Land Allotment and Native American Households During the Assimilation Era

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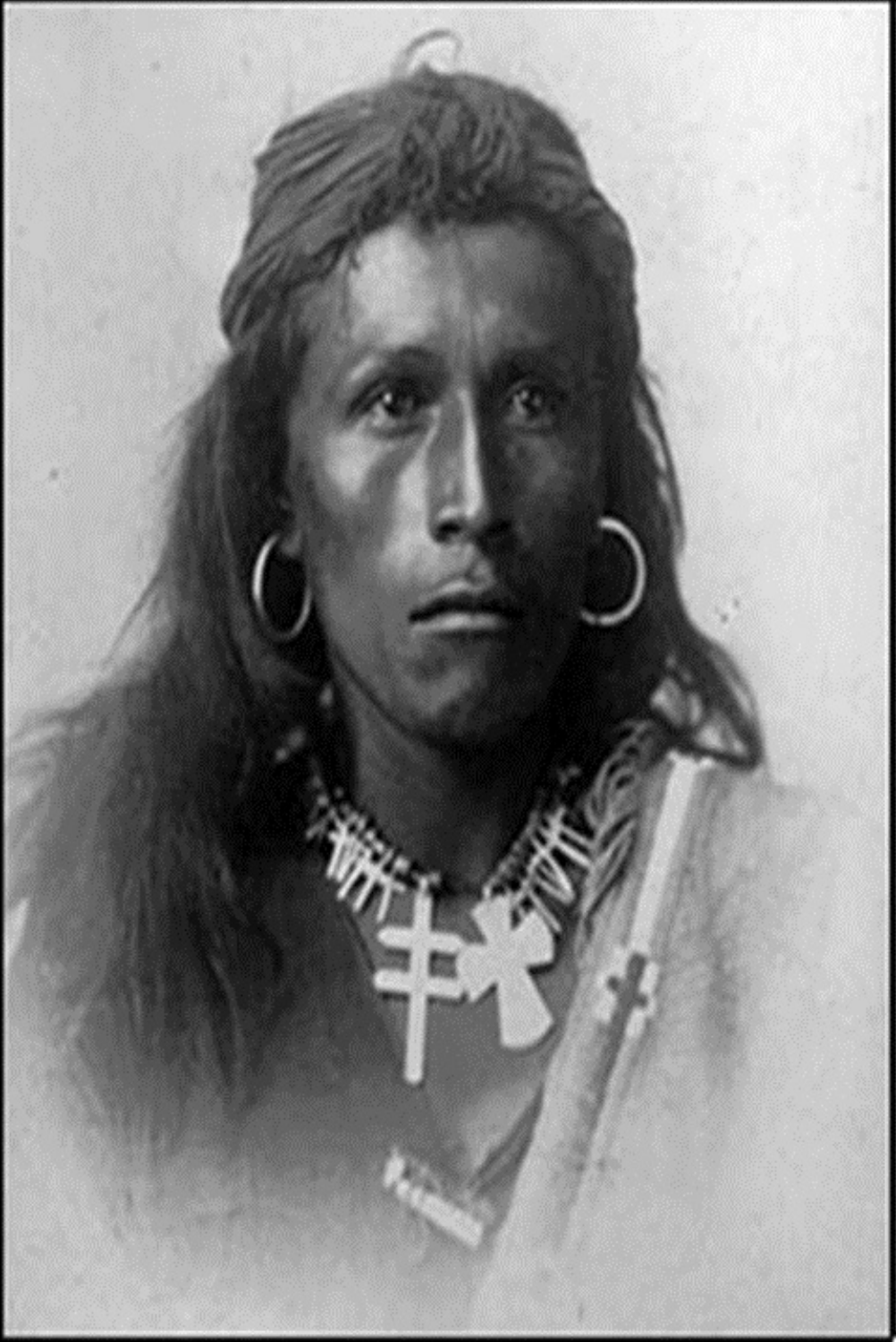
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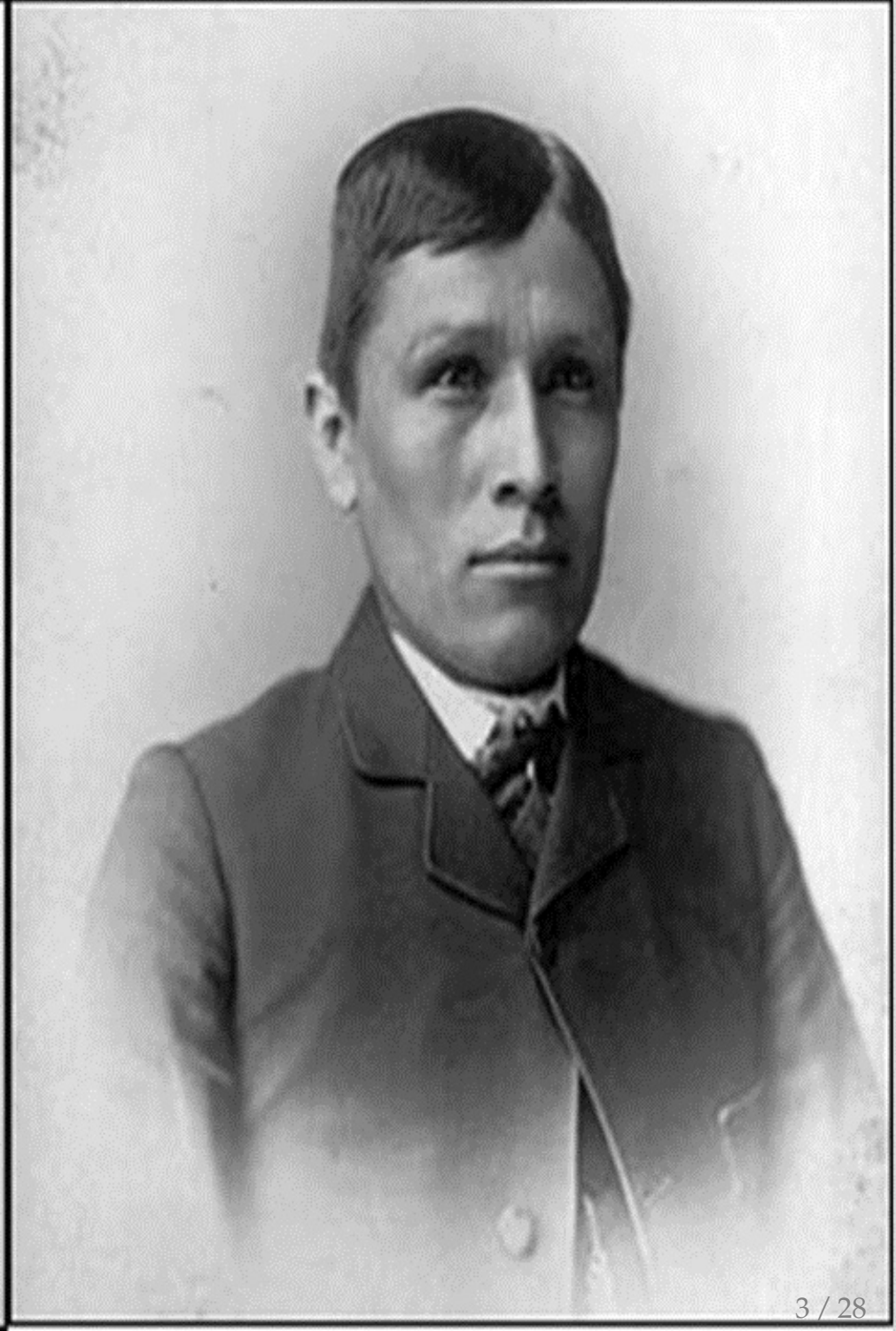
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Roadmap of Talk

