Discrimination towards three ethnic groups in Missoula Montana

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DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS THREE ETHNIC GROUPS IN MISSOULA, MONTANA

by

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgements</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Illustrations</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter I

- A. Statement of the Problem
- B. Methods
- C. Definitions

## Chapter II

- A. Race Relations in Early America
- B. Race Relations in the American West and Montana
- C. Race Relations in Missoula, Montana

## Chapter III

- A. Introduction -- Anecdotal Data
- B. Hotels and Motels
- C. Barbershops
- D. Retail Business
- E. Entertainment and Social Life
- F. Real Estate and Housing
- G. Education
- H. Employment

## Chapter IV

- A. Mexicans
- B. Indians
- C. Negroes

## Chapter V

- Social Acceptance of Ethnic Groups in Missoula by Three Samples of the Majority

## Chapter VI

- Conclusions

## Appendix

- BIBLIOGRAPHY

iii
### LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Population Change in Missoula, Montana, from 1870 to 1957</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Questions Asked to Applicants or Parents by Private and Trade Schools in Missoula, Montana</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Recapitulation of Mexican National Earnings</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Geographical Distribution of Mexican Migrant Worker's Origin</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Comparison of Social Contact Range Indices Accorred to Indians, Mexicans, and Negroes by Group I</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Comparison of Social Contact Range Indices Accorred to Indians, Mexicans, and Negroes by Group II</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Comparison of Social Contact Range Indices Accorred to Indians, Mexicans, and Negroes by Group III</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Map of Mexico showing locations of points of origin for Mexican Migrant Workers</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Map of Missoula, Montana showing Distribution of Negro Homes in the City</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Unmarked questionnaire used in eliciting degree of acceptance of three samples of the majority towards ethnic groups</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Graphic representation of degree of acceptance accorded to ethnic groups by Group I</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Graphic representation of degree of acceptance accorded to ethnic groups by Group II</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Graphic representation of degree of acceptance accorded to ethnic groups by Group III</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

A holistic approach to the study of any culture, be it the culture of a village or a nation, would soon become a project of monumental and unmanageable proportions. In their study of culture anthropologists have recognized the culture trait as the basic unit in culture. Figuratively, we may think of culture as a heavy, strong, complexly intertwined rope, the individual strands of which are its culture traits. Before an ethnologist can thoroughly understand the whole interwoven complexity of the cultural rope, he must necessarily have a good knowledge of the symbiotic relationships between each trait fiber.

The study of race relations is only a part of the much larger area for investigation in the field of human relations. The study of human relations, in turn, serves to broaden and give us a better understanding of those aspects of culture which determine social behavior.

It seems important and necessary to investigate our local communities to determine the ways that peoples of different racial origin integrate in local societies. This becomes increasingly important in view of the fact that our media of communication are rapidly equating racial issues with the much-publicized Civil Rights issue, and the subject of civil liberties is daily being brought to the
fore. Partly as a result of this awareness many research projects have been undertaken which are aimed at gaining a better understanding of the problems in racial relations. It is unnecessary to mention here the great number of studies reported by ethnologists, social psychologists, and sociologists dealing with various aspects of race relations. Nevertheless, I soon became aware that detailed research of this type had never been conducted in Missoula.

The apparent absence of readily identifiable racial groups was noticeably when I first arrived in Missoula. But it was not long before I realized that a significant number of non-Caucasoids did live in the city, and I became curious as to the extent of racial problems in Missoula. I had lived in some of the larger cities in the eastern United States, where the excitement, competition, and rigors of metropolitan life effect a tragic change in people's attitudes towards each other. I wondered if it would be different here. This curiosity, which as first merely spurred my interest, crystallized into a very real subject for study and research when a member of the faculty in anthropology suggested that I carry out such an investigation in Missoula.

Is there discrimination practiced in Missoula towards people who differ racially from the majority? This was the first question in my mind as I began to design the ways and means to obtain the data. Other questions logically followed: If discrimination does exist, then how is it perceived by the groups in question? What forms does
it take against each ethnic group? In answering these questions, and many others, I hope that I have added to a better understanding of one of those strands which go to make up the rope.

The study of ethnic and cultural relations is very much in the anthropologist's realm. The science of anthropology has contributed much to the study of race and its more dynamic aspect -- that of race relations.

Anthropologists such as Franz Boas, Sherwood Washbrun, Ruth Benedict, Gene Weltfish, and others have shed much light on our views regarding race. They have shown that those characteristics which define race are genetically transmitted and that religion, language, and all the other aspects of culture are learned or acquired. Still, it is important and a cause for concern that people continue to attribute particular intellectual and moral capacities, and certain kinds of behavior to persons of a particular physical appearance or nationality. This social fact is even more important for student of race relations than everything that physical anthropologists tell us about racial characteristics, for attitudes and opinions determine behavior, and, thus, human relations.

In initial contact situations such as occurred when the Europeans first landed on these shores a mutual exchange of culture traits did much to provide for better understanding between the groups concerned. This process has also noticeably effected changes among many foreign groups which have, at one time or another, settled in this country.
Cultural and social anthropologists have contributed much to the understanding of this process, which has been called acculturation, i.e., "...those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." 1

Acculturations is but one process, however, in minority - majority relation dynamics. It has been demonstrated that even when culturally distinct groups have been thoroughly acculturated it has not always resulted in faster, more peaceful, or ready acceptance by the majority. Numerous studies by social scientists demonstrate that false beliefs and unfavorable opinions and attitudes are more directly responsible for unsatisfactory inter-group relations than is lack of acculturation.

A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

The purpose of this paper is:

(1) To demonstrate that discrimination does occur in Missoula.

I intend to test this hypothesis by making use of information obtained through interviews with members of the Anglo-Saxon majority group and tests administered to three selected sample of the majority.

It is further hypothesized that if discrimination does exist in Missoula, then,

(2) The forms of discriminatory behavior towards different ethnic groups will vary.

(3) These forms of discrimination have undergone changes through time.

Three minority groups were chosen for this study -- Indians, Mexicans, and Negroes. I decided to include more than one ethnic group in order to determine if each would elicit a different response from the majority. These three ethnic groups were chosen because they are present in significant numbers in Missoula, Montana, and because they fit the descriptions of typical out-groups.

B. METHODS:

The data collected and presented herewith were obtained through the use of various methods and techniques. The field work was done between August, 1958, and April, 1959. It must be stated here that this paper is not only the result of several months of intensive investigation but also of nearly four years of observation and participation.

Most of the data regarding the way in which the majority feels towards the minorities in various aspects of community life were
obtained by means of interviews. These interviews were conducted under a variety of conditions, e.g., bars, cafes, private homes, and offices. The method of interviews was a loose set of questions used to suggest and guide the conversation, rather than a rigid, highly structured questionnaire. This technique proved excellent for obtaining expressions of attitudes towards particular groups and actual accounts of behavior towards certain persons. In many instances the informant reflected his feelings towards the group the person represented and I interpreted his feelings as such. In trying to obtain data regarding the minority's perception of treatment given them by the majority I used interviews with individuals belonging to these minorities. The interviews were unstructured also in the types of questions posed to the informants and, as far as possible, non-directive. The first ethnic group worked with was the Mexican migrant workers in the Missoula area. The method employed with this group was the biogram, or biographical approach. The questionnaire used to obtain this type of information was originally designed by Dr. Manuel Gamio in his study of the Mexican immigrant to the United States. Data obtained in this manner proved difficult to work with because too much material was thus accumulated, much of it irrelevant to the problem. In the use of this type of

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approach there is also a high degree of dependence on the sophistication of the informant. Furthermore, it is very expensive in time costs. It was valuable, however, in the exploratory phase of the problem. I administered the "Bogardus Social Distance Test" to three selected samples of the majority: a group of 84 University students native to Missoula, a group of 21 young employees and businessmen, and a group of 21 elderly businessmen. In this manner I attempted to measure the degree of acceptance these sample groups exhibit towards the three ethnic groups.

C. DEFINITIONS.

There are a number of terms commonly used by students of minority-majority group relations which shall be used throughout this paper. Because these terms are the conceptual tools of the social scientist, and are extremely important means of communications they deserve some explanations here.

The concept of attitudes will be extensively used in this paper. It is defined as; "...consciously and rationally selected sentiment activated by a goal orientation and determined by a value system." 3

Ralph Linton has defined culture ideals as concepts which have been developed by the members of a society themselves as to how

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people should behave in particular situations. The formulating of a culture ideal is dependent, to a certain degree, upon the sophistication and the analytical criticisms of the individuals themselves towards their culture. If people are not critical and analytically conscious of their culture there is a tendency to rely on past forms of behavior in particular situations. This is particularly important and relevant in view of the fact that issues concerning civil rights are being brought to our daily attention today, thus making us even more conscious yet as to "how things should be." Real culture, on the other hand, is "...not a single item of behavior, but a series of actual behavior varying within a certain limits."^5

The words prejudice and discrimination do not have the same meaning, even if they are popularly synonymous, and, thus, they must be distinguished from each other. As Dr. Brewton Berry has pointed out, "Prejudice is more emotion, feeling, and bias than it is judgement."^6 And it may not necessarily be "pre" anything,

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^5 ibid. p. 45.
but merely a feeling about an issue, a thing, a person, or a group. It may not be "pre" anything, because although a great number of preconceived ideas may be broken down after one is exposed to the true facts, it has been demonstrated that unfavorable feelings may also arise after close contact with the issue, thing, person, or group. What makes prejudices unique is that they are generally rigid, inflexible, and often resistant to change even after exposure to the true facts. A factor complicating and hindering an all-encompassing definition of prejudice is that it is an emotional reaction based on individual feelings.

Discrimination, on the other hand, is the overt demonstration of prejudicial feelings. When associated with preferential or hostile treatment of groups of people, noticeable set apart by ethnic characteristics, it is generally referred to as racial or ethnic discrimination. Prejudice, then, may be considered the cause, and discriminatory behavior the effect of such a feeling.

The terms ethnic group, minority group, and out-group are used interchangeably. Although some social scientists employ these terms in slightly different contexts, I have used them interchangeably in this paper.

A minority group is one whose members suffer certain social disabilities such as discrimination, prejudice, segregation, abuse, or persecution (or a combination of these) at the hands of a different
kind of social group, which is generally the dominant one.

It is to be noted that no reference is made to the numerical factor, or numerical superiority of the majority. Although the minority groups we are concerned with in Missoula are, by far, fewer in numbers this is not necessarily so in other places. In South Africa the Europeans are considerably outnumbered by the "minority", or the out-group -- the Negro. 7 Or in Mexico the Indian is considered the minority, yet he makes up the larger segment in the total population. 8 In Missoula, Montana, however, we shall use the word minority with complete etymological support. The ethnic out-group in Missoula consists of less than two per cent of the total population.

Most students of minority groups and their problems recognize that the main source of difficulty for minority groups stems from, or is related to, special characteristics which the minority shares and of which the majority (and often the minority itself) disapproves in some degree, i.e., Social visibility.

These characteristics are usually phenotypic or somatic in character. The visible differences may also be cultural or behavioral,

7 Ibid. p. 9.
or a combination of these. The Negro, for example, although sharing the same socio-economic status of many whites, is much more noticeable because he has a black skin. It is the trademark of his relatively recent slave status. The Mexican is alienated even more because of his Indian features, his distinctly different cultural heritage, and his different language.

Most students of minority groups and minority problems agree that minority groups are self-conscious social units. Membership in a minority group or an ethnic group is transmitted genetically, thus automatically incorporating succeeding generations. In some cases kinskip inevitably binds an individual to the particular group even when the individual does not exhibit special cultural or physical traits which characterize the group. Partly as a result of this obligatory cohesiveness minority or ethnic groups tend to be endogamous.

In this respect it is interesting to note that if there is the slightest trace of Negro "blood" in his lineage a person may be classified as a Negro in the United States. This condition is completely reversed in other places, particularly in Latin America, where the reverse is the rule.

The minority groups in Missoula, Montana, with which this paper is concerned -- Mexicans, Negroes, and Indians -- exhibit one or more
of the characteristics outlined above. For this reason they will be referred to as ethnic groups, minority groups, or simply, out-groups.

One of the main ways by which feelings towards ethnic groups are transmitted is by use of the stereotype. The stereotype has been defined as "...a picture in the mind of the prejudiced person which is the point of reference from which particular prejudices, favorable or unfavorable, arise." 9

Throughout his whole history man has tried to unburden his perplexities, his frustrations, and his difficulties on something or somebody. Like the ancient Hebrews who loaded all their sins on a goat and chased the creature into the wilderness, modern man has also tried to find a scapegoat on which to unload his troubles. 10 For instance, Tertullian, the creator of Christian Latin literature wrote in the second century A.D.:

If the Tiber rose to the walls of the city, if the inundation of the Nile failed to give the fields enough water, if the heavens did not send rain, if an earthquake occurred, if famine threatened, if pestilence raged, the cry resounded, "Throw the Christians to the lions!" 11

The theory of scapegoatism attempts to explain the existence of


11 ibid. p. 382.
prejudice by the need that some people have to rationalize or blame others for their difficulties.

