoma. But, the bill contains 6 sections applicable to reservation Indians and I was not sure you wanted to go back on reservations to get the full benefit of those 6 sections and for that reason I exempted you from the provisions of those sections, which will be explained here today. So this bill carries all of the good and all of the benefits of the 13 sections to all the Indians of Oklahoma. So before the bill was passed I had it amended so the 6 sections would not apply to you until I could come to the State, call you in conference like I have done the past ten days and like I have done today, and stand before you in open meeting, explain the bill, tell you why I did what I did, permit you to ask questions, and then if you want these 6 sections to apply, tell me, and when Congress meets we could amend the bill and all sections could apply to you if you wish. I have never thought it good policy to pass a law covering the white people until the white people first understood what the law meant. As your representative and as your hired man, I do not think it good policy to pass a law which will affect the Indians without first coming to the State and explaining the law. So, when you understand the law you can tell me what you want to do about it. Many of you Indians have had a chance to read this law. If you read it you may have gotten some idea of what it means. If you understand this law now you are the only Indians, I will say people, in the whole United States who do understand what the law means.

Now I will give you one or two illustrations to show what I mean. This talk about an Indian reservation--who here can describe an Indian reservation? Before this entire country here was allotted--when it was all in one solid block, no land sold to the white people, when you owned it--that, you would say, was an Indian reservation. We would all agree on that. But since the lands have been surveyed and certain lands allotted to Indians and other lands sold to the white people, and we have roads, railroads and cities, would you still say today that this country is the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache reservation? According to my understanding this country down here is still the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache country but the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache reservation was destroyed when you took your allotments and the other land given to the white people. Now unless you Indians over to the North--the Wichitas, Caddos and Delawares--unless you have a reservation left and unless the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches to the South have a reservation left, section 16 could not possibly apply to you for it says any Indian tribe or tribes residing on the same reservation shall have the same rights. Unless you have a reservation you could not come under section 16. Until the word "reservation" could be defined I would not allow this section to apply to you. It would only cause trouble.

Now I am going to give you an easier question. The last section defines an Indian. I would like to have some one here rise and give me the definition of an Indian. Now this bill did the very best it could to define an Indian. I am going to read the definition and when I read it some of you Indians here are going to learn you are no longer Indians. Of course, we are all agreed that Indians of whatever tribe who are full bloods and who reside on a reservation-- we are all agreed that they are Indians, but many of our Indians are not full bloods, not even half bloods, quarter, eighth, sixteenth or thirty-second. Where does the dividing line come? Now this section contains the best definition the Indian Office and Congress could provide and I think in the main it is a very good definition but still Mr. Collier and I are agreed that when Congress convenes we are going to amend the definition. Here is the definition. But before reading this definition let me say that through Mr. Collier visiting you in Oklahoma and Mr. Monahan visiting here and through both the Office and myself learning more about the Indians than we knew we have agreed, as far as we can agree, upon certain amendments of this bill and with those amendments in the bill there now appears to be no differences between me and the Indian Office and when Congress convenes we will propose amendments that will not hurt you and which will be in agreement with every one, I hope. I will now read from section 19 the definition of an Indian: "The term Indian as used in this act shall include all persons of Indian descent who are members of any recognized Indian tribe now under Federal jurisdiction." The lines just read, as I understand them, mean that any person, man or woman, who has any Indian blood at all in him, descending from an Indian tribe now recognized by the Federal Government--that person is an Indian even though the amount of blood might be one-sixteenth, one-thirty-second, one-sixty-fourth, or less. In other words, any person having any Indian blood and descending from a tribe recognized by the Government is an Indian under the terms of this bill. But you see that definition does not take in all our Indian citizens. Here is the next definition of an Indian: "and all persons who are descendants of such members who were, on June 1, 1934, residing within the present boundaries of any Indian reservation." I want to make this definition clear. Here we have the Wichita, Caddo and Affiliated Bands, which take in the Keechi, Tawakonie, and other tribes, but those tribes are recognized by the Government. The Kiowa, Comanche and Apache tribes are recognized by the Government so any person having any blood they can trace to either of these tribes are considered Indians. The second part means that if an Indian belongs to a tribe not recognized by the Government, and such Indian was residing on a reservation on June 1, 1934, the fact he has Indian blood and the fact he was residing on a reservation makes that person an Indian under the definition given here. The first part of this definition makes all Indian citizens in this section legal Indians under the definition here given.

Now, we have some Indians in Oklahoma that are not recognized as tribes. For example, at Miami we found the remnants of the Miami tribe which tribe is not recognized by the Government. We found several hundred Indian members of this tribe and these Indians do not reside on a reservation. So, under this definition the members of the Miami and Peori tribes in northern Oklahoma, are

not defined in such a way as to come under the provisions of this bill. In an effort to include Indians, many of them full bloods but who are not recognized by the Government, we placed in this section these words: "and shall further include all other persons of one-half or more Indian blood." So in order that the Indians belonging to the Miami tribe, those belonging to the Peori tribe and those belonging to the Katawba tribe in South Carolina, who are not recognized by the Government and who do not reside upon a reservation--in order for them to come under the terms of this definition they must have at least one-half Indian blood. While this does not affect any of you unless you belong to a forgotten tribe, Mr. Collier and I have agreed, as far as we can agree, that this section should be amended to make it more liberal so that Indians belonging to these lost tribes, who are not recognized by the Government and who do not reside upon a reservation, may be considered Indians. To that end we have agreed that it should be changed from one-half to one-fourth blood.

Now this bill acquaints you with the fact that you have some new relatives. It provides that the Eskimos of Alaska are now your relatives because under the terms of this bill they are Indians. So now when you want to go and see your new relatives you can go to Alaska for some fun on the ice, chasing polar bears and getting a lot of walrus meat. I helped draw this section and I approve of that definition--not that we will make these Eskimos Indians but for the purpose of this act we are going to treat those people in the same helpful way that we are proposing to treat our own citizens here at home who first lived in this country.

I said a short time ago that this bill referred all the way through to reservations. In the definition of an Indian I want to read the following: "The term 'tribe' wherever used in this act shall be construed to refer to any Indian tribe, organized band, pueblo, or the Indians residing on one reservation." It is possible for this section to be construed to mean that when you Indians down here surrendered your reservations and went upon allotments, you no longer were to be considered as tribes of Indians. If that interpretation should be given, in order for you Indians to regain your tribal status you must surrender your lands and move back some place to a reservation. It was because of these hazy, non-clear definitions, and because I was not sure what you wanted to have done that I exempted certain provisions of this act from applying to you until I could come down, explain them to you, and have you tell me what you wanted me to do.

(Senator Thomas made brief comment as to the program for the afternoon, stating that he would continue his talk after the lunch hour, after which Mr. Monohan of the Indian Office would address the audience. After Mr. Monohan's talk the representatives of the various tribes would be called on to present their views on the law in question.)