Today's Talk

1. Brief review of allotment and the 'Assimilation Era' including its main policies
2. Research Design
3. Data on Native Americans in the Census





Assimilation Policies

- Land Allotment: the corner-stone of the 'Assimilation Era' (1887–1934)
- began officially in 1887, "in earnest" in 1906
- After surveying, household heads generally received a 160 acre allotment.
  - Some lawmakers wanted all 'Surplus Land' to be sold, and reservations to be dissolved
- Upon issuance, individual allotments were held 'in trust' until BIA agent declared allottee "competent"
- Upon competence, transfer into 'fee simple' gave full legal title to land (and made allottee citizen)

Allotment: Assimilate through Private Property I

> *"If there were no other reason [for allotment], the fact that individual ownership of property is the universal custom among civilized people of this country would be a sufficient reason for urging the handful of Indians to adopt it."*

— BIA Commissioner Thomas Morgan, 1891 Annual Report

> *"Freed from the binds of tribal customs and authoritarian chiefs, the individual would soon want to accumulate wealth and property and, as he progressed economically, would acquire the habits and customs of Christian society. The key was to be private property"*

— Carlson (1981, p80)

Assimilation Incentives

- Conceptualize allotment as a conditional transfer program aimed at cultural assimilation
  - Arm 1: Unconditional transfer of allotment in trust; entitled to work land or lease out
  - Arm 2: conversion to full rights, conditional on being declared "competent" by BIA agent
  - Arm 2 was worth 20× per capita income
- Measures of "competency":
  - church-going
  - wearing "civilized dress"
  - farm the land
  - send children to school

Research Questions

Overview I

0) Have universe of 'Indian allotments', issuance-year, year of conversion to fee (if ever), and ▸ exact geo-location to map to reservation
   - Build reservation-year aggregate treatment, ▸ issuance-year to be sold, and reservations to be dissolved very sharp
1) Most direct assimilation(-signalling) measures available as reservation-year-aggregates from BIA reports
   - number of ▸ "church-going Indians" and those wearing ▸ "civilized dress"
2) Focus of our analysis: analyzing farming and schooling choices in a 'pseudo-panel' of 300,000 Native Americans per decade in Full Count Census.
   - Main challenge: Census does not include reservation/tribe, and without it you can do almost nothing
   - Our data-innovation: built a stable personID-to-reservationID mapping we'll discuss

   Have finished cross-walk for 1930 and 1940: use sudden end of allotment in 1934 as ▸ shock to assimilation-signalling incentives

Overview II

3) In a cohort-analysis, we compare educational attainment of cohorts within reservation or household, depending on their incentive to signal assimilation
   - This identifies of the ▸ rapid roll-out of allotment on a reservation, and the ▸ sharp end created by the 1934 IRA
4) The Full Count Census has no allotment-information, so up to now, allotment was an intent-to-treat (ITT)
   - Our data-innovation: digitized a complete wave of the BIA's ▸ Indian Census Rolls (ICR) , which contain allotment-numbers we can match to the BLM data

Assign Tribe/Reservation

Assign Tribe/Reservation I

- Challenges in the Full-Count Population Census
  - Digitally available from 1790–1940. But "Indians not taxed" (i.e. the 90% living on reservations) were not enumerated in the Census before 1900.
  - Variable 'tribe' was only enumerated in 3 years (1900, 1910, and 1930). And 'tribe' is never a digitized variable.
  - Record-linkage problem: wide-ranging transition from reporting Indian names to English names, but 'Indian name' was never Census-enumerated
  - Inconsistent enumeration of race: N=310k $\rightarrow$ 220k $\rightarrow$ 320k in $\{1910, 1920, 1930\}$

Assign Tribe/Reservation II

- Proposed improvements to the Census Data:
  1) Build a 1900–1940 crosswalk of Census-variable 'enumeration districts', and geo-reference it. This usually identifies a reservation (=tribe)
  2) Digitize the Indian Census Rolls (ICR), taken on reservations from 1890s–1934 contain tribe, Indian name & English name, household structure, blood quantum
     - incl. death records
  3) Develop and implement a record-linkage algorithm that trades off noisy individual data with precisely measured household data.
     - Link across 1900–1940 Full Count waves, as well as to 1895, 1905, 1915, 1925, 1935 Indian Census Rolls
  4) Use combination of 2) and 3) to find 90,000 "missing American Indians" in the 1920 Census

Linkage

Record Linkage using Household Structure

- Linkage across Population Census waves is difficult:
  - Name changing: spelling mistakes from census enumerators & anglicization
  - DoB changing: mis-remembering from a population with no traditions of recording birth dates
- Solution 1: On the data-front, ICR waves help bridge Census waves because they report Indian names and English names.
- Solution 2: Expand record-linkage algorithms applied to individuals: data on household structure can overcome noise in name and DoB data.

CENSUS of the Absentee Shawnee Indians of Shawnee, Kickapoo & Pottawatomie Agency, Shawnee, Okla. taken by Frank A. Thackery, Supt. & Spl. Disb. Agent, United States Indian Agent, June 30th, 1905.

43	Mo-sah-tah-wah-kea-ska-ka,	Collins Panther,	M.	Husband,	24
44	Wah-thah-pea-se,	Sallie "	F.	Wife,	21
45	Ah-so-wa-la-ma,		"	Daughter,	1

5—128 20

CENSUS of the Absentee Shawnee Indians of Shawnee, Okla. Agency, on June 30th, 1916 19, taken by O.J. CREEN, (Name.) Supt.& Spcl.Disbg.Agent. (Official title.)

324	338	Mo sah tah wah pea ska ka Panther, Collins	Husb.	1861	M
325	339	Wah thah pea se Panther, Sallie	Wife	1884	F
326	340	Ah so wah la mah Panther, Lillie	Dau	1904	F.
327	341	Panther, William Bryan	Son	1907	M.