The most effective application of racial prejudice makes itself evident in the color line. Where the color line is invoked it is generally done by the dominant group against those whose skin pigmentation is different from their own. The basic axiom of the color line is one which forbids intermarriage between races. This is particularly applicable in relations between the white woman and the males of other races. By simple extension the rule forbids any kind of intimate relationships between the races.
CHAPTER II

ANTECEDENTS OF LOCAL ATTITUDES

A. RACE RELATIONS IN EARLY AMERICA.

Some people have the opinion that racial prejudice was brought over from Europe by early settlers and that no sooner had these early white Europeans set foot on American shores than they began to discriminate in various ways against the aborigines. If I were to venture an opinion I would say that the contrary seems to be true and that the first European settlers were quite free from bigotry in their treatment of the Indians. In fact racial prejudice was noticeably absent. As I pointed out in Chapter I the most basic and fundamental manifestations of racial prejudice become evident in the color line. The color line becomes quite real in matters of interracial marriage or miscegenation and the first colonists of this country were singularly free from control by the color line. Early American history records many occasions of intermarriage. Some of these "romances" have now been glamorized in our history books and in the popular literature, such as the marriage of John Rolfe, of Virginia, to Pocahontas, the daughter of the Algonkian Indian Chief Powhatan.

The colleges of Dartmouth, Harvard, and William and Mary were founded largely with views of furnishing education to young Indian men. To this day Dartmouth will admit Indian students tuition free.¹ Intermarriage between whites and Indians was openly advocated by

leaders such as Colonel William Byrd. 2 Colonel Byrd was a Virginia lawyer, a writer, and one of the earliest native American intellectuals of the 17th century.

The original intent of trading companies, e.g., the London and Plymouth companies chartered by the English government, was to establish trading posts on the American continent. These companies were given land grants by the crown and served as bases of operations for further expansion. Many factors influenced the increase in population which resulted from this foothold gained by the companies. But no motive was stronger than the desire for land. Landless gentry, cheated out of landowning by the rules of primogeniture, the peasants and artisans, who could never hope to own land if they stayed home, all looked to America for cheap land. Land was the magnet that attracted thousands upon thousands. 3

The interest in the newly discovered continent did not limit itself to England. Other European powers began to show an increased desire to acquire American land. The French and the Dutch claimed territories and established settlements on the newly opened continent.

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Even the Swedes planted a colony at the mouth of the Delaware River in 1638, but this was soon absorbed by the Dutch. As more and more immigrants arrived they demanded more land, and, except for the thin strips of land held by the trading companies, the land belonged to the Indians. With the increasing number of settlers, however, came a logical shift in the economy— from trading raw materials for finished products with the Indians to farming.

The Indian wife was an asset to the trader. This was the case among the Eastern trading posts and became even more evident yet among the traders in the Northwest later on. The farmer had no use for the Indian wife. He needed someone who could bake bread, help in the planting and harvesting of the crops, and in short, only those attributes found in a European wife. These abilities were not a part of the Indian woman's cultural heritage.

The power quest among the representatives of the European political units which had vested interests in America began to take its toll in Indian-white relations. Their need to expand could only be satisfied at the expense of the Indian. It was partially this physical expansion of the colonies which was responsible for the beginning of the Indian Wars in 1675. The Indian Wars continued more or less sporadically

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4 ibid. p. 8.
5 Macleod, op. cit. p. 380.
all during the course of the sometimes systematic, other times not so systematic, encroachment upon the Indian lands by the whites. Inevitably, the Indian fell before the relentless invader. The mutual hate, the bloody incidents, the massacres, the consistently broken treaties are now history. But it is to be noted that racial prejudice towards the Indian was the result of these conflicts, and not the cause of them.

The first Negro slaves who came to Jamestown in 1619 arrived not as slaves but as indentured servants. Just as was the case for European Caucasoid indentured servants, a Negro could buy his freedom after a certain number of years of service. 6

There were no laws or concepts of slavery in the American colonies then. The production of money crops requiring great amounts of cheap labor gave rise to the institution of the plantation system in the large land holdings of the southern colonies. This system was responsible for the institution of slavery. Certain ideas and concepts emerged from the black slave-white manager relationship. These ideas became fixed in southern culture and, with some variations, have endured up to the present.

B. RACE RELATIONS IN THE AMERICAN WEST AND MONTANA.

As white settlers moved ever westward their feelings towards the Indians were ones of fear and hate. In less than fifty years, between

1805 and 1850, a continent was conquered. This expansion to the West was accompanied by constant strife between Indians and the white men, and at the same time one of the Indian's main resources, the buffalo, was slaughtered almost to extinction. Most writers of that period misrepresented Indians and their culture stimulating the already strong feelings against them. And these flames were, of course, fanned by the constant friction between Indians and whites. It was a common belief during the middle and later 1800's that the Indians had "...an inherent love of war." 7

The Indian, best or worse, is a child. Let the man who really loves the Indian see to it that he is taken care of as a child; that he is restrained, guarded, kept from temptation to plunder. They simply cannot overcome, in one or two generations at least, this love of blood and plunder if reasonably tempted to take the field. 8

It is not unlikely that writings and statements such as this helped to create the stereotype of the Indian as an irresponsible child.

During the early 1800's powerful companies imported cheap Chinese labor into the West coast to work on the railroad lines which were then being laid throughout the western United States. This resulted in large numbers of Chinese appearing in the western territories. On

8 ibid., p. 352.
the west coast particularly, the ever-increasing number of Chinese who worked for "coolie wages" caused great dissatisfaction among the unemployed. Caucasoid labor on the Pacific states began a movement which stopped just short of armed revolt. In this case the Chinese represented a very direct economic threat to the majority, and this resulted in legislation, attitudes, and behavior aimed at restricting and, if possible, eliminating this threat in the "arena of competition." 9

This had its effect in an area as far removed as Montana. In 1866 Governor Green Clay Smith addressed the legislative assembly of the territory of Montana and said:

That the young state of Minnesota has succeeded in securing a large number of immigrants of Norwegians, Swedes, and Germans — a population industrious, frugal, and admirably adapted to her rigorous climate and long winters; men and women fitted by intelligence and education to become worthy American citizens and valuable residents of such a state.

It has been my purpose to bring such European immigrants to Montana as may properly intermarry with American and form

9 Hicks, op. cit., p. 544.
a homogenous and thrifty population of civilized, christian
men and women....

I am also opposed to the importation of laborers from any
of the barbarous or semicivilized races of men, and do not
propose to cooperate in any scheme organized to bring such
laborers into Montana, or to any part of this country. 10

It is apparent that it was the Chinese to which Governor Green
Clay Smith referred as the "barbarous or semi-civilized races of men..."
who were then being imported into the country.

It would seem that adverse feelings and action directed against
non-Caucasoid or non-Anglo Saxon peoples have existed since Montana
first became a recognizable political entity populated by a culturally
homogenous population. During the first years of Indian-white contacts,
white men competed with Indians for valuable mining lands or grazing
districts. These feelings were focused with ferocious intensity on the
Indians. It seems that similar feelings were extended to any outsider
who represented a threat to the foothold which the Anglo-Saxon pioneers
were trying to establish in the West. Many bloody and violent clashes
between the incoming pioneers and the already established Spanish
population of California and the Southwest have been recorded by his-
torians. It becomes increasingly apparent that the Anglo-Saxon pioneers

10 Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, History of Montana, The Lewis Publishing Co.,
very early exhibited a desire to subjugate and place in a subservient position anyone who was visibly different from them.

The question, then, logically arises, what was the origin of these pioneers who brought such discriminatory behavior with them? And the southern United States immediately jumps into focus, for there a costly and bloody struggle had just taken place with the question of slavery as one of the reputed reasons.

But:

In the year 1864, fifty per cent of the total population of Montana had been born in non-southern states. Twenty-eight per cent had been born in foreign lands, and only twenty-two per cent in the South. In 1870 the South contributed only fifteen per cent of the total, the foreign born showing a rise to forty-three per cent. ¹¹

As can be plainly seen, the southerners were a marked minority in Montana at this time.

This was a marginal area unsure of which way of life to adopt or of which way to turn. In Montana, as well as in other areas of the embryonic American west in the same stages of development, attitudes and ideals shifted towards those of the aristocratic, segregatory South.

Shortly after the Civil War, in 1872, the Montana legislature passed a law segregating Negroes in schools.

Sec. 1120 - The education of children of African descent shall be provided for in separate schools. Upon the written applications of the parents or guardians of at least ten such children, to any board of trustees, a separate school shall be established for the education of such children and the education of a less number may be provided for by the trustees, in separate schools, in any other manner, and the same laws, rules and regulations which apply to schools for white children shall apply to schools for colored. 12

Segregation in schools was not restricted to Negroes but extended to include Indians as well. Until 1950 Indian students were segregated in schools in some communities of Montana. 13

Members of all groups seem to express a desire for protection of their culture. This desire is expressed in a whole gamut of behavior varying from a very gentle and forgiving manner to extremely vicious and violent type of behavior. W. G. Sumner first labeled this tendency of members of societies -- ethnocentrism. 14 One trait of ethnocentrism is manifested in the almost universal desire of a group to protect its

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13 Comments made by Raymond Grey, at the Fourth Annual Institute of Indian Affairs, held at Montana State University, Missoula, Montana, April, 1957.

womanhood from the males of other groups. Protective actions may vary within a very wide range of alternatives. Such actions may vary from rather slight moral sanctions to harsh physical punishment, culminating in the death penalty.

I believe that the degree of ethnocentrism of a group may be correlated with the type of action a group takes in attempting to protect its womanhood. In Montana this protective measure took the form of legislation prohibiting marriage between races.

Sec. 5700 - Marriage between white person and Negro void. Every marriage hereafter contracted or solemnized between white person and a Negro, or a person of Negro blood or in part Negro, shall be utterly null and void.

Sec. 5701 - Marriage between a white person and Chinese void. Every marriage hereafter contracted or solemnized between any white person and a Chinese shall be utterly null and void.

Sec. 5702 - Marriage between a white person and a Japanese void. Every marriage hereafter contracted or solemnized between a white person and Japanese person shall be utterly null and void.

This condition apparently changed when an increasing number of American G.I.'s began marrying Japanese girls and bringing them back to the United States during the Korean War of 1950-1953. These statutes were repealed by the 1953 legislative session.

C. RACE RELATIONS IN MISSOULA, MONTANA.

The city of Missoula is located in a valley on the western slope of the

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Rocky Mountains in western Montana at an altitude of 3223 feet above sea level. It is a small city of 30,000 inhabitants. One of the largest units of the University system of Montana -- Montana State University -- is located in Missoula. The presence of the University has been significant for the people of Missoula, for it has made the city the intellectual center of the state. The University offers opportunities for adult education and intellectual activities which have probably made the people of Missoula the best educated of any city in Montana.

The history of Missoula is characterized by a gradual, slow growth. The city never experienced a "boom" of a rapidly expanding industry that would bring in a large number of people. Throughout its rather short history Missoula has been primarily a center of commerce for the outlying areas and a shipping point for the agricultural produce of these areas. It is the hub of five great valleys; the Lower Flathead, the Bitterroot, the Rattlesnake, the Blackfoot, and the Frenchtown valleys. Agriculturally, these are very fertile areas and ideally suited for farming and ranching.

In the early days land was easily obtained and farming soon became the stable economic pursuit. A few mines were exploited but never on a very significant scale. Lumber or timber, however, offered good opportunities for economic exploitation from the very beginning of the colonization period.

The areas in western Montana were gradually settled and a semi-permanent trading post established to supply these pioneers with some
of the necessary imported staples. In 1860 two enterprising businessmen, Frank L. Worden and C. P. Higgins, started from Walla Walla, Washington, loaded with merchandise to trade at the Indian Agency. They stopped at Hell's Gate, where they built a small log house and started a store. This was to be the nucleus for the future town and subsequent city of Missoula.

In 1864-1865 the first sawmill was erected in Missoula by Worden and Company. This was only the beginning of what was later to become one of the main, if not the main and most important industry in Missoula. There are eighteen lumber mills in Missoula. The local economy is dependent on these, directly or indirectly, for its subsistence. The by-products of this industry have given rise to a number of other industries which have been an important force behind Missoula's gradual increase in population. (cf. Table 1).

The growth of population, as in every other city, was dependent on the expansion of the community's industrial potential. Industries were locally developed, and the labor demand created by the expansion was locally supplied. There was no great need to import cheap labor, either from other countries or from other parts of the United States. However, this need did arise later with the expansion of the sugar beet industry and the labor shortage created by World War II. Mexican laborers were

17 ibid. p. 852.
18 Missoula Chamber of Commerce, Interview.
then brought in to work in the beet fields, but their employment was only temporary, lasting only for short summer months when the sugar beets were harvested. These Mexican laborers did not present a very great threat in the "arena of competition," for they generally performed services or worked in occupations which local people considered undesirable. They constitute, nevertheless, a very real minority group which will be discussed in Chapter IV.