The meeting was adjourned at 12:45 for lunch, to be resumed at 1:45 for further discussion.

1:45 White Parker selected to interpret for the Comanches in place of John Wimmersky.

Senator Thomas: I will resume my explanation of this bill where I left off just before the lunch hour. I will take just a few moments to point out some of the good things in this bill that now apply to Oklahoma Indians. The first thing is to be found in section 5 where the Government proposes to appropriate \$2,000,000 each year for the purpose of buying land for landless Indians. That means that every year the sum of \$2,000,000 will be appropriated, which means that in five years the sum of \$10,000,000 will have been appropriated. This money is to be used in buying lands for Indians who have no lands. This policy applies to our Oklahoma Indians the same as it applies to other Indians and of course I strongly approve of the policy of appropriating money to buy land for Indians who have no land.

Section 11 provides for an appropriation of \$250,000 each year which is to be used in making loans to boys and girls who want to go to higher schools of education. The section I just referred to, relative to providing money to be used in buying land for landless Indians--that is not a loan. The Government will buy the land and then permit Indian families to go on the land and live on it but the Indian families would have no title to the land. They would have the use of same during their lifetime the same as if they owned it. In other words, it is land to be held in trust for Indians and all the time Indians will be living on it trying to make a living. Indian families who have no land would thus be afforded a chance to get a piece of land on which they might live, pay no taxes, pay no rent and not have to pay anything back to the Government. It is land that will be held by the Government for the benefit of Indian families--to afford them a home and a means of making a living.

In the use of this money there are two possible policies--one policy is to buy a large tract, all together, and then move several families on this tract where they can live on a sort of reservation like you used to live. Another policy is to use the money in buying individual tracts containing 40, 80, or 160 acres, and placing a family on each individual tract--the one, a sort of allotment for the Indians and the other a sort of reservation for the Indians. Personally I would favor using this money in buying good lands--lands upon which a white man could make a living, and if lands are secured which a white man cannot live upon it would be hard for an Indian to live on it. I would favor buying individual tracts of land containing 40, 80 or 160 acres, and assigning an Indian family, not having land, to such individual tracts. Then help them build a house and other improvements, and secure live stock such as horses, cows, pigs and chickens, in order that they might make a living.

This bill provides in another section that Indian boys and girls shall have a preference right to positions in the Indian Service, provided, of course, that they prepare and qualify themselves to render good service so that in the future the Indian boys and girls who want a job and who will prepare and equip themselves to render good service, will have a preference right to get any position in the Service, including those of superintendent, stenographer, clerk, bookkeeper, teachers in the schools and positions in the hospitals. In other words, each position in the Indian Service will be open to the Indian population, provided,

of course, that they have the qualifications necessary to render efficient and satisfactory service. I have approved of this provision. I am sure that these three things I have just been talking about will be approved by each Indian. I will briefly go over them again. (1) Provide money to buy lands for the landless Indians. (2) Provide money to be loaned to boys and girls completing high school and Indian school, to enable them to attend higher schools of education. (3) Give the Indians preference right to positions in the Indian Service, provided they are qualified to fill same. I stand for all three of those provisions and I am sure you stand for all three of them.

I see in the rear of the auditorium some students from the Riverside School. I am advised that the boys in this school have organized a football team and that this team has become so expert, proficient and scientific that it is able to meet any team in its class--that means of a school comparable to its school. Not only are they able to meet and render a good account of themselves, they very often win the decisions. We are all proud of this team's record. While football is a fine thing for youngsters to indulge in, schools are not maintained just to produce football teams but the schools are intended to help the boys and girls better prepare themselves for meeting the battles of life that are sure to come. I am glad to have these boys and girls here so they may get an idea of the new policies to be applied to the Indian population of the country.

This law provides other good features and other benefits for the Indians. I will not take the time to go into detail but from now on I will devote my time to the particular sections that do not apply to you but do apply to the other Indians of the country.

Section 2 of this bill does not apply to any Indians in Oklahoma. This section reads as follows; "The existing periods of trust placed upon any Indian lands and any restriction on alienation thereof are hereby extended and continued until otherwise directed by Congress." That section means, from my viewpoint, that all of the restrictions of whatever kind and character now on your lands will be continued forever. Of course, this section says until Congress otherwise provides or directs. That means until Congress either amends or repeals this section but when the Indian Office gets these lands in its possession it will be an extremely difficult thing to get the restrictions removed, in my opinion.

Section 2 must be construed and understood along with section 4. I quote the following from section 4: "Except as herein provided, no sale, devise, gift, exchange or other transfer of restricted Indian lands or of shares in the assets of any Indian tribe or corporation organized hereunder, shall be made or approved."

As I understand these two sections, they mean that no Indian now having land can ever sell it or can ever will it. It means that you can never give it away. In other words, you can live on this land during your entire life time but when you die it goes to your children and they will get a certificate that they have an interest in it. They cannot partition it nor can they sell it but they can live on it during their life time. The same would apply to their children. In 50 or 75 years there will be from 200 to 500 Indians owning each farm on this reserva-

tion. As I understand these two sections, and as I interpret them, whatever title you now have to your land--if it is restricted, which means an allotment title--these two sections would include the benefit of that title. You still have the right to live on the land but you cannot convey it when you die. It still remains under the jurisdiction and care of the Government. Your children and their children can live on it but no one in the future can get any benefit from the land except by living on it. It cannot be sold. As a matter of general policy I have no complaint against that section but there are exceptions that should be recognized. For example, Senator Curtis, former Vice President of the United States, is a Kaw Indian and has 400 acres of good land near Pawnee, Oklahoma. Mr. Curtis has never lived on that land but he owns it. He has an allotment title. He does not pay taxes. He has two children, one a promising attorney in Chicago, the other, a daughter, is the wife of Col. George. They do not want to live on this land. When Mr. Curtis dies his children cannot get this land unless they live on it. I think that in a case such as Mr. Curtis' the land could be sold but if this law had passed as drawn the heirs of Mr. Curtis could not have received any benefit from his land unless they came back to Oklahoma and started farming it. If these two sections had been permitted to be applied to you Indians of Oklahoma then the children of former Vice President Curtis could not have received any benefits from his land unless they came and lived on it, or, unless the Indian Office rented it and paid them the proceeds which, of course, is not the thing we are trying to do in this bill. These two sections propose to extend all restrictions on all Indian lands forever.