INDIAN CENSUS ROLL

Census of the Abs. Shawnee reservation of the Shawnee Indian Agency jurisdiction, as of April 1 (Month) (Day) to 34, fi

390	Panther	Collins	M	53	"	F	M	Head 387	Yes	
391	"	Sallie	F	50	"	F	M	Wife 388	Yes	

Household-ID & persons in ICR Roll					Household-ID & persons in 1940 Full Count				
HH-ID	**YoB**	**last name**	**first name**	**relation-to-Head**	**HH-ID**	**YoB**	**last name**	**first name**	**relation-to-Head**
35545638	1908	SESSPOOCH	WAUN	Head	79055	1907	CESSPOOCH	JUAN	Head
35545638	1901	SESSPOOCH	ELLEN	Wife	79055	1902	CESSPOOCH	ELLEN	Wife
35545638	1934	SESSPOOCH	LOUIS	Son	79055	1933	CESSPOOCH	LEWIS	Son
35545638	1937	SESSPOOCH	DEBOIA	Daughter	79055	1936	CESSPOOCH	DOVELIA	Daughter

Linkage Algorithm I

1) individual record linkage establishes for each 'master-individual' a set of potential 'using-individuals' (Bailey et al., 2017; Abramitzky et al., 2019)
2) adjust 'individual similarity score' for pairwise 'household-similarity'
3) use adjusted similarity scores for "best-off" grid-search
4) flag linkages that need manual checks based on household-criteria.
5) manually evaluate every flagged household-link and hard-code 'true-positive' and 'true-negative' individuals links

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
	HH & person-id 1930 Full Count		HH & person-id ICR Roll (1936)		TRUE POSITIVE	TRUE NEGATIVE	Characteristics in 1930 Full Count						Characteristics in ICR Roll (1936)					
	HH-ID	*person-ID-1930*	*HH-ID*	*person-ID-ICR*	*person-ID-1930*	*person-ID-1930*	*last name*	*first name*	*YoB*	*sex*	*status*	*relation-to-Head*	*last name*	*first name*	*YoB*	*sex*	*status*	*relation-to-Head*
1	1542-7520	15427520-1	36	426-623-3	15427520-3	15427520-1	CORCORAN	JAMES	1889	M	*Married*	Head	CORCORAN	JAMES R	1839	M	*Never married*	Son
2	1542-7520	15427520-2	36	426-623-2	15427520-2		CORCORAN	ELISA	1907	F	*Married*	Spouse	CORCORAN	ELIZA	1908	F	*Married*	Wife
3	1542-7520	15427520-3					CORCORAN	JAMES R	1930	M	*Never married*	Son						
4			36	426-623-5									CORCORAN	PHILMONA	1861	F	*Widowed*	Mother-in-law
5			36	426-623-1	15427520-1								CORCORAN	JIM		M	*Married*	Head
6			36	426-623-6									CORCORAN	VIRGINIA	1935	F	*Never married*	Daughter
7			36	426-623-4									CORCORAN	ALICE	1931	F	*Never married*	Daughter

Linkage Algorithm II

6) Feed hard-coded pairs back in and re-run stages 2)–3)

- Example: Linking 1940 to the mid-1930s ICR wave
  - Steps 2 – 3: generates 65,000 links 1940-to-ICR
  - Step 4: flags 2,500 households
  - Step 5: RAs manually confirm 8,000 individuals; over-ride 400 algorithm links; create 1,200 new links
  - Step 6: from 65,000 to 75,000 links

- While "flagged" households are being manually checked, they are omitted from the analysis

References and Notes

Abramitzky, Ran, Leah Platt Boustan, Katherine Eriksson, James J Feigenbaum, and Santiago Pérez, "Automated linking of historical data," Technical Report, National Bureau of Economic Research 2019.

Bailey, Martha, Connor Cole, Morgan Henderson, and Catherine Massey, "How well do automated linking methods perform in historical samples? Evidence from new ground truth," *Unpublished manuscript*, 2017.

Carlson, Leonard A, *Indians, bureaucrats, and land: the Dawes Act and the decline of Indian farming* number 36, Praeger Pub Text, 1981.