From 1900 to 1910 the number of non-Caucasoids in Missoula showed a definite increase. The number of negroes rose from twenty-two, in 1900, to one hundred and twenty, in 1910. Orientals and other races numbered one hundred and thirty-one in 1910. The Bureau of the Census uses the term "other races" to mean Asiatics or Orientals, Mexicans of Predominantly Indian blood, and Indians and Negroes of mixed blood. In all of the history of Missoula the number of non-caucasoids has never been higher than it was in the 1900-1910 decade. Here then is the first evidence of a limited number of visibly different individuals engaging in economic competition with the dominant whites in Missoula. The Negroes, at this time, comprised .93 per cent of the total population, and the Orientals and "other races" made up slightly more

19 U. S. Bureau of the Census Reports for 1900 and 1910
than 1 per cent of the total population.
TABLE 1

POPULATION CHANGE IN MISSOULA, MONTANA, FROM 1870 TO 1957 a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>2,654 (Missoula County)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>2,537 (Missoula County)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>3,426</td>
<td>City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>4,366</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>12,869</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>12,668</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>14,657</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>18,449</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>22,485</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>23,700 b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>30,000 c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a U.S. Bureau of the Census Reports for the years indicated and Missoula Chamber of Commerce.

b From "Sales Management," Missoula Chamber of Commerce.

c New area annexed to the city, Missoula Chamber of Commerce.
Thus, the non-Caucasoid population comprised a small percentage indeed. It should be pointed out that, by and large, this minority performed many occupations which were undesirable to the majority. The Chinese owned laundries and eating places located mainly on Front Street. They were patronized and frequented by many members of the local elite. The Negroes, for the most part, were relegated to lower positions, serving as janitors, attendants in public baths, bootblacks and domestic servants. There was one Negro carpenter in Missoula at this time.  

Today, there is only one handful of Negro families in Missoula. For the most part they are descendants of those who arrived in the city around the turn of the century. I found the number of Indian families who have settled in the community also quite limited.

Even today, however, there seems to be a widespread tendency to regard non-Caucasoids as undesirable. This feeling is subtly injected in public statements. The 1958 Missoula City Directory, referring to Missoula's desirability as a place to live commented:

Missoula is essentially a city of homes. Founded in 1864 by Capt. C. P. Higgins and F. L. Worden, it has been peopled by pioneers

20 This 1900-1910 occupational data were obtained from interviews with a number of the "old-timers" in the city.

21 From interviews with thirteen Negro families living in Missoula.
and successive generations of their children who love the city for itself. There is little or no foreign element, as the growth of the town has been due largely to a steady influx of the Anglo-Saxon races. The influence of the University adds much to Missoula's intellectual life. The results of these factors is a city of high standards, and a freedom from the artificial society groups common to many young towns. 22

The extent to which this statement reflects prevailing attitudes among the citizens in Missoula will be examined in a later chapter.

In this chapter I have attempted to bring forth some of the more salient historical facts which I feel are responsible for some of the attitudes towards ethnic groups in Missoula. Hostile feelings towards Indians were not imported from Europe but were the result of the constant warring between the invading whites and the aboriginal occupants of the North American continent. The first Negroes were not brought to the United States as slaves but as indentured servants. The establishment of the plantation system in the South was responsible for the institution of slavery. A superior attitude of the whites towards the Negroes is the result of the Negroes' relatively recent slave status. During the course of the conquest of the continent the Anglo-Saxon conquerors developed a feeling of superiority towards people of non-Caucasoid origin. These feelings were motivated, probably, by fears

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of the competition these "different" peoples presented or by a desire to retain only for Anglo-Saxons the land they had taken and the progress they had achieved. In the next chapter I will show how these attitudes are reflected in discriminatory behavior against the ethnic groups present in Missoula.
CHAPTER III

DISCRIMINATION IN MISSOULA

A. INTRODUCTION -- ANECDOTAL DATA.

The first section of this chapter consists of descriptions of some cases where discrimination was observed to occur in Missoula, Montana. These represent cases where prejudice, i.e., feelings, emotions, attitudes have produced overt action directed against members of minority groups. The use of this anecdotal data is not designed to provide a base for generalizations of the extent, magnitude, and forms of discrimination in Missoula. It is merely employed to illustrate better what I mean by racial or ethnic discrimination and to make evident the fact that racial discrimination does exist in Missoula.

I observed some of these cases, others were reported by students on a research project, and others were given to me by voluntary informants. Because anonymity must be maintained, the identity of the voluntary informants cannot be revealed. The research project was part of a course in "Race and Minorities" in the Sociology-Anthropology Department at Montana State University. The manuscripts were kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Carling Malouf, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Montana State University.
What does a haircut mean to you or me? Twenty minutes in the barberchair every two weeks for $1.25, a normal part of your life. But I saw a Negro man refused service in a very unkindly way in a local barber shop. Instead of telling the man quietly that he could not get a haircut, the barber ignored him and told another customer he was next. The Negro thought his turn was next.

The barber told him in an unfriendly tone, "We don't cut colored folk's hair in this shop." After the colored man left, a rather messy looking customer said in a self-important way, "It's about time those black b...... learned they don't own this town!" ¹

I was waiting for my turn at the chair in one of the two barber-shops in town that will cut a Negro's hair while one of the barbers finished cutting a young Negro Man's hair. As the young man walked out of the shop the barber turned to the other customers who were waiting for their turn at the chair and said, half apologetically, "Well, somebody has got to cut their hair, hasn't he?"

As soon as they entered the usual noises of the barroom ceased and everyone turned their attention to the bartender who refused any kind of service to the couple. The white girl began to protest, but her Negro escort silenced her and they quickly left the bar. It seemed as though this sort of thing had happened to the Negro many times before. ²

¹ Jerry Hayes, My Observation of Racial and Minority Group Problems In Missoula, Manuscript, 1956
A romance flourished on the campus of Montana State University some time ago between a white girl and a Negro student who was enrolled on an athletic scholarship. There was much talk about it, for they seemed to be genuinely in love and were planning on going ahead to more serious relationship. But they faced tremendous difficulties in meeting and going out on dates. The young man had to pick her up in places other than her dormitory, and the places where they could go together for entertainment were limited. Neither could he return her to the lobby of her dormitory and say goodnight with the rest of the returning dates. There was another case, rather recently, of a University basketball star, a young man of Negro parentage who married a very attractive blonde girl, a student at St. Patrick's School of Nursing. After they married they lived in Missoula for several months, but life became increasingly difficult for them, as his prowess on the basketball court became more of a matter of history. They recently moved to Canada.

A recent case involving a Negro student at Montana State University and a white girl was recently brought to my attention. It seems the young Negro man, who is a basketball player attending the University on an athletic scholarship, had been dating a white girl rather steadily for some time. The Negro was told by a member of the
faculty to discontinue dating the girl if he did not want to lose his athletic scholarship. Another Negro football player who has attended the University for the last four years was also advised to desist from dating white girls lest he lose his scholarship.

One finds the deepest feelings, most intense emotions, and negative responses in this area of interracial marriage or interracial dating. A department manager of the leading store in the city explained the repugnance at seeing a white woman with a man of another race as "something innate in all white men." He thought it must be an inherent feeling because, although he had never been taught to react in such a manner in his home, he still felt anger and disgust when he saw a mixed couple.

* * *

While eating dinner with some friends one Sunday afternoon in downtown Missoula an Oriental couple entered the cafe. They sat down in a booth in front of us and waited for service. After an unusually long time a waiter came to their table and asked them to leave pointing to a sign over the counter that read, "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone". The couple was obviously stunned, but left without saying a word.

I was in the men's department of one of the larger stores in the city when a Negro lady entered the department. There was a white man ahead of the Negro and two entered after the Negro. The clerk waited on all the other men while the lady was made to wait. Not until all the other customers were gone did one of the clerks assist the colored woman.

3 ibid.
Many times the action of one individual is interpreted as representing the policy of the business establishment itself. This may not necessarily be so. I conducted a number of interviews with storeowners and merchants in the city. During the course of these interviews I asked them selected questions regarding their trade with people of other races. No merchant claimed to refuse service to anyone for reasons of his race. All said that everyone was welcome in their places of business. To them, business was business and personal feelings were to be left out of it. In fact some of them went out of their way to demonstrate to me that they had, on occasions, catered to people of other races, remarking, "Their money's just as good as anybody's"

However, in spite of the profit-making motivation of businessmen service is sometimes denied to members of minority ethnic groups. One evening two University students went downtown with the expressed purpose of discovering which bars would serve a Negro and which ones would not. One of the students was white, the other a Negro. Of five bars visited within two downtown city blocks, one denied service to the Negro student. However, one of the students returned another night and asked the bartender if a Negro would be served in his bar and the man said he would be served. There was another bartender on duty that night. So it is extremely
difficult to determine, on the basis of verbal behavior, which establish-
sments do discriminate against members of minority groups and which
ones do not. One must generalize on the basis of repeated or consistent
negative behavior.

* * *

As everyone knows there is "love for sale" in the "Bar of
Justice Tavern and Hotel." I managed to engage one of the
"girls" in a conversation and after buying her a drink
I told her that my buddy, a Negro, was waiting in the car and
wanted to proposition her. She very bluntly said, "No"
because, after all, who did I think she was? She was a
white girl and would not go to bed with a "nigger". She
was absolutely convinced that she was plying an honorable
trade and would lower her status by doing business with a
Negro. 4

* * *

One student of anthropology, a native of Puerto Rico, incremented
his G.I. Bill income by working as a clerk in a downtown hotel. One
day, while he was attending to his duties behind the desk, a well-
dressed gentleman approached him and engaged him in conversation.
Eventually, it came out that the clerk was a student at Montana State
University and that he was from Puerto Rico. Amazed, the gentleman
remarked that he spoke very good English, "Indeed, almost as good as
a white man!" The clerk chose to leave him blissful in his ignorance.

4 Ruben E. Santiago, Problems of Race and Minorities in Missoula, Manuscript
1956
However, it is this sort of incident and remarks which give us a glance at one of the main causes and reasons for the existence of Prejudices, i.e., ignorance, lack of education and information.

In some cases the trade from otherwise unacceptable people is desired and sought after. This is particularly true for Indians during the time of the year when they receive their tribal dividends. The Indian trade in Missoula is mostly limited to business places on the north end of Higgins Avenue. There, Indians buy most of their goods, such as western clothing and the like. While they have money they are welcome as customers, but when their money runs out the Indians are no longer desirable.

* * *

An Indian was trying to effect a change of merchandise in a store where he bought the goods. He did not have a sales slip and the clerk refused the exchange. This could happen to anyone, but the clerk later said, "I wouldn't have made the exchange with that damned Indian even if he had a sales slip."

* * *

Several years ago a Negro student at Montana State University became very interested in problems of race and discrimination in this area. This student, a native of Missoula, had this to say about it:

Not only is prejudice strong against the Negro in Montana, but also against other minorities. One day while I was playing a game of whist with a group of University students, a conversation arose about a certain Jewish boy. The talk went something like this:

"Say Joe, you know that kike downstairs? Well he had the nerve to ask Alice to the dance Saturday!"

"No kidding?" said Joe, "Jesus, you would think those damned kikes would leave something of ours alone."

I left the room then knowing that if they spoke about that boy in such a way, they would do the same about me when I wasn't there.

* * *

This section was mainly composed of anecdotal data which were presented merely to show that discrimination towards members of different ethnic groups does occur in Missoula. These data are not intended as conclusive evidence of the forms, extent, or magnitude of the racial problem in the city. Behavior towards members of minority groups similar to that described in the cases presented is to be considered as discriminatory.

In the following sections discriminatory behavior towards ethnic groups in Missoula will be described more systematically by considering certain areas of community activity in which such behavior is most apparent. It is in areas of social interaction such as, hotels, retail businesses, bars, housing, and employment where discrimination will occur.

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become evident in a variety of forms. For this reason I have chosen to concentrate the task of gathering data on those aspects of community life.

B. HOTELS AND MOTELS.

There are forty-two motels and hotels in Missoula; seventeen motels and twenty-five hotels. The sample investigated represents seventy-one per cent of the hotels and motels in the city.

Of fifteen hotels investigated as to their attitudes towards accepting people of races other than Caucasoid, only two made an official policy of denying lodging to non-Caucasoids. In four others the clerks remarked that if it were up to them they would not allow Negroes or Indians in the hotel. Inquiring further into their reason for not renting to Negroes or Indians, I was only able to get an "I just don't like them" for an answer. These clerks generally toned down their remarks considerably when asked to expand on their reasons for excluding non-Caucasoid from the hotel. Their primary reaction was an unfavorable one. Further investigation showed that the management of the hotel had no stated policy of exclusion and anyone was welcome. Aside from the two cases where discrimination was verbalized and part of official policy, I considered the other doubtful cases to represent attitudes of the individual clerks concerned, rather than those of the management. In the remaining nine cases
there was expressed a feeling of indifference towards all ethnic groups. An equal number of motels (15) was also investigated. The clerks of these were similarly interviewed as to the policies of the respective motels in renting to non-whites. Thirteen readily declared that the race of the guest would be of no importance. Two doubtful cases expressed a number of conditions that the potential non-Caucasoid would have to meet in order to be acceptable. These conditions varied from manner of speech to model of car or style of dress of the prospective customer. In this manner they expressed their desire to cater only to those non-whites who showed tangible proof of their social and economic status. These two motels belong in what we commonly believe to be the "high class" bracket, for they are the two most expensive ones in the city. However, the managers of all the motels and hotels contacted declared that their guests would have to be decently dressed, clean, and sober individuals.