Now as a general policy I have no objection to the restrictions being extended but there are exceptions and the bill makes no exceptions and because it makes no exceptions I took the Oklahoma Indians out of the bill until such time as we could have the exceptions written into the law. Since Mr. Collier has come to the state and seen our Indian problem he now agrees that these sections should be amended to take care of those cases where restrictions should be removed and the land sold in order to take care of the heirs. We both agree that this section should be amended and we will try and amend it to take care of these sections as they arise. So far as I know, there is no one anywhere who is insisting that a single acre of restricted Indian land be removed from restriction so your land can be placed on the tax rolls. Of course, it is desirable from a public policy standpoint to have these lands taxed but when the restrictions are removed, the records show that the Indians soon lose their land. Therefore, the Indian becomes a charge upon his friends, his family or the Government. So it appears to be for the best interest of all that the lands of the elderly Indians and the very aged Indians, be kept under trust indefinitely. Then when the elderly Indians pass on, if their children want to keep the land restricted, partitioned among themselves, or live on this land in common, it will be the policy of the Department to keep the land restricted to accommodate the children of the Indians now living. If the children of Indians now living do not desire to go back to the land and farm it--if they are interested in some kind of business, such as teaching, office work, etc., and want their money from this land to be used in their business--it occurs to me it would be good business to permit the restrictions in certain cases to be removed in order that the Indians who do not want the land might sell it to some one wanting it and use the proceeds in their business.

I know that the great majority, practically all of the Indians in this section of the State, want the restrictions on their land extended. I know that, but in some cases there might be exceptions where the children of the aged Indians might want the restrictions removed in order that they might sell the land, and that embraces the exception to this rule. I know from personal contact that the Indian Office wants all existing restrictions extended save in some exceptional cases. The restrictions now upon the lands in this section--that is, the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Wichita and Caddo lands--those restrictions are placed there now by an order of the President. For a long time restrictions were on the land by virtue of law, and the President, under the law, has power to extend them and now the restrictions are on your land by virtue of the President having extended these restrictions. Under the law the President has further power to extend your restrictions for another period and then another period and as long as the Indian Office wants the restrictions extended and as long as the Indians want the restrictions extended.

The present policy is to keep all Indian land now under restriction--keep such restrictions on indefinitely. So as matters now stand no Indian should have the least bit of fear that the restrictions on his or her land are going to be removed. Until this policy is changed there is no chance of any Indian who wants his restrictions removed, getting same removed unless it is a very strong case where he should have them removed and asks for them to be removed. I hope that makes this restriction matter plain. Not only will you not have your restrictions removed but if you wanted them removed you could not get them removed. That should settle that matter.

Now I will pass from that provision to just one other. This bill proposes to appropriate the sum of \$10,000,000 to be placed in a fund to be loaned to Indian tribes that live on reservations. This provision is under section 16. I will read the first few lines of this section: "Any Indian tribe, or tribes, residing on the same reservation, shall have the right to organize for its common welfare, and may adopt an appropriate constitution and bylaws," So as I understand this section, Indians who do not reside on a reservation cannot form a constitution and bylaws and if they desire to form a constitution and bylaws they must move on a reservation.

Section 10 provides for the appropriation of \$10,000,000 but section 10 provides that loans from this fund can only be made to chartered Indian corporations. So, connecting that with Section 16, before you can have a chartered corporation you must live on a reservation. Under the terms of this bill none of this \$10,000,000 fund could be loaned to an individual Indian. It could only be loaned to chartered tribe of Indians. Because our Indians do not live on reservations, as I understand reservations, they could not form these corporations and because they could not form these corporations they could not get any of this money. I want our share of that \$10,000,000 made available to the Indians of Oklahoma without having to form any kind of corporation to get it. Mr. Collier has made the statement to some of our audience that this money would be loaned to a corporation and the corporation in turn would loan the money to individual Indians. In this State, having no reservations, we could not have corporations but I contend we can amend this bill so our Indians here can get some of this

money. When this bill was drawn the Senate Committee had the reservation Indians in mind. For example, the Menominee Indians in Wisconsin have a large tract of land covered with a heavy growth of timber. These Indians want the right to organize themselves into a chartered corporation in order that they may borrow money, erect saw mills, cut and sell their timber, giving labor to the Indians, and I approve the policy for that tribe of Indians, handled that way. Many tribes have tribal property that they want to manage. So this section applies to them in a good way but our Indians have no tribal property to speak of, so, not having much tribal property there is no occasion for a corporation to handle the tribal property. Having no tribal property and not desiring to engage in a business in which the whole tribe is interested, I do not see any benefit in making an effort to organize a chartered corporation in order to get this money. We must get this money to use for our own particular business in improving our farms, buying farm machinery, buying horses, cattle and other live stock. As I see it, the only chance we have of getting this money is to get it individually and not as a tribe, to help us to better and easier make a living.

I have used a lot of time and have tried to explain in a sort of brief way, or rather give a birdseye picture of this bill. I have not gone into all the bill but I think I have given enough information for you to see that this bill has a great influence over the Indians of the country. Therefore, it is most important for you to understand it before you decide to come under its provisions.

I am now going to introduce the representative of Mr. Collier, or the Acting Commissioner, but before I do that I will make one further statement. When this meeting is over and when the Business Committees have had a chance to think over what has been said and form their opinions of this law, I am going to ask them to meet and pass resolutions setting forth exactly what they think of this bill, whether or not they wish to come under the provisions they are now exempt from, and stating whatever they want to state relative to this bill. When they pass these resolutions I want one copy sent to me and one copy to Mr. Collier, and I hereby extend an invitation to every Indian of this jurisdiction to write me a letter. Take any kind of paper you have and pencil, if you have nothing else, and write me a letter telling me what you think of this bill, the same as I have asked the Business Committees to do. I have asked every Business Committee of every tribe in the State to make such resolutions and send us copies. I have asked every Indian in the State to write me what he or she thinks about this bill. When we get all these resolutions and letters we will have a good idea of what the Indians of Oklahoma want, not only in respect to this bill but the amendments to the bill.

Now after Mr. Monohan has made his statement I want you to remember that we will have statements from Indians representing Tribal Councils, Business Committees, and then the meeting will be open to any other Indian wanting to make a statement or ask a question. Now I am glad again, as I have been during the past ten days, that we have had a representative of the Indian Office with us-- Mr. Collier for the first five meetings, Mr. Monohan during those meetings, and today. Mr. Monohan knows the Indian problem from long years of experience and I take great pleasure in presenting to you the Acting Commissioner, Mr. Monohan from the Washington Office.

Mr. Monahan: Friends, I am very very much disappointed in Senator Thomas. I thought Senator Thomas always told the truth and nothing but the truth but I find he does not. This morning he stood right here and referred to me as the good looking man from the Indian Office so I will have to tell him the difference between a false statement, such as he made, and a true statement, such as I will make. When he said I was a good looking man--that was false, but when I say the Senator is a good looking man--that is true. But up in Washington we do not have much time to think whether a man is good looking or not. We think about what he has in his brain and we know Senator Thomas as one of the most able men in the United States Senate. When he made that statement about me I was not sure he meant me because he pointed to Mr. McCown, your superintendent. Now I never stopped to think whether Mr. McCown was good looking or not but I do know he is one of the most able superintendents we have in the Indian Service and he does good work. Any time you do not want him down here let us know for we have lots of places where we would like to have him. While Mr. McCown is very wise in most things he does, he did one unwise thing today. He told me this morning that this young lady who is taking down the proceedings was the best stenographer in the Indian Service. That was a very unwise statement because I need a good stenographer in my office in Washington.