INDIAN LAND FOR SALE

GET A HOME

OF

YOUR OWN

❊

EASY PAYMENTS



PERFECT TITLE

❊

POSSESSION

WITHIN

THIRTY DAYS

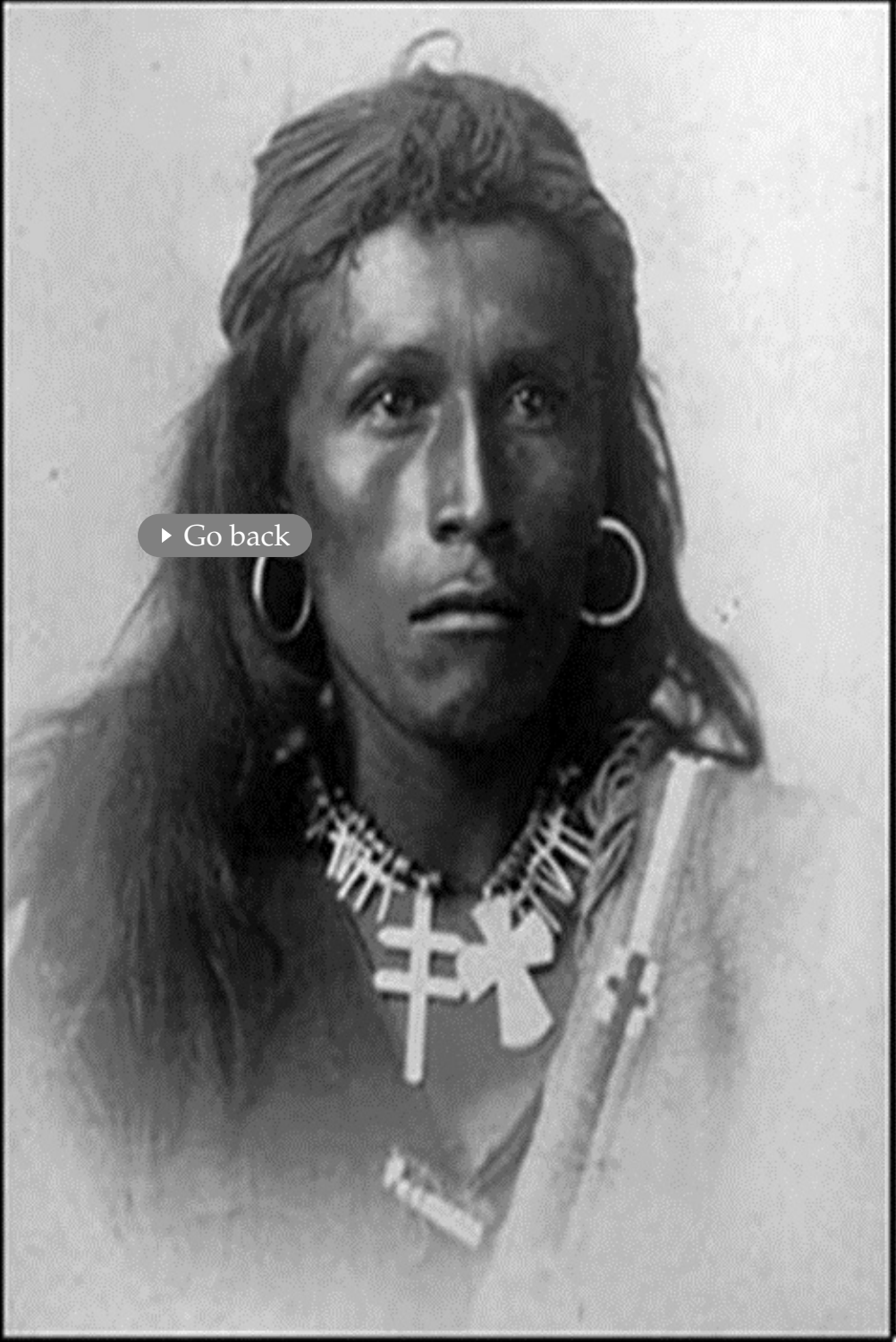
FINE LANDS IN THE WEST

IRRIGATED
IRRIGABLE

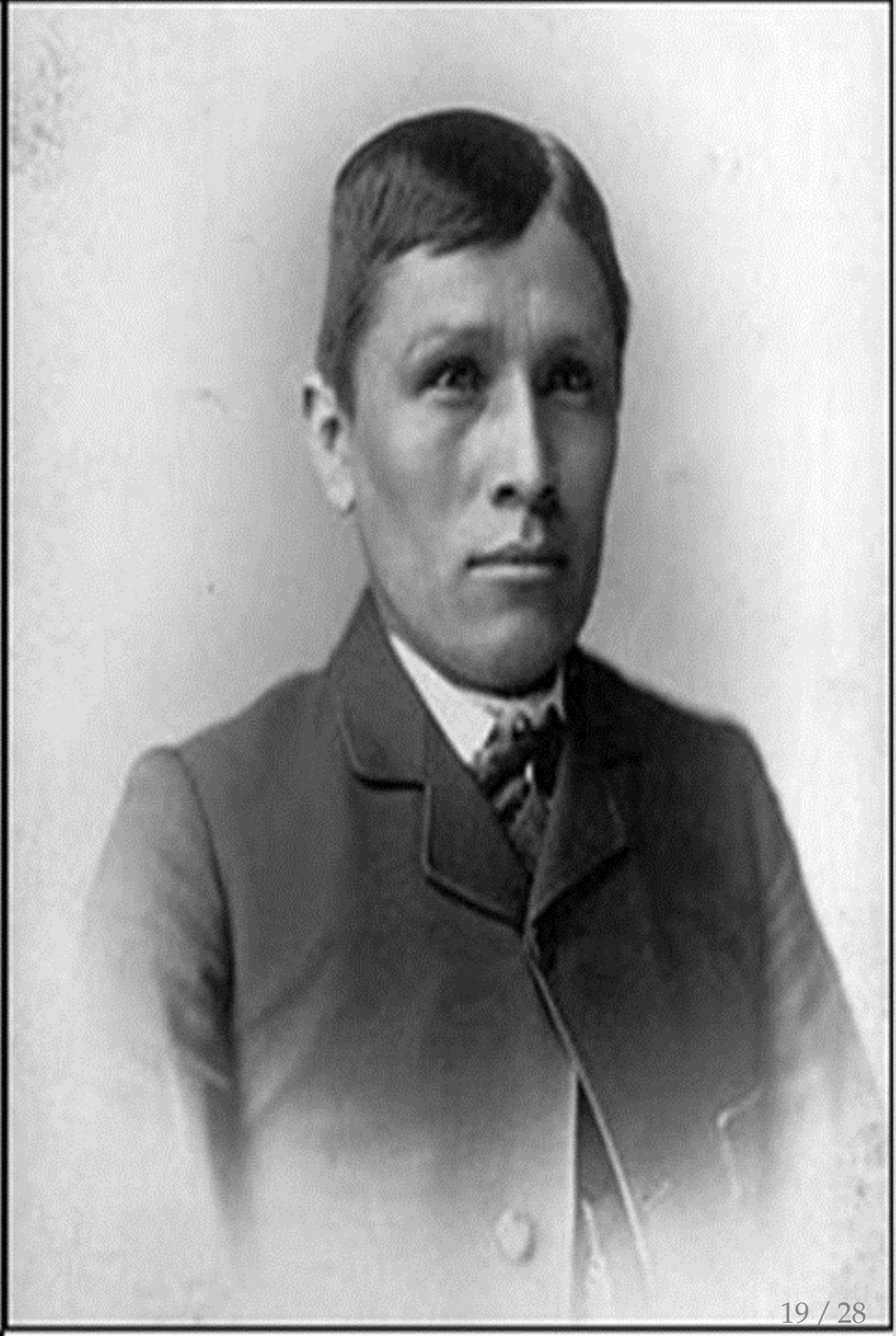
GRAZING

AGRICULTURAL
DRY FARMING

IN 1910 THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR SOLD UNDER SEALED BIDS ALLOTTED INDIAN LAND AS FOLLOWS:



Go back

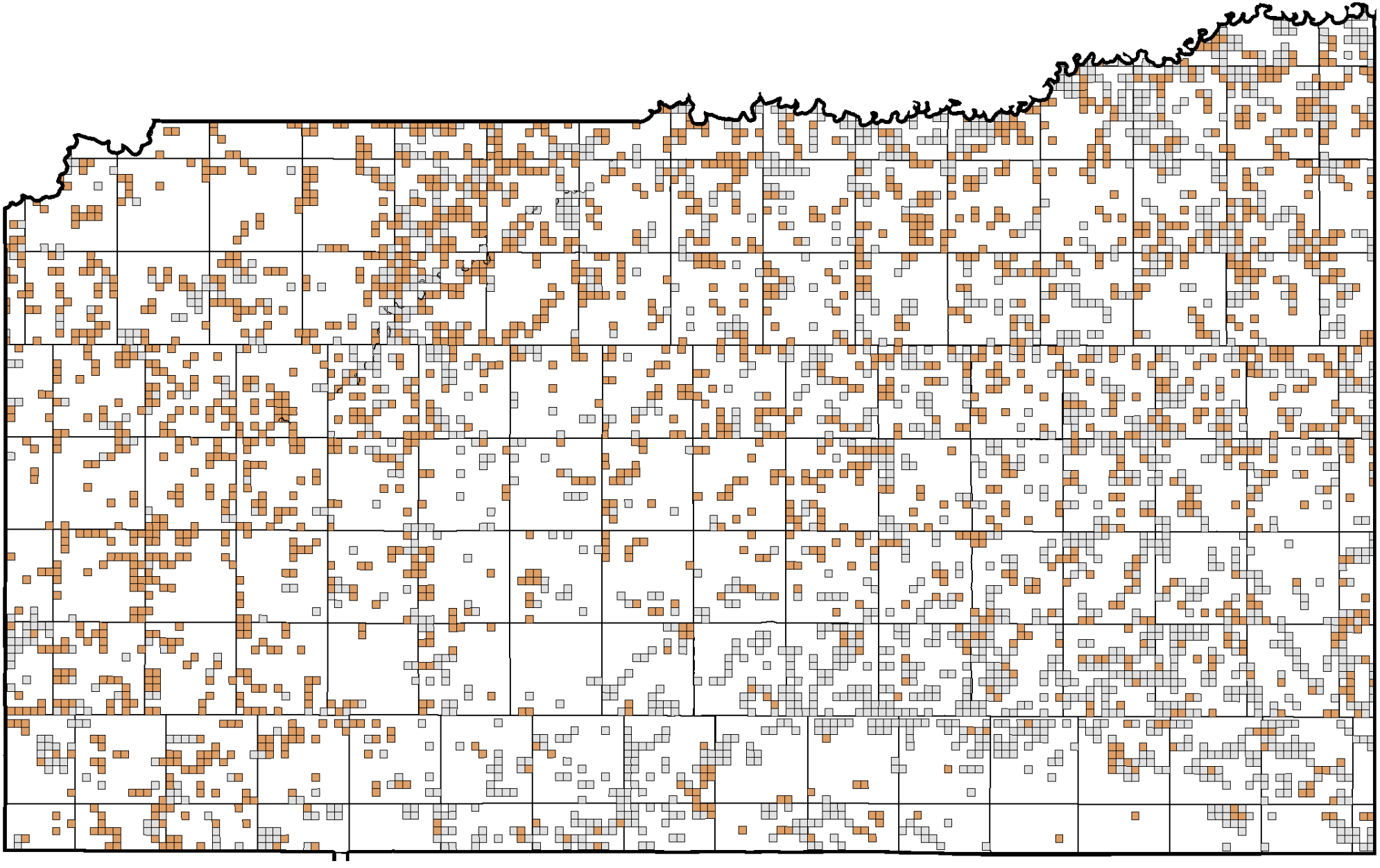


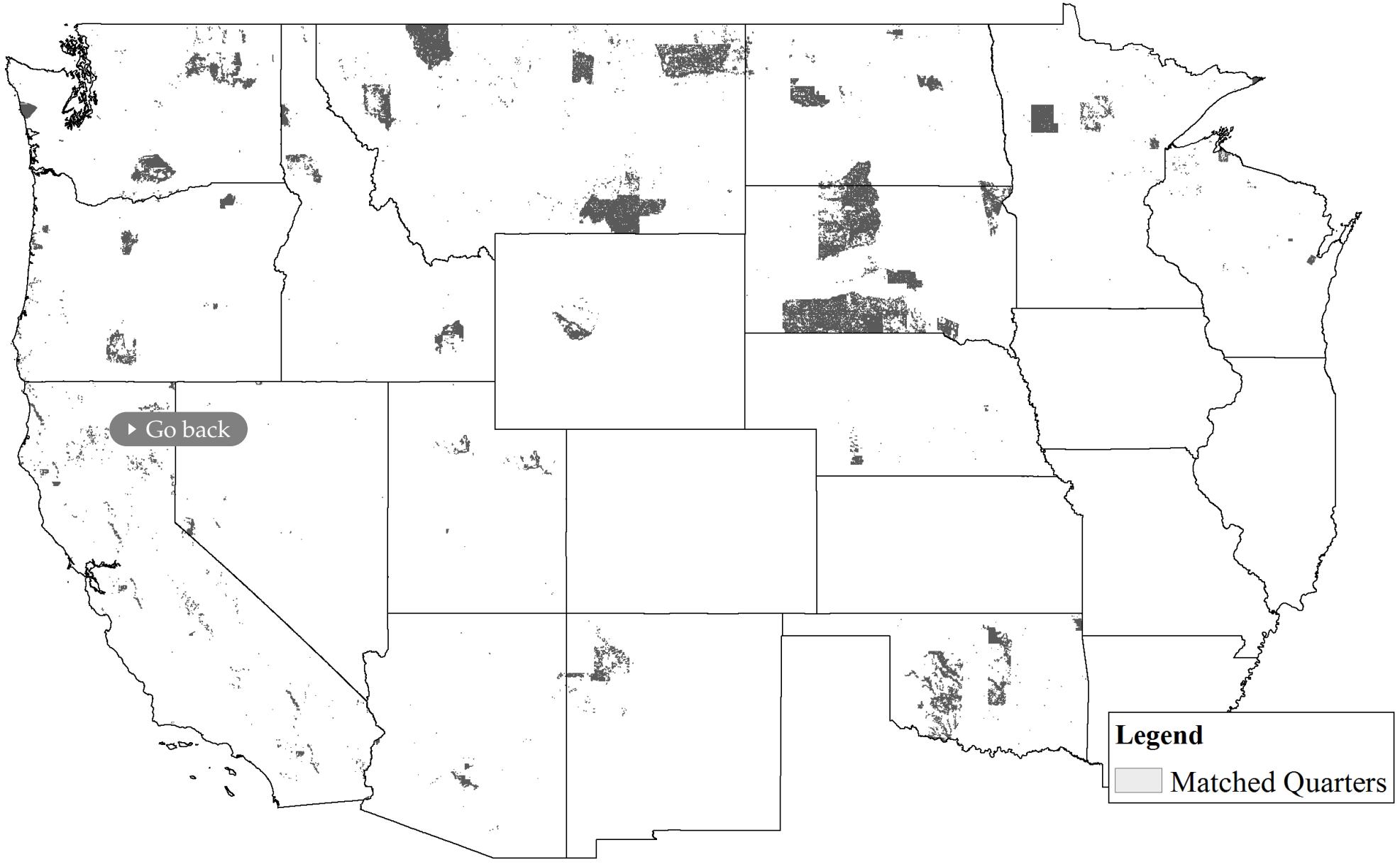
Progress of allotment work elsewhere has been slow, owing to the time required to make surveys preliminary to allotting, and the late date at which the appropriation bill passed.