C. BARBERSHOPS.

There are twenty-eight barbershops in Missoula eighteen of which were investigated. I limited the sample only to those barbershops which were closest to the business district on the assumption that these would handle most of the transient and varied trade. The neighborhood barbershops generally enjoy an established neighborhood trade. All were
indifferent towards Indians and Mexicans, except two barbers who expressed their dislike for Mexicans, on the grounds that "they are greasy." Only two shops will cut a Negro's hair; the rest simply would not cut their hair.

D. RETAIL BUSINESS.

From information obtained from the Chamber of Commerce of Missoula and from six of the most prominent businessmen in the city, it seems safe to assume that any person belonging to any ethnic group may come to Missoula and establish himself in business. No active group will present organized opposition, and the newcomer will not meet zoning regulation or other restrictive covenants. Opposition may come, however, in the form of pressures from influential individuals. Such has been the case in other facets of life, as I shall demonstrate in another section.

E. ENTERTAINMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE.

In this aspect of life outright overt manifestations of racial discrimination are frequently observed in Missoula.

Insofar as I was able to determine, only one bar in Missoula absolutely refused service to all Negroes. This bar caters to the local "elite", and is one of the so called sophisticated type of lounge. I attempted to obtain valid and reliable responses of bartenders to Negroes by going to as many bars as possible accompanied by a Negro friend who
voluntarily offered himself for the experiment. We were denied service in only one of ten bars visited. The extent of this trial was limited only by lack of funds for this type of research and not by the unwillingness of the investigators. Conclusions about other taverns in the city were reached through interviews and observation.

Indians and Mexicans frequent mostly those bars which are located in the "skid row" section of the city. In Missoula this area is better known as Woody Street. The bars in this area cater mainly to the laboring class. All bartenders of the Woody Street bars stated that as long as Indians, Mexicans, or Negroes were well-behaved, and not troublesome, they would be welcome.

There are two popularly attended dance halls in Missoula. In addition there are several bars which have dance floors and allow dancing. Dance halls are explicit in their refusal to accept non-Caucasoids. In this manner the majority invokes and applies the color line in what appears to be an attempt to protect white womanhood against any possibility of intimacy with non-Caucasoid men.

Social clubs are, by far, the most discriminatory of all the organizations investigated. By social clubs I mean all those organizations, such as fraternal orders, labor lodges, and the like, whose administration and activities are handled by a group of elected officers, and whose main purpose is recreation. Membership in these clubs is by application
and subsequent approval of active members.

Upon inquiring about the requirements for admission at the central office for the Masonic Temple Association in Missoula, I was informed that several prerequisites must first be fulfilled. The clerk explained that the applicant must have resided in the city for at least six months previous to application, or present affidavits from the last place of residence. The applicant must also be recommended by active members and be a member of the white race. Much was made of the point that there are several members of Italian extraction, others of Greek origin, and even a few of known Indian ancestry, but Negroes could not be accepted. In other parts of the country Negroes have lodges exclusively for members of their race, but since the number of Negroes in Missoula is quite limited there is no justification for starting another chapter solely for them. Present members could not possible accept them in the local chapters, thus, Negroes are simply excluded.

The Elks will not admit Negroes but will, theoretically, admit Indians. This policy is not exhibited in writing, as it is in other organizations, but since membership is largely decided by popular vote the composition of the membership is a reasonably valid measure of the degree of prejudice shown by the members. Actually, no individuals of known Indian origin were members of the Elks. Indians were not
acceptable to the club until the Federal law prohibiting the sale of liquor to an Indian was repealed. It was rationalized by a member in this manner; "If the Indian could not buy liquor, or even be present in a place where liquor was sold, what was the sense of his belonging to the club." Liquor control regulations are no longer applicable to Indians but they are still not admitted to the club.

In the application blank of the "Fraternal Order of the Eagles" (F. O. E.), it is clearly stated that the applicant must be "of sound body and mind, of the Caucasian Race, and believing in the existence of a Supreme Being, and not a member of or in any way affiliated with the Communist Party...."

Also in the preliminary membership application of the "Loyal Order of the Moose" there is a statement which reads, "I hereby certify that I am of sound body and mind, being a member of the Caucasian, white race, and not married to any other race, and a believer in a Supreme Being." This statement must be signed by the applicant.

In his petition for membership in the "Independent Order of Odd Fellows" (I. O. O. F.) the applicant must also sign a statement certifying that "I am of full white blood."

F. REAL ESTATE AND HOUSING.

A rather exhaustive research was conducted in the general area
of real estate and housing in an attempt to discover any established or official discriminatory practices in the local real estate business.

All real estate companies belonging to the Multiple Listing Bureau were contacted. These numbered eighteen in total.

With the exception of one real estate agent, all were willing to talk and expressed their contention that the ethnic or cultural background of a prospective customer would have absolutely no bearing on a potential business transaction. Some even went so far as to say that any such deal would only involve the client and the company, and the realtor would be quite unconcerned about the reactions of the prospective neighbors. One of the agents interviewed mentioned a case in which he had shown a Negro lady a house in a very exclusive section of the city. He said that persons in the neighborhood did not seem to mind or to have any feeling of rejection towards this woman. As it turned out she did not buy there, but she did buy in another expensive section of the city. Most real estate dealers seemed to believe that members of minority groups would be restricted only by their own financial means rather than by unfavorable attitudes. They claimed that the amount of money the client was willing and able to invest would place him in the neighborhood that his economic class dictated.
There were some cases in which individual feelings certainly affected a proposed contract. The two cases described herein definitely show the manner in which individual feelings may affect such a contract. An official of one of the large real estate offices in Missoula told me of the following experiences.

This agent showed a house to a Hawaiian family of apparently Mongoloid extraction, who were planning to buy in Missoula. The Hawaiian was a graduate of Ohio State University, a wealthy, middle-aged man, who had had successful financial dealings in his country and was considering possible investments or speculations in Montana oil lands. His family had been favorably impressed by the city and had chosen to make their home in Missoula. The real estate agent showed them a house which had a fireplace and the other features that they like very much. They decided to buy it and were looking forward to their first white Christmas in Montana. Arrangements were made with a local bank to handle the account. One of the prospective neighbors, however, had seen Mr.______, the agent, show the Hawaiian family the empty house next door to his. He promptly contacted the real estate office and advised them to drop the deal, for he had no desire to have neighbors who were not "pure white Americans." The office, of course, refused. The local citizen, being quite influential, brought into play his connections among the leading citizenry and managed to
have the bank renege on the deal. Such action from the bank made the transaction impossible, much to the chagrin and embarrassment of the real estate representative. The family never did settle in Montana.

The same gentleman told of another instance wherein a buyer showed strong prejudices which definitely decided the outcome of the transaction. A house was being shown to a federal employee who was being transferred to Missoula for a specified period of time. The property was satisfactory and the sale was ready to be concluded. The prospective buyer, however, discovered that one of his neighbors would be a Negro family and immediately decided against buying the property. The reasons he gave the agent were that, though he was not prejudiced, the presence of a Negro as a neighbor would hinder resale of the property when his period of appointment in Missoula was ended.

One real estate office in Missoula lists the most expensive properties and prides itself on catering to the "elite" or wealthier class of customers. It is the policy of this office to solicit the sentiments of the neighborhood before they lease or sell property to someone who belongs to a minority group and might encounter resistance. If the new family is acceptable to the neighborhood the office proceeds with the transaction. The manager of this office offered the opinion
that persons belonging to the "out-group" would have difficulty obtaining a dwelling in certain areas of the city, mainly the so-called "high class" areas. He gave this as the reason for conducting an acceptance check before selling or leasing. The company's policy is apparently a desire to lessen tensions and avoid embarrassment to either side.

This gentleman personally handled the case of a wealthy Chinese resident of Missoula. The Chinese is a well known, accepted, and well liked restaurateur in the city. He has resided in Missoula most of his life and wanted to buy a home in the section known as "Farviews." He owned a home in the residential section of the city located directly south of the University but wanted to buy a much larger and more beautiful home in "Farviews." Most of the legal and financial details had been worked out when an obscure clause in the convenant governing the ownership of property in the Farview Project was discovered. The owner of the project had specified that only Caucasoids could own property there. However, since federal funds were involved, the discriminatory clause was ruled unconstitutional.

In conclusion then, there is no established practice in Missoula segregating the races into particular areas of the city. However, I was told by several old Negro residents that in their opinion there still is a certain "tradition" among the majority regarding segregation in housing, particularly towards Negroes. They said that the whites expect
the Negroes to be clannish and for this reason deem it necessary
to keep the Negroes at a distance rather than risk a "black invasion"
into white residential sections once the whites allowed Negroes to
move in. They also declared that these attitudes have undergone
considerable change in the last several years but that some of these
attitudes still persist. Twenty years ago, for example, negroes found
much difficulty in trying to rent or buy a house anywhere in the city.
Now, they live anywhere they can afford to, provided they risk moving
into traditionally white areas of the city. Discriminatory behavior in
housing in Missoula may be found in the form of individual action or
pressures motivated by prejudicial feelings.

G. EDUCATION.

I found discrimination in schools and trade schools of Missoula
noticeably absent. No student is denied entrance into any private
school or trade school because of his racial origin. The strongest
intimation of how ethnic or cultural background may affect an applicant's
admission is in the information required by the institution to which
he is applying. Questions asked by private and trade schools in
Missoula are presented in chart form on the next page (cf. Table 2).

In this chart asterisks (*) designate questions put to the applicant
on his application blank, orally or to his parents. The fact that they
are asked is not a valid enough criterion to say that the institution discriminates in choosing their students, but these required answers may influence whoever is responsible for deciding on whether to accept or reject the applicant.

The institution with the highest number of marks on the chart, (St. Patrick's School of Nursing), did not accept Negroes until five or six years ago, although Indian girls have always been allowed to attend the Nursing School. I talked to two Negro women, both Registered Nurses, who applied for entrance to St. Patrick's School of Nursing and were turned down because the school did not admit Negroes at the time. They attended schools in New York and St. Louis respectively.

One said:

I had no trouble getting a job once I graduated, I even got to be Floor Supervisor at St. Patrick's Hospital, Missoula, Montana after I came back. But we could not go to school here because we were Negroes!
TABLE 2
QUESTIONS ASKED TO APPLICANTS OR PARENTS BY PRIVATE AND TRADE SCHOOLS IN MISSOULA, MONTANA. a

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<th>Institution</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Religion or Church Preference</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Native or Natural Citizen</th>
<th>Descent or Ancestry</th>
<th>Mother's or Wife's Maiden</th>
<th>Photo</th>
<th>Name of Relative Who Attended</th>
<th>Language Spoken at Home</th>
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<td>Modern Beauty Sch. and Shop</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Business College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick's Sch. of Nursing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Legend:  A = Applicant

P = Parent
H. EMPLOYMENT.

It has already been indicated that the main source of employment in Missoula, Montana, is in the lumber mills or related industries. These mills are reluctant to hire Negroes. Some Negroes have worked in some of the local mills, but these individuals held athletic scholarships at the University and were able to secure temporary summer employment through their connections with influential faculty members.

Indians do not seem to meet much opposition in securing employment in the lumber industry. This may be mainly due to the fact that several Indians actively participate in the lumber industry by selling timber from their reservation lands to some of the mills. In most cases it was these same Indians who came into the city to work in the lumber mills during the winter months when they could not do any timbering. The workers in the mills did not seem to object too strongly to working side by side with an Indian. They do, however, object strongly to working with Negroes. Occasionally, there was noticed a feeling of antipathy towards Indians based on the commonly believed stereotype that Indians are lazy. This feeling was verbalized by some of the workers contacted, who said something like this, "he's a damned good worker, unlike the rest of them injuns!"  

7 The remarks stated above are based on my experience as a millhand during the summer of 1958. I worked as a laborer in a lumber mill and had occasion for close contact with many mill workers, Indian and white.
I learned there were some Indians in the city living on benefits from the Welfare Department. I contacted the Welfare Department, hoping to get from them the exact number of these Indians on relief, their addresses, and other pertinent information which would enable me to contact them personally for interviews. The County Welfare Office in Missoula refused to release this information. They did tell me that some Indians received assistance, and the welfare workers suggested three reasons which they thought were directly responsible for the Indian's inability to secure employment in the city. These are: 1) discrimination, i.e., active selection against Indians by employers, 2) lack of acculturation, and 3) lack of a good knowledge of the English language. Of the three reasons given the most effective one is the second, insofar as I was able to determine and shall demonstrate shortly.