It will not be necessary for me to say very much about the Wheeler-Howard bill, because the Senator has explained it quite thoroughly to you. There are, as we plainly see, certain corrections that must be made in order to clarify the meaning of some parts of the bill and I think we are in agreement in regard to what clarifying must be done. That word 'reservation' in the bill does need clarifying. I hope the Senator is wrong when he says there are no Indian reservations in Oklahoma at the present time, because if he is right, I can see where I and a few others are going to become enrolled allottees not on an Indian reservation but in a Federal penitentiary.

The last Congress passed an act with the Senator's support, appropriating \$2,000,000 for road work on Indian reservations and I have allotted a lot of that money to Oklahoma and if you have no reservations I have made a mistake and McCarl will put me in jail.

Most of the Wheeler-Howard bill has to do with land matters and I want to explain why it has to do so much with land matters. The history of the World shows that no group of people have become prosperous unless they owned land. The Indians of the United States owned much land at one time but the amount of land owned by them is growing less and less until now, unless we find some way to keep the land from going from Indian ownership to white ownership, it is believed that in 20 or 25 years there will be no land left in Indian ownership. That does not mean that each Indian must be a farmer or a stockman. We have ten Superintendents of Indian blood, all the way from Henry Roe Cloud, a full blood, down to others possessing one-sixteenth Indian blood. We have over 1000 Indians holding regular Civil Service positions in the Indian Service. They are fitted for every position. It does not mean that they must all be land owners but a large part of the race must own land if they are to be a prosperous people. The Indians in the United States first owned all the land then the Indian tribes, one after another, made treaties with the United States Government and they still owned a great deal of land. Then in 1887 Congress passed the allotment

act, so called. Indians were allotted on certain reservations and after the allotments were completed in 1900--certain reservations not being allotted--the total land allotted amounted to 150,000,000 acres. Out of the amount of land allotted in 1900, the Indians have 47,000,000 acres and they would not have that 47,000,000 acres were it not for the fact that certain large reservations were never allotted, such as the Navajo reservation. Wherever the allotment system has been used the Indians have lost their land. On reservations where there has been no allotment system the Indians still own the land. That is why we want the allotment system stopped. We have many reservations where all of the land is owned by the tribe and the tribe, through its business committees, assigns,--not allots--but gives an individual Indian the use of 40, 80 or 160 acres, to be used by him so long as he makes beneficial use of it and when he does not make good use of it he is permitted to go somewhere else and let some other man use the land. If he builds a house on it and otherwise makes good use of it his children can use it. But if they prefer to go off, study medicine, become lawyers, or engage in some other business, they can sell the house and some other Indian can use the good tract of land. It is not an allotment but an assignment or use of the land while the man makes good use of it.

The Indians in this jurisdiction, under Mr. McGown, own today more land--a larger percentage of the land allotted to them--than any other group of Indians in the United States that I know of. You have held on to your land better than any one else. But even then these figures show that you have only a small amount of land to what you used to have. These are figures for the Kiowa reservation: The original reservation consisted of 2,583,000 acres. When the land was allotted 554,000 acres out of that 2,583,000 acres were allotted to Indians, leaving over 2,000,000 acres open to homesteads and town-sites. Now of that 554,000 acres that was allotted to the Indians, 388,000 acres are still in Indian ownership but only half of that is in the ownership of the original allottees who are now living. The other half is in the deceased estates waiting to be divided among the heirs. Now what is going to happen to this heirship land? Under the law three things can happen. It can be divided among the heirs or partitioned among the heirs; held as a tract and leased by the agency and the money given to the heirs; or, it can be sold and the money given to the heirs. History shows that practically all so-called heirship land over the United States is sold within a few years after the original allottee dies. That is where it gets out of Indian ownership. You and I are going to die some day and this land we hold is going to pass to our heirs and if we have a lot of heirs the only solution is to sell the land. The Indians will not have money with which to buy it and some one else must buy it. The land is, therefore, not Indian land in the future. We hope Congress will appropriate this \$2,000,000 provided in the Wheeler-Howard bill for the purpose of buying land this year, next year and for many years to come because we have now in the United States over 7,000,000 acres of land in heirship status which would require \$100,000,000 to buy it. \$2,000,000 will buy only a very little. The land we want to buy with this \$2,000,000 is largely this heirship land which is now scattered among the land owned by the living Indians. We want to hold that land under Government title so it cannot be sold, and have your Tribal Council assign the use of that land to landless

Indians so long as they will make beneficial use of it. There is no thought in the Indian Office to buy a lot of land here and there. The intention is to buy all the heirship land we can so that we can hold it in Indian ownership for the use of Indians who have no land now.

The Senator has explained to you very thoroughly and fairly what the Wheeler-Howard bill means but before these meetings began there were many articles in the newspapers, not only in Oklahoma but in every State in the Union where Indians are located, that very much misrepresented what the Wheeler-Howard bill really meant. I want to explain a few of those statements. Certain papers stated that the Wheeler-Howard bill would take away from the allotted Indians their allotted lands and give them to some one else to use. There is nothing in the Wheeler-Howard bill and nothing in any plan of Mr. Collier or the Indian Office, that would take away from any individual Indian his allotment. In fact there is no authority of law to do that and there can be no authority of law to do that any more than there could be one to take away my property and home in Washington. The land held by you under trust patent is yours and it cannot be taken away from you, not even by the Congress of the United States.

The papers in various places have also stated we were planning to buy land away off somewhere and put you back on a reservation. There is no truth in that whatever. I have told you that it is the intention of Mr. Collier and the Indian Office to use most of the money in buying this scattered heirship land where you already live. There are some Indians for whom we have to buy some land. Senator Thomas referred to a group of Indians in South Carolina who have an average of 3 acres for each Indian, those acres being sand patches on which they cannot raise a cucumber. They are living next to starvation because they have no land. We want to buy them good land. The Seminole Indians in Florida have 150,000 acres, 145,000 of which are under water most of the time. They live on little tracts of land--a half acre here and a half acre there--scattered over a large territory. They could not live at all if it were not for the game, fish, etc. We want to buy land for those Indians.

Certain people here, in South Dakota, in California, and other places have said that Mr. Collier wants to force all the Indians back to their pagan religions. Mr. Collier has no desire to force you to any religion whatever. His statement is that the Indians of the United States are citizens just the same as he and I are, and the Constitution of the United States guarantees religious freedom to all. I can pick out the Church I want. The Senator can pick out the Church he wants and Mr. Collier says the Indians can pick out the Church they want.