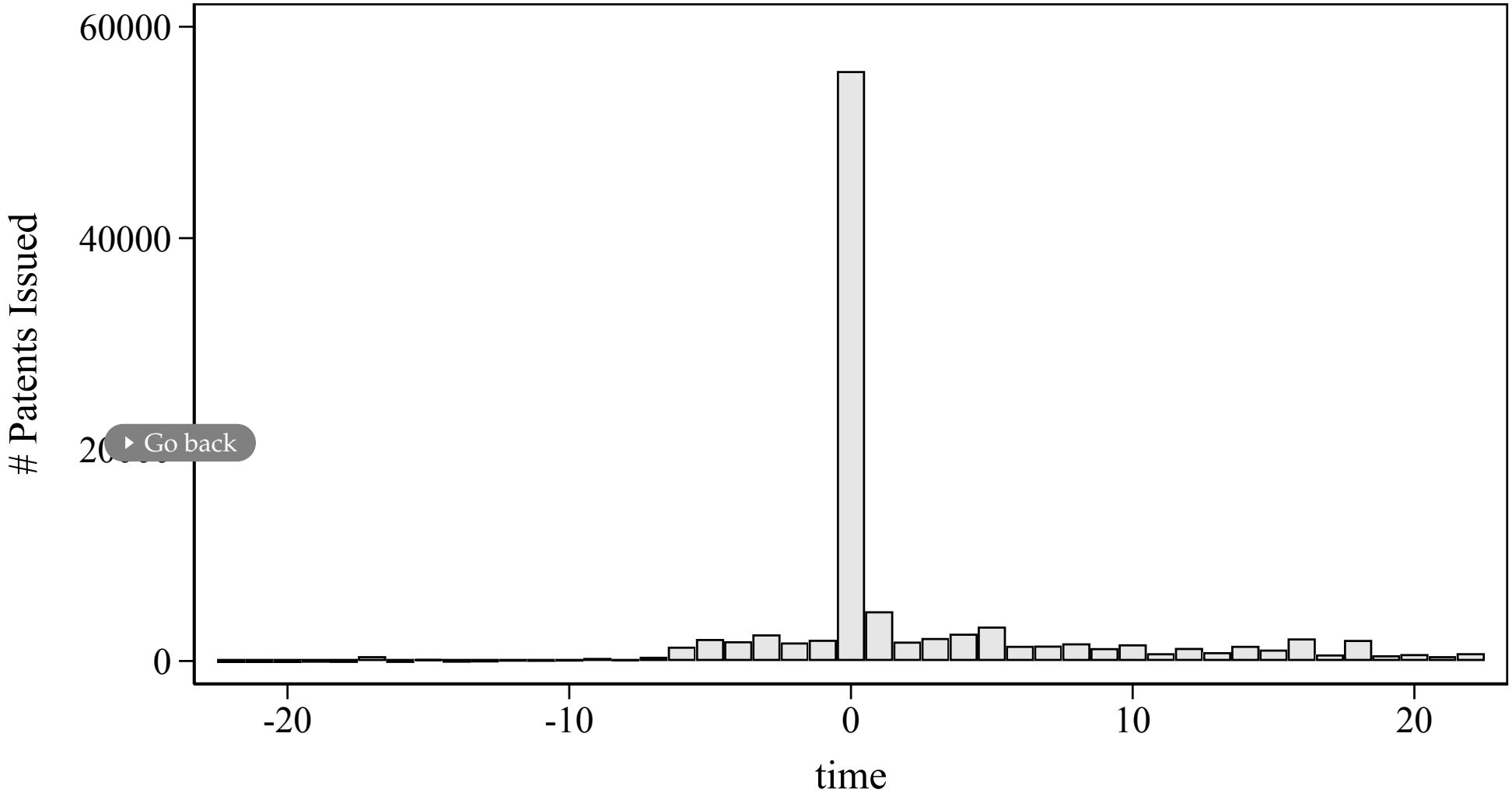
Considerable opposition to the allotment policy has been developed from two sources. Those who believe in the wisdom of tribal ownership, and in the policy of continuing the Indian in his aboriginal customs, habits, and independence, oppose it because it will eventually dissolve his tribal relations and cause his absorption into the body politic. On the other hand, those who expected that the severalty act would immediately open to public settlement long-coveted Indian lands, oppose it because they have learned that these expectations will not be realized.