Employers throughout the city claimed that their decision to employ an individual would definitely not be based on his race or national origin but on the applicant's ability to perform satisfactorily the job for which he applied.

All major department stores were contacted and their personnel managers interviewed. Numerous shops and stores were thus investigated, as well as the major companies in Missoula, e.g., The Montana Power Company, The Northern Pacific Railroad, and others.

As an example, the personnel manager of the largest department
store in Missoula said:

Neither Mr. _______, the president, nor I would have any objection whatsoever to hiring a Negro girl as a salesgirl or secretary, or persons of any other race. But if we did hire a non-white girl I'm afraid she would have a hard time, specially if her pay were higher than the other employees. I would venture to say that she would not even be able to eat in the lunch room with the other employees. We have no control over these things.

Other businessmen expressed a similar apprehension, particularly those involved in businesses dependent mainly upon direct public patronage. In the restaurant business, for example some owners and managers claimed that they would not object to hiring a Negro or an Indian or a Mexican to work in their place, but they feared that if they did it would have some effect upon the number of their patrons. One of the reasons given was that "many people would object to having their hamburgers served by a black or brown hand." They also expressed their apprehension that if they catered to non-whites they might lose some of their "more conservative" trade.

These feelings seemed to be based on the commonly held belief that non-Caucasoid races are "naturally dirty." This was the motivation, for instance, in the rather amusing case of a wealthy family of Missoula that hired a Negro domestic. The family referred to unquestionably belongs to the wealthiest class of Missoula. The presence of the domestic created an imponderable dilemma. Since there was only one water closet in the house, where could the domestic satisfy her organic needs during
her working hours? The employer placed phone calls to several of her lady friends requesting advice. Of course there was only one answer, but she could not possibly accept the logical course of action -- that the Negro woman use the family's facility. As a result the woman was discharged. She worked exactly two exceedingly uncomfortable days.

Even jobs which traditionally have been performed by non-Caucasoids are extremely difficult for Negroes to obtain in Missoula. These jobs are difficult to get partly because of the general abundance of labor in the city and the resulting fact that these positions are also held by whites here too. Negroes, for example, are generally employed as janitors, bellhops, bootblacks, and in other similar positions of relative servitude. There are in Missoula two Negro janitors, a Negro gardener (who has a B.A. degree in Business Administration from Montana State University), a Negro bootblack, and a couple of Negro garbage collectors, but even in these positions they find unfavorable attitudes from the dominant group. The most meager foothold on these economic beachheads represents a threat to the majority, and remarks such as, "they'll take over the city if we're not careful," are still heard.

The janitor at a downtown hotel, for example, an old Negro in his early sixties, is thoroughly disliked by the other employees of the hotel. A number of the guests have also complained to the management and expressed their dislike of seeing him around the place. This man had been
in Missoula for nearly fifty years and was extremely submissive, but his appearance due to a physical ailment, was repugnant to some people. The manager refused to discharge him, for he did the work of three men. Another reason for his unpopularity was that he lived in one of the rooms of the hotel and used the community bath facilities. An old widow who was a permanent resident in the hotel commented, "they should be kept in their place, it should be impressed on those niggers where they belong."

One Negro who worked for The Montana Power Company for some time told me that he had no difficulty obtaining his job and that his only reason for leaving was his desire to go to the southwest to look for a better job. One of his fellow workers said about him,

We had a Negro fellow working with us, He never stuck around much, you know, got through working and went home, showed up in time for work next morning and never mixed much with anybody. No one seemed to mind him. He did his job and never bothered anyone.

It does not seem to matter whether the economy is prosperous or in a recession, Negroes in Missoula are only able to find "undesirable" jobs. Despite an increase in the average educational level of the young Negro residents of the city, their employment opportunities are limited. It is only with a reasonably share of luck and help from the dominant group that they will ever be able to pull themselves up the socio-economic ladder.
The introduction to this chapter presented several cases of overt and observable discrimination in Missoula. The latter section of the chapter contains data gathered from informants who are directly connected with the various areas of community life where prejudice towards ethnic groups becomes overt in the form of discriminatory behavior. Based on this data it seems apparent that members of minority groups will encounter a minimum of resistance in hotels and motels. Considerably more opposition, however, is to be expected from social clubs, and these organizations are effectively closed to members of the out-group in Missoula. Non-Caucasoids are relatively free from opposition by the majority in the housing market. Their main source of difficulty is in obtaining satisfactory employment, and in this area Negroes encounter considerably more opposition than do the Indians.

The following chapter presents data reflecting how the various minority groups perceive their difficulties and to what extent they think the treatment they receive is affected by prejudicial attitudes on the part of the majority.
A. MEXICANS.

The first ethnic group that will be discussed is the Mexicans. This group differs from other ethnic groups mainly in that it is an imported group. Nevertheless, these migrant laborers elicit very definite responses from the majority. Some questions such as, where do the Mexicans come from, why do they come to Missoula, Montana, and how do they come to this area, will logically arise. I have attempted to answer these questions at the outset.

Every Spring over four hundred Mexican migrant agricultural workers come to western Montana. They constitute a very real minority group in that they exhibit those characteristics which sociologists generally employ to describe the typical out-group. In most cases they are physically distinct, they speak a different language, and share an exotic or foreign culture.

Two kinds of Mexican migrant workers come to Missoula and its vicinity: the Mexican-Americans who are American citizens, and the Mexican nationals. A further subdivision may be made within each group itself. They may be subdivided into the Mestizo, or Mexican Indian of mixed ancestry, and the Spanish-American. The term Spanish-American is used by anthropologists to describe the Spanish speaking population.
in the southwestern United States that differs culturally and ethnically from the Mestizos. The Spanish-Americans are direct descendants of early Spanish colonizers in that area and have retained their cultural and ethnic identity.  

One group, varying between fifteen and twenty individuals, comes every year to work at a vegetable farm located in the outskirts of Missoula, East on Highway 10. The same individuals in this group, except perhaps three or four men, return every year.

The other group, numbering four hundred and thirty-six in 1958, is imported by the American Crystal Sugar Company to work in their sugar beet fields. These men are distributed in the sugar beet fields located in several counties of western Montana, including Ravalli, Missoula, Lake, Flathead, and Lewis and Clark counties. In total this group is composed of two hundred and twenty-five Mexican nationals and two hundred and eleven Mexican-Americans. The total number of individuals in this group of four hundred and thirty-six does not vary greatly from year to year.

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The Mexican nationals are single men, ranging between nineteen and forty-five years of age. They are brought into the United States on a contract basis through the United States Department of Labor. The Mexican government is responsible for bringing them to the border, and from there they come to Montana in buses chartered by the American Crystal Sugar Company. Sometimes they have been flown to Montana, but this has been rare. The labor contract under which these laborers arrive guarantees them work for at least six weeks and payment for seventy-five per cent of the total number of days spent in Montana. Their earnings vary with each individual, for each man is paid according to the work he does, i.e., the amount of beets he picks. However, I secured payroll records of the American Crystal Sugar Company and was able to compute the average hourly wage earned by Mexican workers over the past three years. (cf. Table 3 on next page).

The Mexican nationals generally arrive and establish themselves during the first few days of May. These two hundred and twenty-five men come from a number of locations in Mexico. The geographical distribution of their origins is shown on the next page in table form, and is presented in map form in Figure 1.

The information on the map in Figure 1 was obtained from the contracts of the Mexican migrant workers, which were kindly made available to me by Mr. Ed Swift, manager of the American Crystal Sugar
### TABLE 3

RECAPITULATION OF MEXICAN NATIONAL EARNINGS $^a$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Earning-Gross</th>
<th>Average per Hour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>$49,534.82</td>
<td>$ .77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>$59,390.65</td>
<td>$ .867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>$69,205.43</td>
<td>$ .94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$ From the payroll records of the American Crystal Sugar Company, Missoula, Montana.

### TABLE 4

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MEXICAN MIGRANT WORKER'S $^a$ ORIGIN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Durango</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chihuahua</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zacatecas</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalisco</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michoacan</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coahuila</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guanajuato</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 225

$^a$ From Mexican laborers' contracts of the American Crystal Sugar Company, Missoula, Montana.
REPUBLIC OF MEXICO

POINTS OF ORIGIN FOR MEXICAN MIGRANT WORKERS.

EACH DOT REPRESENTS APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF HOME OF ONE INDIVIDUAL.
The two hundred Mexican-Americans come originally from the southwestern United States mainly Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. This group travels to Montana by its own means. Some provide their transportation in the form of almost unbelievably bastardized automobiles and trucks, others travel by bus or railroad. They are reimbursed by the company at the rate of one cent per mile. They are permitted to bring their families with them, and they also carry all their worldly possessions. Everyone over fourteen is allowed to work. They arrive a bit earlier than the Mexican nationals, and by mid-April the caravans begin to arrive at their places of employment. The employers provide shacks or cabins as dwelling places for these persons, whether single or with families. The shacks are crudely equipped with a stove and some furniture, mainly a bed, but they are readily made livable upon occupancy. When a house is occupied by two or three bachelors they soon affix the traditional "pin-ups" to their cabin walls. These are cut out from Spanish language magazines and other popular types of publications. The families, as well, soon plaster the walls with lithographic reproductions, pictures of saints, or photographs of close relatives.

The sugar beet picking season generally ends towards the end of August, and by this time the Mexican nationals begin moving back to their homes in Mexico. The others migrate towards coming harvests in fruit orchards of southern California and the Southwest.
Many of the Mexican workers entered the city seldom or not at all and, thus, could not testify as to discriminatory practices in Missoula. Twenty-four Mexican workers were interviewed, a sample representing about fifty per cent of those who repeatedly came into the city. Additional conversations were held with about forty other Mexican workers whose only contact with Americans was with those men directly concerned with their jobs, such as field supervisors. This group never came to Missoula, mainly because these individuals lacked a practical knowledge of English or because the farms where they worked were located at a prohibitive distance from Missoula.

The interviews, which were conducted in Spanish, were organized around a lengthy questionnaire the questions which were unobtrusively worked into friendly conversations.

The responses of several typical informants are presented below.

Jesus de A. was a rather handsome young man, a Caucasoid of twenty-nine years of age and about average stature (5'-6" or 5'-7"). He had spent the last three summers working in western Montana, which he liked because "it is very pretty." Although he said he would not mind staying in the area to work through the winter, if he found a good job, he thought it would be too cold for him and was already looking forward to his return to El Paso, Texas.

He felt that the Mexicans did not have much freedom in Missoula even if they were American citizens like he was because people stared
at him strangely when they learned that he was a Mexican, (they would not have known without hearing him speak). "They expect to see me dressed up as Cisco Kid or something, as soon as they learn I am a Mexican!" There was an edge of bitterness in his voice when he told me about an occasion when he and some friends had been refused entrance to a local bar in Woody Street. "All on account of those damned 'braceros.'" "Bracero" is the Spanish word for the migrant foreign worker.

Agustin L. was a man of thirty-seven years of age. Although very light complexioned, he showed very typical Indian features. He had been in the United States for several years and had just recently become an American citizen. A baker by trade, he generally had fairly secure jobs, but lately "things were so bad" he was forced to sign up for work in Montana during the summer. He had several children.

Agustin had worked in California and in Texas and felt that he had been better treated there than in Missoula. He said that in the southwest Mexicans were better treated because the people were used to seeing them, whereas people in Missoula thought "that one is some sort of strange animal." Although he had recently immigrated himself, he felt that the entrance of "braceros" should be controlled and that the United States should not let so many of them come through.

Antonio L. was a slightly built man of about 130-135 pounds. He was very evidently of almost pure Indian stock with unusually fine
features. He was native of Guanajuato, Mexico, and spoke very little English. His lack of a good knowledge of English did not help him get a better job, and he doubted that if he chose to remain here whether he could be successful, for the language deficiency would hinder him greatly. Antonio had been to the city several times, but he never stayed long and never saw much. Curiosity about the town motivated him more than necessity, for he sent most of his money home to his wife and several children in Mexico. However, he was conscious of a different treatment than he experienced at the border. People looked at him strangely, they stared, and this apparently bothered him. Although he had had no difficulty in Missoula, and people had been good to him, he felt very self-conscious about his darker skin and wondered why Americans felt "that way" about the Mexicans.

Primitivo R. was a Spanish-American of about thirty-five years of age who was born in Los Angeles but had lived in Mexico for about thirteen years. His usual occupation was as a construction worker during the winters. He had been coming to work in Montana for the past six summers, because he liked Montana and its scenery.

For entertainment and relaxation Primitivo occasionally came into town and went to the bars on Woody Street for a few drinks. When asked why he did not go to some other place in the city he answered that in the Woody Street taverns, because they were not particular who he was and where he was from, it was easier to go unnoticed. He avoided going to
the "ritzy" places for fear of being denied service. Apparently he had been rebuffed before. He resented the fact that people pointed him out and denied him certain rights because they thought of him as a Mexican. He said that people really had no right to give him and his fold such treatment because, "many of these people have just come over from Europe, while mine [his ancestors] have been here for centuries.