There is one other statement I want to correct that has been made by the people. They have stated that it was the purpose of Mr. Collier to have the Indians on a reservation under the Government; that they would be separate from the County and State but not separate from the United States--they would be a little Nation within the United States. That is not true. Mr. Collier's idea is that the Indians on one of these reservations, or even others not on a reservation, where they have tribal property, would have an organization with self-

government in the things they own. Not self-government as far as the County or State government is concerned. What he has in mind is an organization such as the Methodist Church, for instance, has. Here is a Church owned by people living in the town or country. They do not live together but they all own part of the Church. They elect a Board of Directors. If the Church undertook a school or hospital it would probably incorporate under the laws of the State and the Board of Trustees would run the corporation. That is a legal obligation to handle the Church matters the same as the Tribal Council would handle tribal matters. Such an organization would mean self-government in the things affecting you but would not separate you from County or State government.

I have taken one-half hour of your time and I could take more but I want to leave the meeting open for questions. Before I sit down, however, let me tell you that Mr. Collier told me to say to you that he was very sorry he could not come here himself but other matters made it necessary for him to go to Washington. He said he enjoyed the meeting here a few months ago and that he will come again just as soon as he can.

Senator Thomas: Members of the several tribes, since the meeting convened we have had a new arrival in the person of the Congressman representing this district, Hon. Jed Johnson. So now I take great pleasure in presenting to you one of your true and tried friends, to my certain knowledge, Hon. Jed Johnson.

Mr. Johnson: Brother Kiowas, fellow Comanches and brother and fellow Wichitas, Apaches and other Indians present. I say brother Kiowas because I am a full blood Kiowa Indian. I admit it. Now Albert Attoeknie says I will not get any more Comanche votes when I admit I am a Kiowa. I was made a full blood Kiowa ten years ago and over night I became a full blood Indian. Now I am glad to be here to pay my respects to you Indians present. I came to hear Senator Thomas and the Indian Office representative and not to talk to you myself. You can hear me any time.

Eight years ago when you sent me as a representative to Congress I told you that, although I had lived among Indians all my life, I felt Senator Thomas knew more about you and what you wanted than any other man in the United States of America and I think that is true today. During these eight years I have followed the lead of Senator Thomas on Indian legislation and if I stay in Congress eight or eighty years longer you will find Senator Thomas and me going hand in hand, working for the best interest of every tribe of Indians. During the last administration we had an Indian Commissioner and an Assistant Commissioner from the East on the Atlantic seaboard, neither of whom had scarcely ever seen an Indian, yet they came out here to tell us all about Indian affairs. The Assistant Commissioner came to Anadarko and told us he proposed to put all our Indian boys and girls in the public schools. He was sincere but he was wrong. He did not know anything about Indians. I opposed the policy of the former Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Assistant Commissioner, with reference to education of the Indian boys and girls because I knew they did not know what they were talking about. They had read in a magazine probably, that all Indian children should be placed in public schools and they insisted on doing that thing. I stood hand in hand with Senator Thomas and we defeated that in Congress under the old administration.

When the Wheeler-Howard bill was introduced in the last Congress I conferred with Senator Thomas. I conferred with Bill Hastings and the Indians from this district and I opposed the Wheeler-Howard bill as originally written. I conferred with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and his assistants. I wanted his viewpoint on the Wheeler-Howard bill. I read it over several times. I did not know any more about the Wheeler-Howard bill after I had read it the sixth time than I did after I read it the first time. Right here I want to say this. I know your Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. John Collier and I like him. I think he is the Indians' friend and wants to do something for the Indians. I do not want to be misunderstood. I am on friendly terms with the Commissioner and his assistants but I think people in Oklahoma--I think Senator Thomas knows more about the Indians than the whole Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington.

Now just confidentially--not so it will be repeated--Senator Thomas is going to be the Chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee in Washington and will continue Chairman for years to come. He will have more power in the Senate and Congress than any other member on Indian Affairs and I am going to continue to follow the lead of Senator Thomas on Indian Affairs in Washington.

So far as the Wheeler-Howard bill is concerned--after it is re-introduced in the coming session of Congress and meets the approval of the Oklahoma Indians and the approval of Senator Thomas, I am going to support that, or any other legislation the Indians want but I am not going to support legislation the Indians themselves do not want.

Just one more thought and I am through. We have a representative of the Indian Office here. I was pleased with his address and was greatly interested in it. I understand he is in charge of Indian property and I want to say to him that the Indians here would like to see this gymnasium-auditorium constructed. The money has been appropriated for a year. We tore our shirts so they could get the money for the building. I am not blaming the Indian Office. The trouble may be with the Public Works but I want to say to him that we are going to have that gymnasium constructed or we are going to know the reason why.

For the past ten years the Indians of this vicinity have been begging for a nurses' home at the Kiowa Hospital at Lawton. We have been at work and have the appropriation from Congress for the nurses' home. I want to say to you, and in the presence of this representative from the Indian Office, that we want that home built and we don't mean maybe. We are proud of the fact that we have a wonderful hospital at Lawton just for Indians. We are proud of our school. We are not going to have our school abolished. We are going to continue educating the children in Indian schools just like the Indians want them educated and we are going to have expert teachers in our schools. We want the Indian Office in Washington to cooperate with us and get more money for Indian education in this State.

Again, we want to express our appreciation to the Indian Office for cooperating in getting us a great Federal Building to be constructed in Anadarko at a cost of approximately \$180,000. It will be one of the best in Western Oklahoma. If it had not been for the cooperation of the Indian Office and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs we would not have got that building for the use of the Indians

in transacting their business in Anadarko. Now the completion of that building not only means a convenience to you Indians but it means that for years and years to come you, your children and your grandchildren will have no farther to go than Anadarko to transact your business with the agency, as it will never be possible to move the Indian Agency to Oklahoma City, Muskogee or any other place but it will remain here where it should be.

My Indian friends my speech is through and I hope to see every one of you personally before returning to Washington. I thank you.

Senator Thomas: This concludes the statements to be made by those on the platform. The meeting from this time on will be your meeting. I will start in the North part of the district and go South and will first ask for a statement, if any one cares to make one, on behalf of the Wichita Tribe of Indians. Is there any one representing the Wichitas who cares to make a statement relative to the Wheeler-Howard law? Does any one desire to make a statement on behalf of the Caddo Tribe? All right, I now present to you the representative of the Caddo Tribe of Indians, Mr. Robert Dunlap.