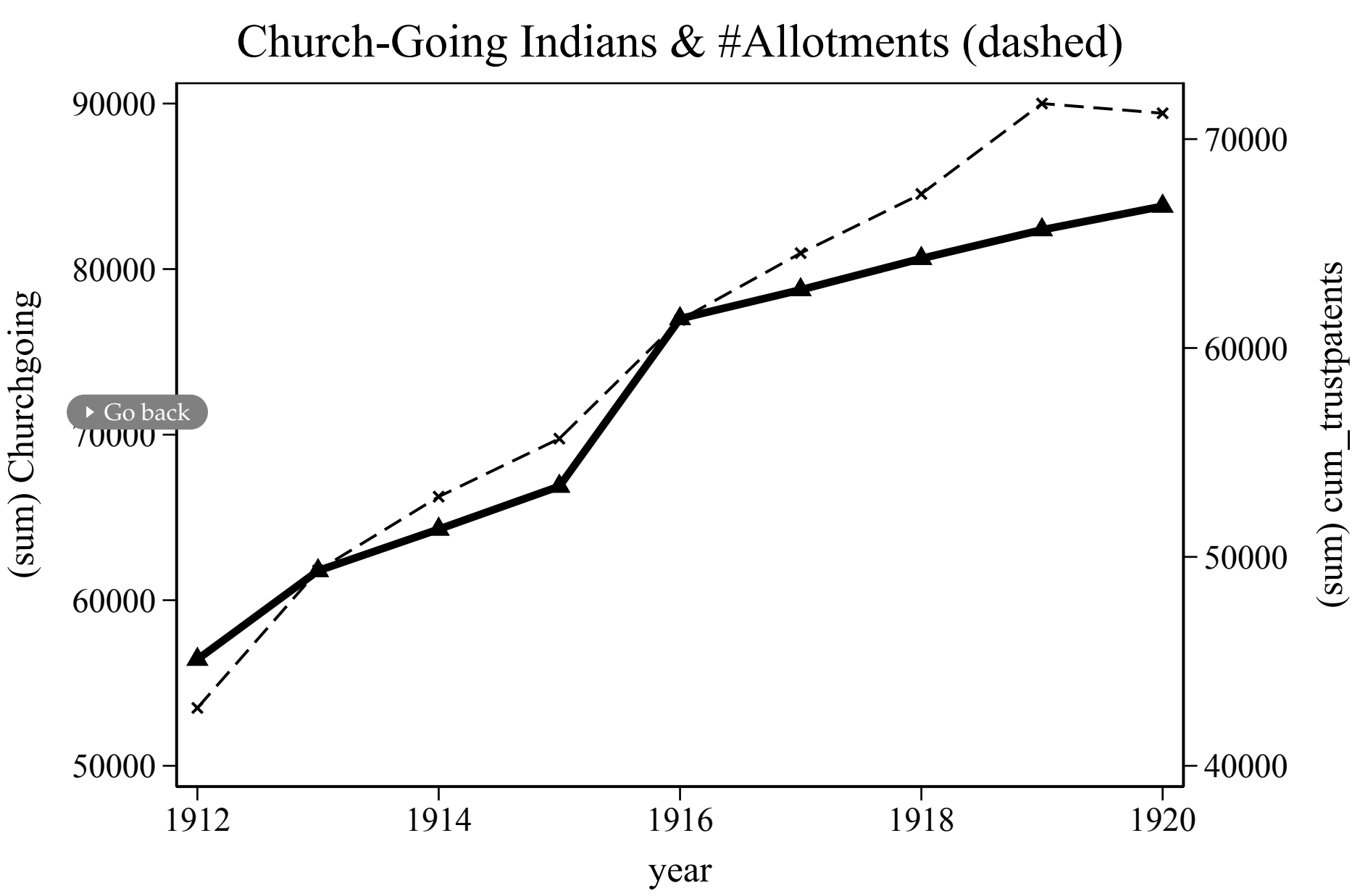
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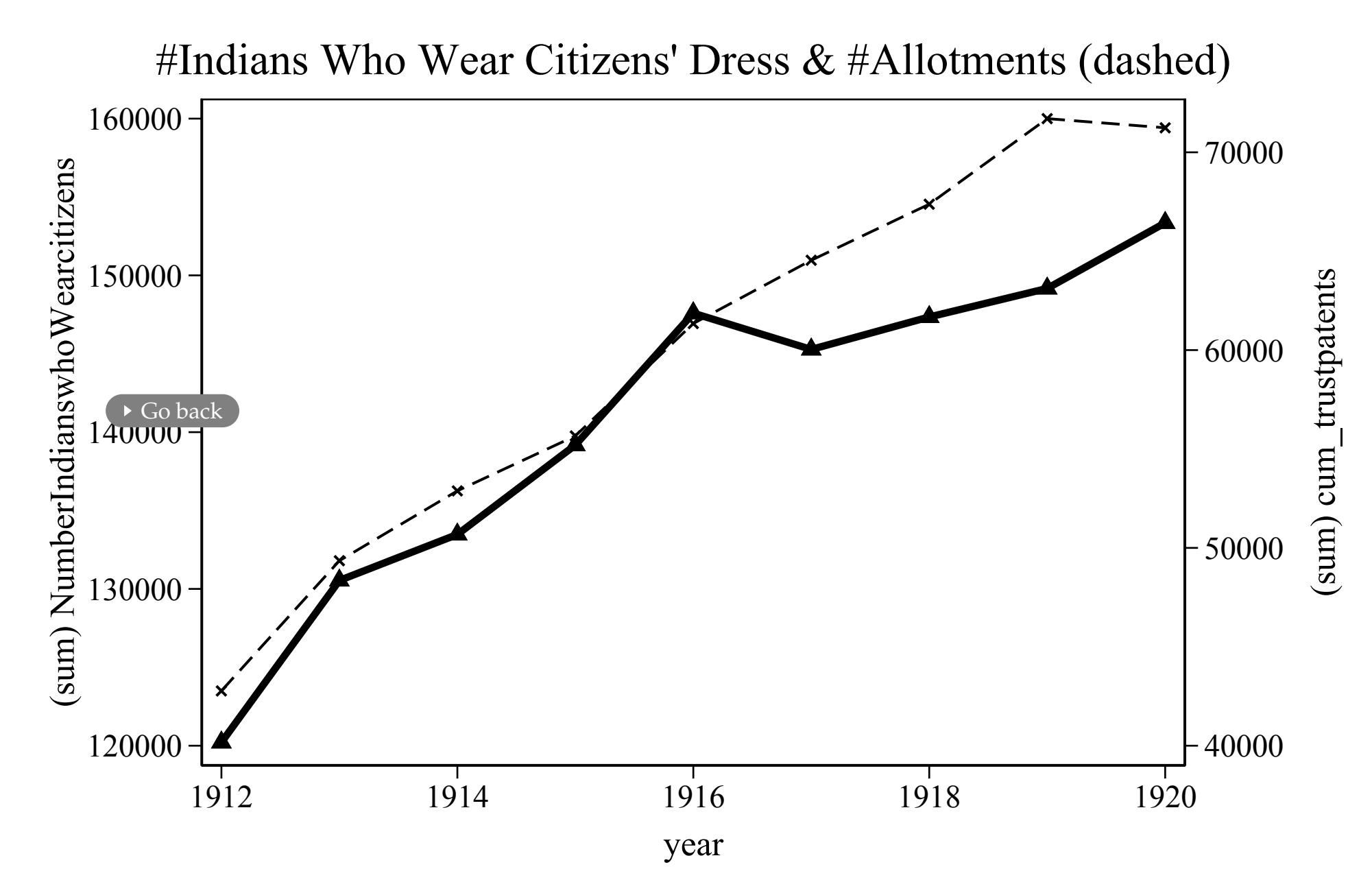
There is a third class of persons who are heartily in favor of allotting Indian lands, but who are apprehensive that, under the flexible terms of the allotment act, allotments may be forced upon Indians before they are ready to receive, use, and hold them. An allotment un-