Primitivo wished to preserve his ways and did not like "American ways", especially those dealing with the home and women. He did not like the "ambiente" or social atmosphere of the Anglo-Saxons and preferred "Spanish ambiente." However, he liked the mountains and the cool summer evenings of Montana and that was the main reason why he had been returning every year.

Jose Antonio A. was also a Spanish-American, a Caucasoid with reddish brown hair, thirty years of age. He had been a painter but was working as an agricultural hand because he could not find anything better.

Jose liked Missoula and expressed his opinion that of all other places he had visited he had been treated best in Missoula. His comparison of treatment in Missoula and in other places was emphasized by a recent experience he had undergone while en route to Montana. He was traveling in a chartered bus together with a large group of Mexicans. They stopped in Nebraska and tried to get food served to them but were
denied service because some Nebraskans disliked Mexicans so much. He felt that Mexicans were not treated that way in Missoula.

Juan F. was about forty years old. He was an Indian from Jalisco, Mexico, and exhibited all the physical characteristics of a "pure" Indian.

Juan's father had left him some land in Jalisco but, hoping to make much money in a short time, Juan signed up to work in Montana. He claimed it was the biggest mistake he had ever made. Throughout the interviews Juan complained that his land was better, and even if he had to work harder it was his own land and he did not have to take orders like a slave for such miserable pay. "They treat one like a dog and pay so little for all the work one does," he complained time and time again. He referred to Americans as "gabachos" several times and expressed a strong desire to return to his land in Jalisco after an obviously disagreeable experience. "Gabachos" is a derogatory term used by Mexicans when referring to Americans in an insulting manner. It is the equivalent to the terms "greaser" or "spick" that an American might use when referring to Mexicans in a derogatory manner.

Generally, Mexican-Americans came into the city in groups of two, three, or four men. The same occurred with the Mexican nationals, who also rallied in small groups for their trips into the city.

The cases of discrimination most frequently mentioned by Mexican-American informants were instances in which they were denied service in
bars or told to leave when there was dancing. These occurrences were inconsistent in that sometimes the Mexican-Americans were accepted in a bar and other times they were denied service in the same bar. At other times they were served drinks but required to leave when dancing began.

The Mexican nationals' reactions were generally puzzlement and anger at being denied entrance or ordered to leave a bar. When these incidents occurred their references to Americans as "gabachos" were even more emotional than usual.

The Mexican-Americans, on the other hand, blamed the "braceros", or Mexican nationals, for their difficulties. It is interesting to note this aspect of Mexican-American's perception of his difficulties -- his identification of the Mexican national as the main source of his troubles.

Only three families of Mexican ancestry lived in Missoula at the time of the study. They, in turn, looked upon all Mexican migrant workers as a source of trouble. These residents felt that the presence of Mexican workers in Missoula gave them a bad reputation.

From my observations of the relationships between Anglo-Saxon Americans and the Mexicans in this part of the country I will venture some rather general opinions. Those Mexican who succeed, in varying degrees, in improving their economic and social status seek recognition by the older or dominant group, in this case the Anglo-Saxon American.
To achieve such recognition, or perhaps to rationalize their own shortcomings, they imitate and exaggerate the prejudices of the dominant group and look down on other members of their own group or on other minority groups, thus emphasizing their own superiority. In some cases they even go so far as to deny the facts of their own ethnic or cultural background.

These ideas became evident to me during two years I spent in close contact with Puerto Rican immigrants in New York City. They were further reinforced by observation of relations between the Mexican workers in western Montana and between Mexicans and Americans.

Americans still consider the Mexican as a source of cheap labor and not as a full-fledged human being and a potentially responsible private citizen. A prominent civic leader of Missoula told me that he would not object to having one or two Mexican families move into the city if they were "high class", solvent, or professional, but he would definitely oppose the influx of any number of the "cheap", or "low class" Mexican that one sees "always responsible for crimes in California and in other places." This type of attitude isolates the Mexican even more. He is rejected by the dominant group and forced to associate only with his own people.

Furthermore, Mexicans who migrate to the United States bring with them a high degree of loyalty to Mexico and the Mexican way of life. While conducting the interviews among numerous Mexican workers I did
not find one single instance where the American social atmosphere was preferred over the Mexican "ambiente." They always preferred Mexican music, prepared and consumed their own kinds of food, and practiced the traditional Roman Catholic religion. The superstitions and beliefs were those from the home country. In most cases no amount of empirical demonstration that those beliefs were rationally false would convince them or change their ways. These were the ways of their fathers and therefore must be right.

Several of the questions which I asked the Mexican migrant workers dealt with current political issues in Mexico and in the United States. Other questions were designed to discover how much the informants knew about basic facts of American and Mexican history. From the answers I received to these questions from the informants I can say that politically they were all better informed of Mexican political affairs than of issues in American politics. Even the Spanish-Americans were more familiar with Mexican history than with American history. Mexican nationals expressed very little desire to ever adopt American citizenship. In fact, even the Mexican-Americans expressed the opinion that Mexico offered more freedom than the United States, but one "could make more money here."

The feeling that there is more freedom in Mexico than in the United States may be due to the political impotence that most Mexicans
suffer in this country. This is particularly true in western Montana. They come to Montana only for a short season during the summers and are completely isolated from the currents of civic activities around them.

In this section, then, I have presented six of the twenty-four detailed interviews conducted with half of the Mexican workers who come often into Missoula.

Most of these twenty-four expressed sentiments and described incidents that they felt were discriminatory towards them. The only contact that Mexican workers had with the majority was in the general area of entertainment, i.e., dance halls or bars. It was in this realm of potentially intimate relationships where discrimination took its more observable form -- the denial of service to Mexicans in bars and their exclusion from public dance halls.

Consideration of the Indian as another minority group in Missoula will make it possible to compare their perception of discrimination towards them with that of the Mexicans. It will also be possible to see how socially distant the Indians are from the majority. In this manner I will attempt to demonstrate how the forms of discrimination vary towards each ethnic group.

B. INDIANS.

The data about the Indian population in Missoula were gathered from
various sources but suffer certain limitations. I was able to make contact with one Indian family residing in the north section of Missoula. This area is occupied mostly by people who are commonly referred to as belonging to "the lower income bracket," or the laboring class. From this family I obtained the addresses of two more families who lived in the same area. I was not able to locate any other Indian families, although all three informants told me there were about twelve or thirteen Indian families living in Missoula. Several married Indian students, who attended Montana State University, were not included in this group. Four Flathead Indian students at the University also said that as far as they knew there were only a dozen or so Indian families living as permanent residents of the city.

The reticence encountered in the three families contacted limited the amount of information I was able to obtain from them. However, I did learn where the men in these families worked and was able to get some data from them at their jobs in the lumber mills. Their fellow workers also provided some useful information.

All of these twelve or thirteen families originally came from the Flathead Indian Reservation, located about forty miles north of Missoula. All Indians from the Flathead Indian Reservation are popularly called "Flatheads." However, members of the Flathead, Kootenai, and Pend D'Oreille tribes -- all Salish speaking Indians -- live in the reservation. They have been confederated into one political unit.
Because of the nearness of the reservation many Indians come into the city quite frequently for one reason or another. If discrimination against these Indians occurred in observable forms they would be quite able to perceive such behavior towards them. Realizing the difficulty and the physical impossibility of obtaining a sample from this group I consulted several well-informed and educated Indian leaders and asked them their views of the problem. Mr. Walter Macdonald, Chairman of the Inter-Tribal Policy Board and Chairman of the Salish Confederated Tribes' council, said that the Flatheads are well-liked in Missoula. They are not discriminated against, he said, as is the Negro, for example. He felt that the reason for this apparent lack of discrimination towards the Flatheads in Missoula was that the Flatheads were financially better off than most other Indian groups in Montana. Flatheads came into Missoula to spend their money, to do their shopping, and to engage in other activities which are profitable to the community.  

The Department of Public Welfare of Missoula County claimed that Indians receive the same assistance as the whites. Further investigation revealed, however, that there are some variations based, they claimed, on individual needs or cases, because, "some people do not need as much to

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2 Interview with Mr. Walter Macdonald, St. Ignatius, Montana.
live on. A white person spends $50.00 a month for rent, while an Indian lives in a tepee or a shack for nothing." 3

It seems apparent that such discriminatory practice in the administration of monetary assistance to Indians is not a local practice but an official policy. Mr. J. Fouse, an official of the Montana State Welfare Department, has publicly declared that although the average monthly welfare assistance in Montana amounts to $62.00 a month, "the Indians are not quite up to that due to the fact that they do not have as much rent to pay as other people." 4

The few individuals that I was able to contact have steady employment and live quite well within their means. They own cars, some own their homes, and they possess many of the modern conveniences in their homes. In most cases the only differences between them and their white neighbors are those of appearance, such as skin color. Skin color does not create such a problem for the Indian as it does for the Negro, for example. The Indian is accepted in all hotels and motels of Missoula, as well as in bars and restaurants. Generally speaking, he is not denied entrance to a public business establishment, though he still finds considerable difficulty

3 Information from the Missoula County Department of Public Welfare, Missoula, Montana

4 Comments made by J. Fouse, at the Fourth Annual Institute of Indian Affairs, held at Montana State University, Missoula, Montana, April, 1957.
in trying to extend his social life to more than just friendly intercourse with some of his neighbors or hunting and fishing companions. He cannot belong to any social clubs which bar non-Caucasoids.

The Indian is sometimes denied acceptance or opportunities to improve himself because among the majority there are numerous beliefs about him which create an unfavorable stereotype and, thus, intangibly limit his chances. One of the most common beliefs is that the Indian is a spendthrift, that he lives only for today, and that if he has anything of value he will immediately squander it. Numerous examples were related to me by individuals to whom this supposed characteristic of the Indian was a very real thing. These examples nearly always referred to the "oil Indians" affinity for wrecking and buying new cars. A number of informants also referred to the Indians' desire to share whatever he has with his friends and neighbors. To the Indian, however, this is one of his most dearly held values — that of sharing what he has with others. It is regarded by the whites as one of his "squandering" characteristics.

In his job the Indian is sometimes the butt of friendly and sometimes unfriendly abuse. In one case an Indian millhand told me that every time something went wrong in his section he was blamed for it because, as he said, he was an Indian. He thought that the white workers really believed it to be his fault, but in another
case an Indian worker was jokingly called "chief" and was quite popular for his sense of humor. I noticed, however, a certain element of distrust of Indian workers by some of their Caucasoid companions. This, as nearly as I could determine, was based on the belief that the Indian is "naturally lazy." The Indian, of course, resents this and the reaction rising therefrom sometimes motivates him to be an outstanding worker and at other times to give his white fellow workers a real lesson in laziness.

Some educated Indians expressed their views on what they considered to be the white man's most unjust and common form of discrimination against them. This takes the form of extreme paternalism of the whites towards them. This may be partly due to the ward-wardship relationship which has characterized Indian-white relations since 1871. 5 Many white people feel that the Indian is nothing more than an overgrown child, without a sense of responsibility or ability to learn. This attitude is very unpleasant to the Indian, for he is generally quite proud of his Indian heritage.

Those Indians who felt they were discriminated against claimed it was only because of the color of their skin. "The white man feels himself superior because his skin is lighter." Some white men expressed their opinions that no matter how long he lives

among the "civilized" whites the Indian always reverts to his primitive way of life when among his own people. Reference was made to the women who returned to the reservation and resumed the wearing of buckskin boots and other characteristic Indian attire. This was taken as evidence of regression to their primitive way of life. Many white men also believe that Indians are unable to hold liquor, that they go "absolutely crazy with two drinks," and that they are unreliable. "One never knows when they are going to up and quit and go on a tanker for a week." Mr. Thomas Sweany, a well-educated, and very dynamic young Indian, said to me, "because I am an Indian, people expect to see me drunk and rolling in the gutter every time I have a beer." 6

Indians reputedly lack all ambition because they live only for today and lack the characteristic American future orientation. This is another fallacious belief held by many members of the majority as a truism and directly influencing the majority's attitude towards the Indian.

However, there were also a number of Caucasoids who were quite proud of their partial Indian ancestry. One informant went to great pains to construct a story designed to convince me that he was one quarter Indian. Further checking proved his story to be

6 Interview with Mr. Thomas Sweany, Missoula, Montana.
the fabrication of a fertile imagination. Similarly, the assistant manager of the Florence Hotel proudly said that Indian chiefs and prominent Indian officials stayed at his hotel when they came to Missoula for conventions and meetings. It seems apparent that unfavorable prejudices towards the Indians are decreasing in intensity. This tendency is probably due to the recent attempt to glamorize the Indian way of life through the various media of communication, and to incorporate it as an integral part of American heritage.