Robert Dunlap: Friends, Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Wichita, Delaware and Caddo, I will not take up much time on this Wheeler-Howard law. My people, the Caddos, have already decided. There are three things in this bill that we oppose. Our Senator, Hon. Elmer Thomas has a resolution and our Congressman, Hon. Jed Johnson has one. All our representatives have copies of our resolution. We have nothing to bring up at the present conference. We decided to wait, go back home and hold a general council and present all the statements our Senator made, and our Assistant Commissioner, so the people will take it up in the Committee and write down everything the Indians want, then bring it back and present it to our Senator for his consideration when he gets back to Washington. I hope the rest of you Indians have your minds made up as to your attitude toward the Wheeler-Howard law. As our Senator said, this law in some sections is all right for us Oklahoma Indians. Some of it is not. It is all right for other Indians who have reservations. We have a government here. We are under the Federal and State laws. We are used to it and I believe the Oklahoma Indians will be better off than those on the reservations. Sooner or later you people will find out I am right. That is about all I have to say on the subject.

Senator Thomas: Now we will have a statement from the Kiowa tribe. Who will speak for the Kiowas? All right Delos. Ladies and gentlemen I have the pleasure now to present to you one of the famous Indians of the United States. A long time ago you had a great lawsuit pending in the Court of the Nation and the lawsuit had attached to it the name of Lonewolf. This is the man who bears that name. Then at a later date a famous artist back East wanted a typical Indian to get on a horse so he might make a model of the horse and Indian. The horse and Indian were selected. The Indian did not have many clothes on at the time he posed for the picture and this, ladies and gentlemen, is that part of the model. Many Indians have become famous. We have them here in Oklahoma and Kansas. Besides those mentioned this morning we have musicians, educators and business men. In other words, you Indians of Oklahoma can reach any position you want. Now I have great pleasure in presenting to you one of your own famous Indians, Mr. Delos Lonewolf.

Deles Lonsewolf: Senator, ladies and gentlemen, the Senator got me all nervous. I am asked to make a statement on the Wheeler-Howard bill. Most of you know my position--that I was strongly against the original bill and I am still against most of the bill as passed. In the first place the Wheeler-Howard bill is not necessary. It is not needed. I will tell you why. I say it is not needed and is not necessary because the things that the Commissioner started to do can be done without any law, such as buying land for landless Indians, making money available for students to borrow, and giving preference right to Indians in Government positions--all those things, they have authority for and if they need a little more authority they can get it without starting this bill to cause friction among the Indians. I think the Senator will hear me out. I wrote him a note about this bill and think he will remember it. I said that I would rather pay taxes and be a man among men than be a useless Indian forever. I further stated in that letter that as far as Mr. Collier's bill was concerned it was about 60 years behind the times as far as the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians were concerned. In one of my talks I made this statement, that if, about 60 years ago when our people were brought in from the prairies, they had been placed on the reservation such as the Commissioner has in mind, it would have been all right but they started to make citizens out of our people and now we have got to the place where we are recognized as citizens of Oklahoma and the United States and I feel it will not be right and proper for us to go back. The plan of the Government was to change our people from our old ways to the ways of the white man and for the past 60 years the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians have made wonderful progress toward that end and it will not do for the same Government to undo all that work. I can give more reasons but to make the whole thing short, will say that I know I am speaking for most of the Kiowas. I have talked with some of the Comanches and we feel as we always did toward this bill--that we do not want the bill but it was amended and passed and it is a law now. Since our good Senator is the man who made the changes we are satisfied with his work and we do not want any change. In conclusion I want to say that I have spent some little time in Washington. I have worked with different Congressmen and different Senators but I have never found a Congressman or Senator working any better for our interest and for our benefit than our Senator, Hon. Elmer Thomas and our Congressman, Hon. Jed Johnson. I say that we do not want any change for this reason. If we go to work and suggest some changes and amendments to this law we are likely to get into deeper water. We cannot tell what Congress will do. If we suggest some changes they might throw us in the community feature of it and we do not want any of that.

Senator Thomas: Now who will speak for the Comanches? The other day at Shawnee one or two Indians right off the reservation, in their every-day clothes, made some short speeches. Those speeches were strictly to the point and they stated the philosophy of this bill in a few words and better than I have ever heard it stated. After they finished their speeches I told the Indians that in the past, and present, we have had some great Indian orators and if I were assembling a bunch of Indian speeches I would include some of those speeches. Now we have on the platform one whom I consider one of the greatest Indian orators that ever lived. Here is the reason I make this statement.

Mr. Monohan: Albert just told me that that was another lie.

Senator Thomas: I am afraid I am going to lose my reputation. Jed Johnson told us he had joined the Kiowa tribe. I have done better than that. I have joined all these tribes of Indians. Just as soon as I find time I am going up to Alaska and visit some of my relatives, the Eskimos. Three or four years ago when the Senate Indian Committee came to Oklahoma this committee had a session at the Fort Sill Indian School. At that time it was proposed to abolish the boarding schools of the various tribes of this State. On that occasion the speaker who you will hear now made an address before the Committee. His address was in such language and embodied such arguments as I had never heard. After the address I asked for a copy of the speech. He gave it to me and I placed a copy in the Congressional Record and some time in the future when a book of Indian speeches is compiled, I guarantee the address of the man about to speak to you now will find a place in that volume of orations. As you know, I have lived here almost 34 years. I have met with you in every section of the reservation, have talked with you about your problems, have helped prepare your legislation and helped with your Red River suit and I am proud of the Indians of Southwest Oklahoma. I am proud of the record the members of your tribes are making. I am proud of your schools and the boys and girls attending Riverside and Fort Sill. Naturally I am glad to be here with you on this occasion. I fear I will lose what little reputation I have left for telling the truth so I am going to stop and let Albert Attocknie do some talking for us.

Albert Attocknie: Senator Thomas, Congressman Johnson, Mr. Monahan, Supt. McCown, and brother Indians. You have heard speeches from the greatest men in the United States, Senator Thomas and Congressman Johnson, and you have heard speeches from well educated Indians, Dunlap and Lonewolf, but now you are going to hear from one Indian who is no more than just an Indian. I have no education and training in the schools such as most of you people here have. I am just an Indian interested in Indian affairs, and I am going to tell you where I stand on the Wheeler-Howard bill. When I speak about the Wheeler-Howard bill I speak from my individual viewpoint. No one of my tribesmen has asked or appointed me to speak for them so what I say is just my personal opinion.