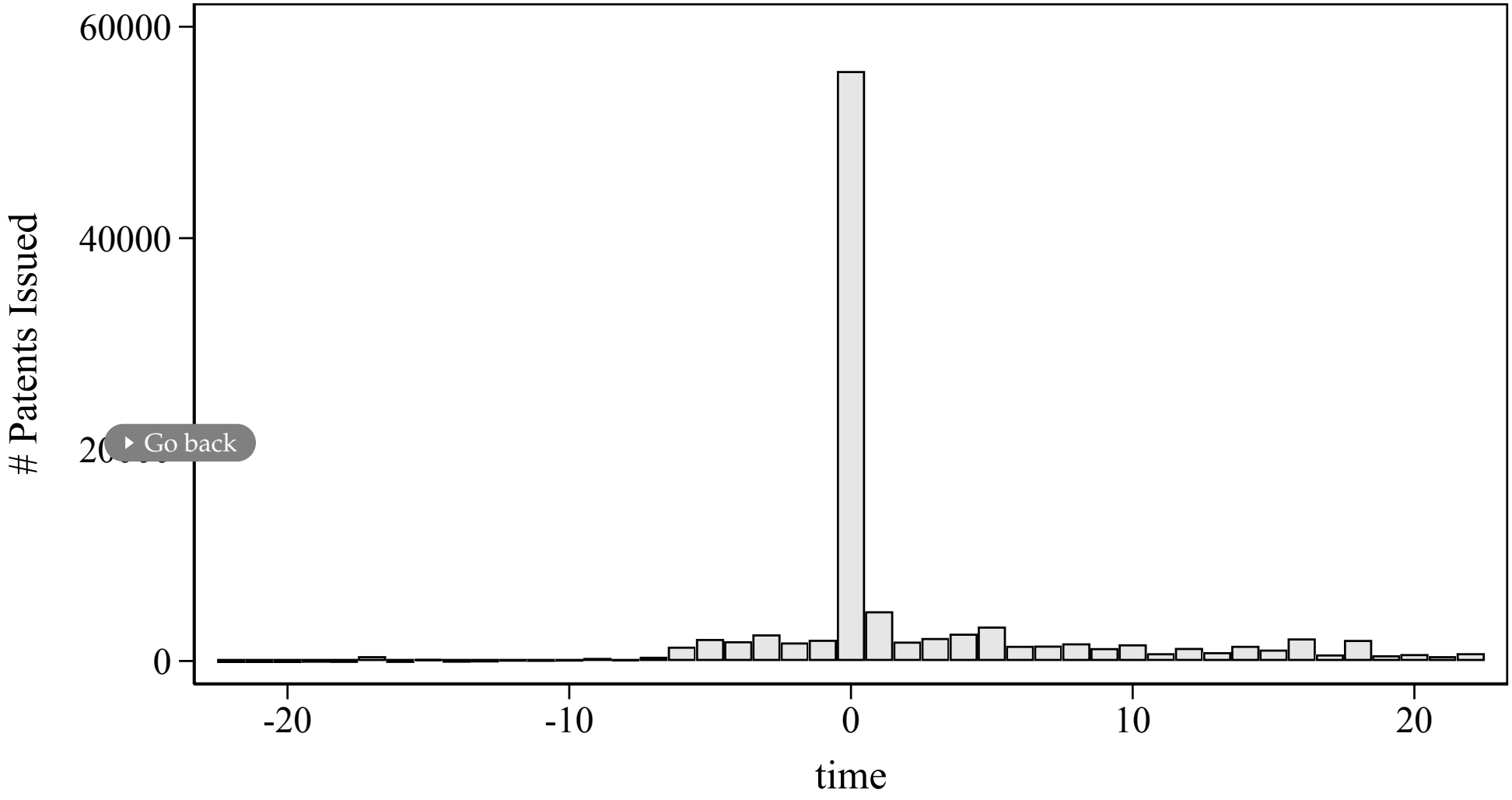



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Legend
Matched Quarters

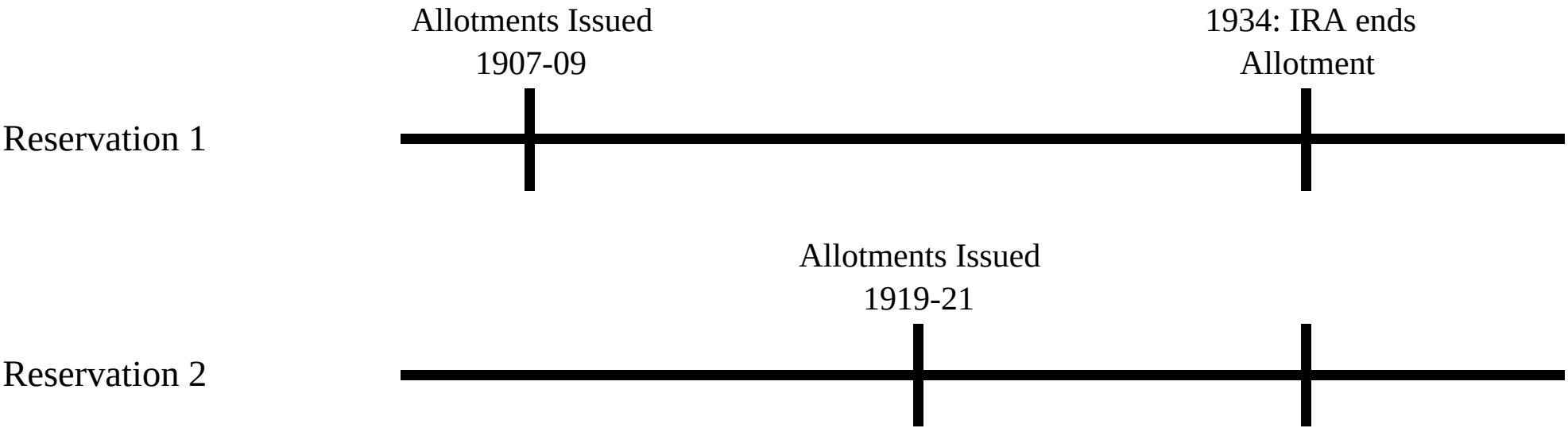

60000
40000
Patents Issued
Go back
0
-20
-10
0
10
20
time


Church-Going Indians & #Allotments (dashed)
(sum) Churchgoing
(sum) cum_trustpatents
90000
80000
70000
60000
50000
70000
60000
50000
40000
1912
1914
1916
1918
1920
year
Go back


#Indians Who Wear Citizens' Dress & #Allotments (dashed)
(sum) NumberIndianswhoWearcitizens
160000
150000
140000
130000
120000
(sum) cum_trustpatents
70000
60000
50000
40000
1912
1914
1916
1918
1920
year
Go back



Go back


Allotments Issued
1907-09
1934: IRA ends
Allotment
Reservation 1
Allotments Issued
1919-21
Reservation 2

Go back

INDIAN CENSUS ROLL

Census of the Crow Creek reservation of the Crow Creek jurisdiction, as of April 1 (Month) (Day), 1934, taken by James H. Hyde Acting, Superintendent.

NUMBER	NAME: Surname	NAME: Given	SEX	AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY	TRIBE	DEGREE OF BLOOD	MARITAL STATUS	RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF FAMILY	Roll No	RESIDENCE: At jurisdiction where enrolled (Yes or no)	RESIDENCE: At another jurisdiction (Name)	RESIDENCE: Elsewhere: Post office	RESIDENCE: Elsewhere: County	RESIDENCE: Elsewhere: State	WARD (Yes or no)	ALLOTMENT, ANNUITY, AND IDENTIFICATION NUMBERS
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	11	12	13	14	15	16
38	Barry	Maude May	F	5-2-07 27	Sioux	1/4	S	Alone	40	No		Pierre	Hughes	S.D.	Yes	An. 38 Al. 1162
39	Bear	Jennie K.	F	8/27/15 19	"	F	S	Alone	44	Yes					"	An. 41 Al. 1556
40	Bear	Smith/K/	M	1881 53	"	F	S	Alone	45	"					"	An. 42 Al. 585
41	B	Benjamin E.	M	5-11-09 24	"	F	Div	Hd	46	"					"	An. 43 Al. 1370
42	Big Eagle	Henry	M	1891 43	"	F	M	Hd	49	"					"	An. 46 Al. 1153
43	" (Fire-tail)	Julia	F	1895 39	"	F	M	Wf	50	"					"	An. 47 Al. 997
44	"	Marie	F	1-23-23 11	"	F	S	dau	51	"					"	An. 48
45	"	Henry M.	M	4-1-25 9	"	F	S	son	52	"					"	An. 49
46	"	Charlotte	F	7-2-28 6	"	F	S	dau	53	"					"	An. 50
47	" Gerald	Alvin	M	9-23-33 7/12	"	F	S	son	---	"					"	--
48	Big Eagle	John	M	7-9-03 31	"	3/4	M	Hd	56	"					"	An. 53 Al. 1154

Go back