The Indians and the Mexicans occupy different positions in the community of Missoula. Indians have the advantage in that they are autochthonous, while the Mexicans are outsiders. A perceptible desire is present among the majority to accept and tolerate Indians. The Mexican, on the other hand, comes to Missoula on a temporary basis to fulfill the majority's economic need for abundant labor during a short period of time.

In conclusion, then, it may be said that Indians appear to encounter less discrimination than Mexicans. Two major reasons for this difference in behavior towards the two ethnic groups may be suggested. There has been an increased and perceptible desire to accept Indians due to numerous reasons. In Missoula, this tendency has been reinforced by the apparent progress and wealth enjoyed by the Flathead Indians. The role that Montana State University has played in increasing and improving Indian-white
community relations has been significant.

With data gathered from the Negro population in Missoula and presented in the following section it will be possible to further compare the position of the three ethnic groups in the community and the behavior exhibited towards them by the majority.

C. NEGROES.

There are only forty-four Negroes in Missoula today, not counting Negro students attending the University and living at the dormitories. I interviewed sixteen Negro family heads but could not locate three remaining adults for interviews.

The number of Negro inhabitants in the city has steadily declined in the last forty-five years from the all time high of one hundred and twenty in 1910. The sixteen Negroes interviewed suggested the main causes of this population decline to have been the shortage of jobs and the lack of entertainment available to Negroes in the city.

Before the Spanish-American War of 1898 just a few Negro families lived in Missoula. During the War the 24th Infantry Unit was billeted at Fort Missoula. A considerable number of Negroes were in this unit, and when the 24th Infantry was disbanded shortly after the War many Negro soldiers chose to remain and make their homes in Missoula. Others came from other areas, primarily

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7 U. S. Bureau of the Census, op. cit.
to visit relatives, but, liking the city, some remained. Two came to Missoula originally to attend the University and have remained since. Opportunities for employment in Missoula are rather limited, and many Negroes interviewed claimed that the fact that they were Negroes aggravated the problem. When young Negroes were unable to find work in Missoula they generally sought employment elsewhere. The places preferred were Seattle and California. A few have gone to Spokane, Washington, and have found jobs there. The number of Negroes has decreased steadily. Because, as the old Negroes have gradually died, many of the young ones have moved away and no others have come in to replace that loss in population.

Fifteen out of sixteen Negro families owned their own homes. One rented because he did not intend to remain much longer in Missoula. This individual had received his Master of Arts degree in economics from Montana State University three years before and expected to continue his academic work towards a Ph.D. degree. He said that after he was married he had had considerable difficulty finding a suitable place to rent for himself and his family, but he felt that if he had wanted to buy he would have had no trouble at all.

Negro homes were distributed throughout the city, with about the same number in the North side as in the South side of the city. There was no noticeable zoning or segregation in housing. (cf. Fig. 2).

Parts of several of the interviews conducted will be presented
STREET MAP of MISSOULA MONTANA. SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO FAMILIES IN THE CITY. EACH DOT SIGNIFIES ONE NEGRO HOUSEHOLD.

Fig. 2
below to summarize the views of the Negro informants regarding their treatment in Missoula.

Mrs. Ida L. came to Missoula in 1905 with her family. Her father and her husband were railroad employees. She moved away from the city for a while but came back because she felt this was a pleasant town in which to live.

Mrs. L. felt that in the past Missoula used to exhibit much discrimination towards Negroes. One could not enter just anyplace, and people were quite prejudiced. Negroes were not allowed to sit in the downstairs section of the theatres but had to go to the balcony. Schools, she thought, were particularly bad because Negro children were not allowed to attend dances or to take part in the maypole dance or belong to any clubs. Mrs. L. worked at the University for several years and recalled that Negro students were not allowed in the dormitories until about eight or ten years ago.

She said that such treatment did not bother them then because they knew where they could go and where they were allowed. However, she declared that it was very difficult for children to learn their expected behavior and sometimes painful for them. Denied admission to St. Patrick's School of Nursing because she was a Negro, Mrs. L. went to Harlem Hospital in New York, to receive her nursing training. After returning to Missoula she got a job at St. Patrick's Hospital, eventually became head of the maternity ward, and held that position for many years. One of her daughters is now head nurse in a Spokane
Mrs. L. said that attitudes towards Negroes had definitely shown improvement in Missoula. Negroes did not have as much trouble and were accepted almost every place now. Job opportunities had also improved for the Negro.

Mrs. W. R. was born in Missoula in 1925 and had lived in the community all of her life except for four years which she spent studying in the East.

Mrs. W. R. had noticed quite a few changes in people's treatment of Negroes in Missoula. In schools, she recalled, Negro children were never included in school plays, boy scouts, clubs, school bands, and other school activities of the like. Now, she said, they were accepted and included in all these activities. No longer heard were the derogatory remarks that people used to utter if a Negro went some place where he was not supposed to go. She said her husband was working as a salesman, a job he could not have considered ten years before.

She felt that most changes had occurred in the last ten years. Before then it was very difficult for a Negro to "amount to anything" in Missoula. Then, she continued, it was even difficult for a Negro to find a place to eat, though it was quite different now. Negroes could now find work and go practically any place. She felt that people were not quite as narrow minded anymore.

I was interested to note that the two best educated Negroes in the city expressed similar opinions regarding the reasons for the
rapid change in the attitudes of Missoulians towards Negroes. They both agreed that the Influence of the University had had a very decisive effect in bringing about this change. University attitudes were funneled through The Kaimin, the student newspaper, and, according to these Negroes, the school paper had helped immeasurably to fight prejudice and discrimination and the segregation which resulted therefrom. They also expressed opinions as to the importance of the employment factor, i.e., the unavailability of jobs.

Mr. N. R. first came to Missoula in 1931. He received a scholarship to attend the University and liked Missoula well enough to remain. Shortly after his graduation he obtained the position which he held at the time of the interview -- instructor in the Health and Physical Education Department of Montana State University.

He also said that, generally speaking, attitudes towards Negroes had improved markedly in the last ten years. He added that in 1936, when he first got married, it was almost impossible to find a home to rent or buy. Homes were available but people would not rent or sell to Negroes. This condition gradually changed, and many Negro families were able to purchase the homes they lived in. He said that today it would not be very difficult for an incoming Negro family to find a nice home.

Mr. N. R. remarked that the decrease of discrimination and prejudice, not only in Missoula but in the nation as a whole, was a result of the fact that people are better educated and informed
than in the past. He said that Negroes originally came to Missoula when Fort Missoula was a fully operating garrison and that there were never more than a couple of hundred Negroes at any one time residing in Missoula.

It was interesting to note the Negroes' own perception of themselves as a group in Missoula. Three interviewees blamed Negro transients for creating false impressions and causing troubles for the rest of the Negroes in Missoula. Others compared Missoula Negroes with those in various other cities and remarked that "Butte Negroes are a lower class of Negroes, because that is a mining town and they do much entertaining [show business]." This merely illustrates once again the "we" and "they" feeling within a minority itself.

Mrs. Gertrude I., an elderly lady, who claimed to be the oldest Negro in Missoula, said that at one time there used to be "from one thousand to two thousand Negroes in Missoula." This was supposed to have been at the time of the Spanish-American War when she was a young girl. She said that she did not like Missoula then; "...get tired of looking at them [other Negroes]. That's why I wouldn't live in the South."

I interviewed one Negro woman who was married to an Italian. She declared that she had encountered very little difficulty as a consequence of her race or her mixed marriage. All the other Negroes interviewed disapproved of intermarriage but would not ostracize a person for marrying a person of another race.

One old Negro man interviewed, Mr. Gus S., had lived in Missoula
all his life. His father had been a soldier at Fort Missoula. He thought everything was either very "nice" or "very good." Closer questioning disclosed that he had come home from work sick with the flu and had been taking large amounts of "medicinal spirits." I attempted to contact him when he was better condition to answer questions but was unsuccessful.

In conclusion, then, the Negroes in Missoula are either descendants of Negro soldiers stationed at Fort Missoula, or came from other places and remained in the city. The local Negro population has steadily declined during the past forty-five years. Although discrimination against the Negroes was quite strong at one time such behavior changed in the last decade. This decrease in rejection of the Negroes may be partially explained by the presence of the University as a source of enlightenment, and the growing awareness on the part of the Negroes and whites alike of the issues of civil liberties. Opportunities for employment were still quite limited for the Negroes at the time of the study. The jobs that Negroes were able to get were as laborers with the few companies that would hire them. Their opportunities were mostly in janitorial, gardening, or domestic work. Although bartenders claimed that they would serve Negroes, the main reason why young Negroes departed from Missoula was because there were no places for them to go for entertainment. Social clubs did not admit Negroes.

The Indian, on the other hand, did not meet as much resistance in obtaining employment, or in getting service in public businesses.
The Mexican, although he did not have as much difficulty as the Negro, was more restricted than Indians in getting service or acceptance in public businesses, particularly in bars and dance halls.

Compared with the other two ethnic groups discussed the Negroes apparently occupied the lowest stratum in the social hierarchy of acceptance.
CHAPTER V

SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN MISSOULA BY THREE SAMPLES OF THE MAJORITY

In the previous chapter I attempted to present the minority groups' perception of their acceptance by the majority. In this chapter I try to indicate to what extent the majority accepts these ethnic groups. I obtained this information by using the "Bogardus Social Distance Test," which I administered to three small samples of members of the Anglo-Saxon majority group in Missoula.

The "Bogardus Social Distance Test" was first published by its designer, Emory S. Bogardus, in 1925. I have followed his technique as closely as possible in manipulating the data and in administering the test. The results presented herewith may also be compared with the data already presented as a further check of the validity of such a test.

The experiment was conducted with three groups: Group I, a group of eighty-four University students ranging from eighteen to twenty-two years of age, one third of whom were females; Group II, a group of young business men and employees of various types of businesses, such as service station attendants, salesmen, and federal employees, ranging in ages from early twenty's to late thirty's;

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and Group III, a group of middle age business men ranging in ages from mid-thirty's to late fifty's. Groups II and III were all males.

The selection of the samples rested on several factors. The nature of the "Bogardus Social Distance Test" required that some explanation of the procedure be given to the respondents. Therefore, a certain length of time for instruction was necessary before administering the test. The conditions under which the test was to be given had to be favorable, insofar as physical facilities were concerned, such as writing surface and the like. I used the criteria of age and general social status in choosing and classifying the groups.

Group I was made up of students in three Elementary Anthropology classes consisting of one hundred and thirty-five students from whom eighty-four were selected at random. Group II, made up of young businessmen and employees, consisted of one club -- The Junior Chamber of Commerce. Group III was made up of older and financially successful businessmen -- The Toastmasters Club. These organizations were quite cooperative, and only their hospitality and help made the administration of the test possible.

Fig. 3 is an unmarked copy of the questionnaire that was used in the test. The groups were asked to mark their progressive degree of acceptance for thirty-five national and racial groups. This study is concerned with three of these -- Indians, Mexicans, and Negroes, and the others were used for purposes of comparison with the three ethnic groups in question.
Specifically, then, this section is an attempt to demonstrate, on the basis of average acceptance scores, the extent to which ethnic groups are acceptable to the raters. The categories of acceptance were given arithmetically progressive values ranging from 0, the lowest value, to a maximum of 6. This is, if a member of a minority group is excluded from the country he is given a "value" of 0, if admitted to the country only as a visitor he is given a value of 1; if admitted to the highest category of acceptance, or to kinship by marriage, he is given a value of 6, or the maximum.

A low value average signifies a narrow Social Contact Range (S.C.R.) index, while a high value average signifies a broad S.C.R. index. These indices will give an indication of the social distance between the raters and the ethnic groups in question.

Bogardus has defined social distance as, "...the degree and grades of understanding and feeling that persons experience regarding each other." ² The measurements of social distance is to be looked upon simply as one way of obtaining quantitative expression of the varying degrees on understanding, feeling, and acceptance that occur in social situations.

² ibid. p. 299.
According to my first feeling reaction I would willingly admit members of each race or national group (as a class, and not based on individual choice) to one or more of the classifications under which I have placed a cross (X).

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<th>Do my club as personal buddy (\times)</th>
<th>Do my street as neighbor (\times)</th>
<th>Employment In (\times)</th>
<th>Citizenship In (\times)</th>
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What is your father's racial or national background?  
What is your mother's racial or national background?
**TABLE 5**

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL CONTACT RANGE INDICES ACCORDED TO INDIANS, MEXICANS, AND NEGROES BY GROUP I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
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<th>Indians</th>
<th>Mexicans</th>
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<tr>
<td>Rating</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>3.50</td>
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![Fig. 3](image-url)
TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF SOCIAL CONTACT RANGE INDICES ACCORDED TO INDIANS, MEXICANS, AND NEGROES BY GROUP II.