In the Indian way of living we Indians lived by hunting and chasing buffalo. We never stopped to ask a white friend for advice for we knew all about it. We had for generations and generations lived on what we got from chasing buffalo. I am going to admit something that I have never done before. I have never admitted that a Kiowa is worth more as an Indian, or in any way, than a Comanche but in this case I am going to say that the Kiowa, Jed Johnson says when he read the Wheeler-Howard bill over several times he did not know anything about it. This Kiowa knows more about legislation and things like that in a bill than any of us Comanches, therefore, if this Kiowa doesn't know that bill how can we Indians, Comanches especially, understand that bill? Now then, since we cannot understand it as well as our representatives in Congress, I think it is wise that we trust the amendments to the Wheeler-Howard bill to our representatives in Congress, namely Senator Elmer Thomas and Representative Jed Johnson. Even up to yesterday some of our Comanche friends, leaders of organized Churches, did not even understand that the Wheeler-Howard bill had become a law. Then after it became a law, without us having much to do to help him, our Comanche brother, Senator Thomas, picked out those things we did not see--thirteen of them, which is unlucky. I wish he had left one off or added another--he picked thirteen sections of the bill which we all agree is good for us. As to

the other six, let us leave those to his judgment. Of course we can write to him but let us tell him we do not trust our judgment as we have in the past. A lot of us got together and asked for something and the best or cream of our race--I am speaking of the Comanches--applied for our patents because we thought we were competent and it proved that the best of us did not understand because, as demonstrated here, we lost all of our lands. We are just like children--papoose carried on the backs of our mothers--we do not know what is good for us. We call for this and that. Even at the agency I go to the Superintendent and ask him for this and that and I am turned down. Afterward I find that if I had been given what I wanted it would have resulted in harm to me. So I will repeat again, when we write the Senator let us tell him we are leaving it to his judgment to pick out what is best for our people. These men know where we are weak and they know where we are a little strong. Indians like Millett here, for instance, were driven on the reservation and onto an allotment. They did not know how to care for themselves. They did not know how to make a living. The Government said it was going to give us schools to educate and train our children so they could take their places in every day competitive pursuits of life. Then when we were adjusting ourselves to the boarding schools, namely Riverside and Fort Sill--that is all we have left--the Commissioner, Mr. Collier and his assistants took position against the boarding schools because some children out in the West were entirely out of school. So I say that is wrong. It is not right to take bread from one child, let him do without, and give it to another when the Government can provide for those without taking our boarding schools away from us. If these schools are maintained that is the best way to solve the Indian problem. As you will agree, we old men are worthless and the hope of our race is on our children, the Indian youth. If these schools are not enlarged I think the Kiowa, Jed Johnson and the Comanche, Elmer Thomas will dig up their old tomahawks that have been buried for years, and the Indians will be on an uprising.

Senator Thomas: We have now listened for a long time to some of the older Indians and inasmuch as we must adjourn in a few moments it is proper that we hear from some of the younger Indians. I now have the pleasure of introducing to you James Otipoby.

James Otipoby: For a long time my people have been in somewhat of confusion as to where they stood on this Wheeler-Howard bill. They did not trust the committeemen at all. The committeemen were divided. One was pulling this way and one another way. When Albert Attocknie came to the point where he stood, everybody pricked up their ears because they wanted to know where he stood. As we listened to hear where he stood he merely illustrated or told how they used to kill the buffalo, jerked the meat and complimented the Senator and Congressman. We do not know where you stand, Albert. Will you kindly tell us where you stand? Get up and tell them where you stand. Senator Thomas, had it not been for my young people that man would have forced my people to sign this Wheeler-Howard bill the first crack out of the box. May I ask you to stand and tell us, Albert--may I Senator Thomas--my people want to know where he stands. I would like to cooperate with him if he tells us.

Senator Thomas: This meeting belongs to you Indians and no one is going to be embarrassed and if any one doesn't want to answer a question they don't have to. If you ask me questions I will try to answer them but we must not get into a fight here. Of course, I am willing to stay here all night if we have the promise of a good scrap. I realize that we all have fights among ourselves. The Democrats and Republicans fight all the time and the Indians are like the whites. They like to fight once in a while but we like to fight in the right way. Albert has made his statement and when James gets through Albert has the right to reply if he cares to. That is the way white people fight in public. I would suggest that we proceed. What we are interested in is not fights between yourselves. What we are interested in is what you think of this bill and what you want us to do. Tell us what you want us to do but keep your fights to yourselves. I could not help you much--I am not much of a fighter myself. Mr. Monohan and I want to know what the speakers think of the bill. Instead of the speaker taking your time and ours by criticizing members of the tribe, I would like to ask him, if I may, what he thinks about the bill?

James Otipeby: In regard to the question of the Senator I will say that I for one have been against the Wheeler-Howard bill from the start because from what little education I have I happen to understand it, not thoroughly but parts of it, and enough that I know it would not be right for my father to sign it. Just as the Senator said regarding his amendments, I also had said from the start that the bill did not fit our present conditions. It did fit the Western Indians but not our conditions as we are a different type and live in a different locality. Of course, the Senator, due to his vast experience in public life, and being a servant of the people, has gone farther and has picked out the best of this bill and tried to apply it to our Oklahoma Indians, for which we are so grateful. Therefore, the general sentiment of my people is that they have a tribal vote instead of a Business Committee vote and resolutions. My people feel that way because of our division. Therefore, in closing I still leave the platform with a desire to know where the gentleman stands.

Senator Thomas: Albert wants to make a reply.

Albert Attocknie: I don't want to take up your time in fighting. That is something I abhor but since I have been attacked I am going to say just a few words because they tell me the worst criminals and gangsters in Chicago are given a chance to say a word in their own defense. I don't see them now but there were some members of the Tribal Council who at first were willing to accept the Wheeler-Howard bill even though some provisions did not suit them, and it was said that Senator Thomas would amend it so it would not be harmful to the tribes. When the Wheeler-Howard bill was rejected Senator Thomas got my letter which said, "If you can make it workable for our people, let the law pass." He replied, "I would rather wait and talk to your people first. There is no danger of your being left out. If you are left out we can put you back without much trouble." Is that not right, Senator? A white man says that when a brick is thrown, whoever is hurt is going to make a squeal. I say some of the young men who got their patents lost their land. This young man lost his land that way. When I said he was not competent, that is what hurt him. He was at the Fort Sill School a short time but most of his life was spent in Michigan and that was where he was living when he was appointed

a Methodist preacher among our people, where he failed. I understand he failed in the Indian Service in South Dakota. This young man does not have a foot of land of his own. All he has is what Mr. Martinez pays him for preaching.

Senator Thomas: Let me say this before we proceed. Mr. Monohan and I are not interested in your fights among yourselves. We are not here for that purpose. If you have any suggestions that would be helpful to us we will hear them but our time is too valuable to come here and listen to you fighting among yourselves. Here is a young man to whom I would like to give a few minutes. Mr. Robert Coffey.

Robert Coffey: Hon. Senator Thomas, Congressman Johnson, Mr. Monohan and Superintendent McCown. I was not chosen as a speaker for the Comanche Indians but I will try to express myself personally upon what I believe most of the young people and most of the Comanches want in regard to the six sections of this bill that we are excluded from. As you all know, we were all afraid of the trust period being terminated, and I am suggesting here that this section 2 be made applicable to our Comanche Indians. I am also in favor of purchasing land for the deserving landless and homeless Indians, and that this land be held in trust by the Government, but I am opposed to the consolidation of Indian lands and the establishment of reservations. I am also in favor of the privilege of being entitled to the use of the \$10,000,000 revolving loan fund set up under the Wheeler-Howard law but I am opposed to the plan of an Indian self-governing body having to be set up before the Indians can borrow from this fund. I would rather have it that individual Indians be permitted to borrow from this fund. As citizens we have a right to organize for our common welfare and I feel that these organizations that we shall form may be recognized by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs without us Comanches being brought under sections 16, 17, and 18 of the Wheeler-Howard law.

Senator Thomas: The hour is now getting late and many want to leave. For a few moments you may ask questions. Either Mr. Monohan, who understands the bill, or I will answer them. Ask any question you care to about the bill and we will try and answer them.

(At this point John Loco, a Fort-Sill Apache Indian asks to say a few words.)

Senator Thomas: Ladies and gentlemen we have present a few of the original Apache Indians. These Indians were confined for years as prisoners of war upon the Fort Sill reservation. They were confined there as prisoners and later on part of these Apache Indians were sent back to the Mescalero reservation but some were allowed to stay in Oklahoma. They were given small tracts of land which the Government bought for them. That is all the consideration they have had. Here is one of the original Apaches captured with Geronimo and kept a prisoner for years. He has asked for the privilege of speaking to Mr. Monohan. I think it is only due him that he be allowed this privilege. Unless you object, and I don't believe you will, we will hear from John Loco.

John Loco: Like Mr. Thomas says, we are almost forgotten. Ever since I know the Government they never treat me right. Never give me a square deal. The Government in 1879 destroyed my home, took me where I don't belong. Then we came back from there. In 1886 they took me to Florida. I stayed there for several months. Then they moved me to Fort Sill. General Miles says this land is yours, fix it up. Then I make pond for the cattle; built fences; had hard work to do. Had a big sore on my back from carrying posts. Now they take that away again and turn me loose. All the other Indians got 160 acres of land except this man. I got only 80 acres. I don't know why the Government wants to bring us up like white people and then when we come up like white people they don't like it. Maybe they jealous. Somebody say they want to put us away back. I don't want to go back. I got tired of that. I don't want to wear a seventy-five cent suit again. I got white neighbors and I love them. The Bible says to love your neighbors. I don't want to change. When they take me to Alabama General Howard says, "Look up, not down, look forward, not backward." I still remember that. I want to go forward. So my dear friends they gave us 80 acres without a house or anything. Our children are married now and have no place to go. They have no home. Good Senator Thomas, my best friend, it is time for you to help me now. My Kiowa friend, Jed Johnson, it is time for you to help us with all your power. We want to be treated like we were human. Senator Elmer Thomas, you are my brother. I want you to help me. I want you to give my children a house and team and everything to work with. White man have to have team, cows, chickens. We try best to follow white people. We learn from the white people and I do not want to throw that away. So I want you to help us all you can. We helped the Government catch Geronimo. If it hadn't been for us they never would have caught him. The Government tried to catch Geronimo like you catch jackrabbits.

Senator Thomas: Now we will have the questions.

Mr. Monahan: I want to say, before I answer this question that has just been handed me, that all the Indian orators are not Comanches. The Apaches are good fighters and good orators. The question is, "If one man writes to Washington and asks to have part of the \$10,000,000 loaned him, would we think he was endorsing the Wheeler-Howard bill?"

No, any one can write and we would not think it an endorsement of the bill.

Guy Quetone: Can an Indian or allottee live on his allotment and still get the benefits of the Wheeler-Howard act as passed?

Senator Thomas: My understanding is that these 13 sections where applicable may now apply to Indians in Oklahoma. You have all the benefits of these 13 sections. Six sections do not apply here. Many provisions of this bill apply to Indians in Oklahoma even though they have land. They can take advantage of many by sending their children to school and getting positions in the Indian Service.

Guy Quetone: If the Wheeler-Howard bill is accepted does the Government guarantee to let the Indian live on his allotment and how many acres will be allowed him for his use?

Senator Thomas: That is a question of administration. Some Indians have several hundred acres. Some have no land. That is a question that will depend on each individual.

Guy Quetone: Will an Indian be allowed to sub-let his land?

Senator Thomas: This bill is a law now but the status of your land title has not been changed. Your land is exactly as it was a year ago. Unless the law is amended there will be no change in the status of your land title but if this bill had applied to your land there would have been vast changes. That is the reason I could not take a chance until I explained it to you.

Guy Quetone: In accepting this bill can an Indian reserve 160 acres outside this act and draw the benefits of this act?

Senator Thomas: This bill is now a law. You will have to accept these 13 sections. Six sections do not apply. They are not now applicable.

Guy Quetone: If an Indian reserves 160 acres besides his homestead will he have to pay taxes?

Senator Thomas: This bill does not change the status or character of the land you now hold. This is the law. These lands are not taxed. Until the restrictions are removed the land will not be taxed. It may be amended in the future but so far your land title has not been changed. When the trust period is about to expire I am sure it will be extended.

Albert Attocknie: Mr. Monohan said the Government would buy what we call 'dead' Indian land. In case of that would the Government still hold the land or would the heirs of the particular pieces?

Senator Thomas: I think I can answer that. The answer is no. The title to this land, when bought by the Government, will be held by the Government. Some Indian could move on the land and live there but when he dies the Government reserves the right to let some one else move on the land.

Now most of the crowd has gone but I am going to recognize a young man at this time. I take pleasure in introducing to you at this time Morris Bedoko.

Morris Bedoko: You might call this 'turn about is fair play' for I have had the pleasure of introducing Senator Thomas on two occasions and this is one for him. He still owes me one. Friends I think that the Indian problem has been before us for two or three generations back. The Indian problem has been a sore spot in each administration. I have had occasion to meet only two Commissioners of Indian Affairs. The first Commissioner I met was Gato Sells who served under a Democratic administration but I never thought so much of that. I knew he was taking a great deal of interest in the Indians but never thought that that particular administration was doing any more for the Indians than others until later on. So we come from that administration (Woodrow Wilson's) down to the present administration of the great Franklin D. Roosevelt. So again it is under a Democratic administration that we find

another Commissioner who is taking a great interest in our people. Naturally the Democratic Congressmen and Senators could not do very much under the Republican administration but now we have a Democratic President, Democratic Commissioner and a Democrat is to be Chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee. I think they are taking a great deal of interest in our problems and I think the great sore spot will go a long way toward being solved. So friends, let me ask that you give a standing vote of thanks to these gentlemen for coming here to see us personally.

Senator Thomas: In conclusion, and on behalf of Mr. Monohan, the Indian Office and myself, I want to thank the Superintendent, Mr. McCown, for arranging for this wonderful conference. I want to thank the city of Anadarko and the School Board for permitting us the use of this building. There is no place in the country where a conference could be held in more pleasant surroundings than this. This shows the city of Anadarko is cooperating with us. Please leave this conference tonight believing that the Indian Office, Mr. Monohan, the representative of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and myself are doing all we can to bring about better conditions for all Indians residing in the Southwestern part of Oklahoma.

Meeting adjourned 5:45