<table>
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<td>5.05</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>3.72</td>
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![Comparison Table](image)

**Fig. 4**
TABLE 7
COMPARISON OF SOCIAL CONTACT RANGE INDICES ACCORDED TO INDIANS, MEXICANS, AND NEGROES BY GROUP III

<table>
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<td>0. To close kinship by marriage</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>3.70</td>
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<td>1. To my club as personal buddy</td>
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<td>2. To my street as neighbor</td>
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<td>5. As visitor only</td>
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Fig. 5
Tables 5, 6, and 7, and Figures 3, 4, and 5 present the average acceptance scores from each of the tree majority samples for the ethnic groups in question. Also included for comparative purposes are acceptance scores for the English and Turks.

As shown in Figure 3 the group of University students (Group I) accorded the English a high degree of acceptance. This is arithmetically represented in a Social Contact Range index of 5.88 and graphically shown. The Turks, included in the comparison because of their indifferent status, exhibited an S.C.R. index of 4.13, which was higher than that exhibited for the Indians, 4.09. The Mexicans followed with 3.77, and the Negroes with 3.50. The group of University students, then, accepted the Indians more than the Mexicans and bother of these ethnic groups were, in turn, accepted more than the Negroes.

In Figure 4 is presented the Social Contact Range indices accorded to the three ethnic groups by the group of young businessmen (Group II). The young businessmen assigned an S.C.R. index of 4.70 to Indians, 3.51 to Mexicans, and 3.72 to Negroes. The three ethnic groups ranked lower in acceptance than the English, which were totally accepted exhibiting an S.C.R. index of 6.00, and the Turks, who exhibited an S.C.R. index of 5.05. The Negroes, however, were more socially acceptable than the Mexicans. Nevertheless, the Mexicans and the Negroes were accepted less than the Indians.

The S.C.R. indices accorded to the three ethnic groups by the middle age businessmen (Group III) ranged from 3.90 for the Indians,
3.70 for the Mexicans, and 3.00 for the Negroes. Compared with the English, who exhibited nearly total acceptance with an S.C.R. index of 5.90, and the Turks, who showed a relatively high S.C.R. index of 4.62, the three ethnic groups showed a narrow Social Contact Range. The Indians showed a greater acceptance score than the Mexicans, and they, in turn, more than the Negroes, who were ranked lowest in acceptance by the older businessmen.

As can be seen from the results of the "Bogardus Social Distance Test" the three sample groups evidenced different degrees of acceptance towards the three ethnic groups with which this study is concerned. These results compare favorably with the majority's perception of their acceptance by the majority as presented in Chapter IV.

For example, older Negroes in Missoula expressed their opinion that a certain "tradition" among the majority in Missoula would limit their opportunities of moving into "white" neighborhoods. The older businessmen accorded the lowest S.C.R. index to the Negroes, thus declining to admit them "To my street as neighbors." On the other hand, the younger businessmen assigned a higher S.C.R. index to the Negroes and more often indicated a willingness to admit Negroes "To my street as neighbors." The younger Negroes of Missoula contented that today Negroes were relatively free to move into whatever section of the city they could afford.

Generally the S.C.R. indices obtained from the results of the test support conclusions drawn from interviews. That the three ethnic groups are given different treatment is reflected in their differing
degrees of acceptance. The Indians, Mexicans, and Negroes were accepted in that decreasing order, with the single exception of the group of young businessmen, who accorded a higher acceptance index to Negroes than to Mexicans. It must be kept in mind, however, that the test group did not constitute a random sample of the population of Missoula. The results obtained from the test merely reflect the social attitudes of the three samples tested towards the ethnic groups in question, and it is on this basis that the results must be interpreted. Any attempt to generalize the results for the community as a whole must remain highly tenuous.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As I have demonstrated, certain identifiable social groups do not enjoy the full benefit of civil liberties in Missoula. The three ethnic groups studied were found to meet varying degrees of resistance in various aspects of community life. In some cases this resistance takes the form of definite rejection and denial of some certain basic rights to members of these ethnic groups. Discrimination exists in Missoula in spite of a cultural ideal which dictates equal rights for everyone, regardless of his ethnic or cultural origins, and in spite of legislation which guarantees those rights.

The information obtained from Negroes, as well as from members of the majority, indicates that the Negroes are less accepted than other ethnic groups and that Negroes are given less opportunities to progress, both, socially and economically. This is supported not only by interview data but also by the Negroes' scores on the social distance test.

Discrimination against Negroes becomes evident and is particularly rigid in matters relating to social intimacy. Socially, the Negro is nearly completely isolated. Spatially, he is less isolated and is capable of limited residential mobility. However, his social mobility logically depends on his opportunities for economic progress -- chiefly in the occupational system -- and this avenue for progress is still quite limited for him.

Rejection of the Negro seems to be based on the belief, held by many members of the majority group, that the Negroid race is intell-
eventually and morally inferior to the Caucasoid race. These feelings of superiority may be traced to the Negro's relatively recent slave status. However, due to achievements and progress attained by some of the local Negroes, these unfavorable stereotypes appear to be gradually decreasing in Missoula. Public enlightenment and awareness may be also responsible for an observable decrease of discrimination towards these people in the city. Consequently, some progress has been observed in the treatment of the local Negro population.

The Mexicans exhibit a higher degree of acceptance by the majority than do the Negroes. This relative acceptance is the result of several factors. The Mexicans are almost totally isolated by the language barrier and their commitment to their own coherent cultural system, which minimizes motivation for social invasion. They seldom attempt to participate in the majority's social system. Their presence is economic and temporary and their position in the "arena of competition" is limited to an undesirable economic sphere which is scarcely a threat to the Anglo-Saxon's status structure. The one area of social life which the Mexicans do, at times, attempt to enter -- that of entertainment -- is the principal source of his frustrations and differential treatment. It should be noted, however, that this very cultural isolation which minimizes the frustrations of, and discrimination against, the Mexicans would, on the other hand, make it very difficult for him to compete successfully in the community.
social structure if they were to attempt to invade it in large numbers. It will be recalled that only three Mexican families have established residence in the city.

The Indian is the most accepted and tolerated group of the three ethnic groups studied. Two areas were observed to present significant resistance to the Indian. These are, employment and, to a lesser extent, social life.

Unfavorable stereotypes rising from poor understanding of Indian culture seems to be the main reason for the Indian's difficulty in obtaining employment. His social life has been significantly affected by official governmental policy, such; his reservation status, his position as a second rate citizen, discriminatory welfare assistance. All of these practices have definitely affected the public's attitude towards the Indian.

The Indian's cultural heritage and his desire to maintain his own way of life and beliefs are factors that operate to alienate him from the majority. However, a better understanding of the Indian's culture and his cultural values, catalyzed by a romanticized attitude towards the Indian by the majority has, perhaps, been partially responsible for his higher degree of acceptance.

Based on my observations of Indian-white community relations and of the Indian's position in the community I venture to say that the majority's acceptance of Indians may be quite accurately correlated with their degree of acculturation.
In conclusion, then, the strongest factor influencing people's attitude towards each other is, above all, the potential competition in the economic arena which a group may present. This fear transcends moral values and cultural ideals and is the strongest motive underlying men's ambitions. It calls defensive mechanisms into play and provides a seemingly logical reason for making a scapegoat of any minority group. Feelings of superiority are subjective to this most basic motive -- that of survival and assurance that a group's secure position will not be challenged or threatened.

Discrimination in Missoula is not limited to the ethnic groups with which I have worked. In the course of this investigation I found myself skirting numerous other potentially fertile areas for study in the general subject of human relations. Tensions between religious groups, for example, are often times stronger and more vicious than between ethnic groups. A limited number of other cultural and national groups are present in Missoula and would blend themselves ideally for study and research in inter-group relations. A comparative study of attitudes of parents and of children towards ethnic groups may also be a profitable subject for study. This project made me cognizant of the numerous other avenues for investigation present in this city, or in any other where there are people. Homo Sapiens is indeed the most interesting animal alive.
APPENDIX

The questionnaire presented below was employed among Mexican migrant workers in western Montana.

I

1. De que parte de Mexico es ud.?  
   (What part of Mexico are you from?)

2. Cuando salio ud. de Mexico?  
   (When did you leave Mexico?)

3. Cuanto tiempo ha estado en los E.E. U.U.?  Cuantas veces ha regresado a Mexico?  
   (How long have you been in the U.S.? How many times have you returned to Mexico?)

   (Is your life in the U.S. pleasant? Is it unpleasant? What aspects do you like best? Which ones do you not like?)

5. Como compararia ud. esta vida aqui con la de Mexico?  
   (How would you compare life here with that of Mexico?)

6. Que efecto le produce este clima? (fisicamente, psicologicamente?)  
   (What effect does this climate produce on you? physically, psychologically?)

7. Que impresion tiene ud. de este pais?  Los muchos automotores, etc....?  
   (What is your impression of this country? the many cars, etc..)

8. Como se compara el sistema agricola de aqui con el que ud. conoce en Mexico?  
   (How does the agricultural system here compare with the one you know in Mexico?)

9. Le gusta a ud. las apariencias de las casas, como estan decoradas, etc...?  
   (How do you like the appearances of the houses, how they are decorated, etc...?)

10. En general, compare.  
    (In general, compare.)
11. Desea ud. adoptar costumbres Americanas, o prefiere conservar sus costumbres Mejicanas?  
   (Do you wish to adopt American ways or do you prefer to conserve your Mexican ways?)

12. Tratará ud. de hacerse Americano?  
   (Will you try to become an American citizen?)

13. Siente muchos deseos de regresar a México?  
   (Do you feel much desire of returning to Mexico?)

14. Le parecen a ud. menos o más estrictas las leyes de este país?  
   (Do you think the laws in this country to be more or less strict than those of your country?)

15. Cual es su idea de libertad?  
   (What is your idea of freedom?)

16. Cree ud. que tiene la misma oportunidad de progresar economicamente aquí que en México?  
   (Do you think you have the same opportunity to progress economically here as in Mexico?)

17. Tiene ud. la misma libertad aquí que en México?  
   (Do you have the same freedoms here as in Mexico?)

II

1. Celebra ud. el dieciséis de sept.? el cuarto de julio?  
   (Do you celebrate the fourth of July? The sixteenth of September?)

2. Sabe ud. quien era Washington, Zapata, Lincoln, Juárez?  
   (Do you know who was Washington, Zapata, Lincoln, Juárez?)

3. Le gustan a ud. los Americanos? los Mexicanos-Americanos?  
   (Do you like Americans? Mexican-Americans?)

4. Y a los Americanos les gusta ud?  
   (And do the Americans like you?)

5. Siente ud. simpatía (antipatía) para con los Mexicanos-Americanos?  
   (Do you feel sympathy(antipathy) towards Mexican-Americans?)

6. Cree ud. que debe haber cuota de inmigración para los Mexicanos?  
   (Do you think there should be an immigration quota for Mexicans?)

7. A quienes incluye ud. en el término "La Raza"?  
   (Who do you include in the term "La Raza")
8. Que cree ud. sera el destino de "La Raza"?
   (What do you think is the future for "La Raza")

   III

1. Es ud. casado? cuantos hijos?
   (Are you married? how many children?)

2. (Si no) Con quien preferiria casarse: Mejicano, Mejicano-Americano, o Americano?
   (if not) Who would you prefer to marry; Mexican, Mexican-American, or American?)

3. Le gustan las mujeres Americanas? por su piel tan blanca? porque son bonitas? o por mejorar su posicion social?
   (Do you like American women? for their white skin? because they are pretty? or to better your social position?)

4. Le gustan a los Americanos casarse con los Mejicanos? Que cree ud?
   (Do Americans like to marry Mexicans? What do you think?)

5. Ha visto o sabe ud. de negros casados con Mejicanos?
   (Have you seen, or do you know of Negroes marrying Mexicans?)

6. Le gustaria tener pocos hijos o muchos?
   (Would like to have few, or many children?)

7. En que partes del pais ha estado ud. Lo han tratado bien?
   (What parts of the country have you been in? Have you been well treated?)

8. Ha experimentado ud. armonia entre los Mejicanos y los Americanos de por aqui?
   (Have you seen Mexicans and Americans get along well around here?)

9. Aqui comen comida Mejicana o Americana?
   (Is there American or Mexican food eaten here?)

10. Lee ud. periodicos Americanos o Mejicanos o ambos?
    (Do you read Mexican or American Newspapers, or both?)

11. En su hogar tiene ud. lavadora mecanica, maquina de coser, maquinaria agricola, etc...
    (Do you have washing machine, sewing machine, farm machinery, etc... in your home?)

12. Le gusta la musica Americana?
    (Do you like American music?)
13. Le gustaria quedarse aqui?
(Would you like to remain here?)

14. Como le llama ud. a los Mejicanos, Mejicanos-Americanos, a los Americanos?
(How do you call Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, Americans?)

IV

1. Es ud. catolico? Que religion?
(Are you a catholic? What religion?)

2. Practica ud. los sacra entos? y su familia?
(Do you practice the sacraments? and your family?)

3. Que fiestas religiosas celebra ud?
(What religious feasts do you celebrate?)

4. Ha hecho alguna vez una promesa?
(Have you ever performed a promise?)

5. Tiene ud. algun santo favorito?
(Do you have a favorite saint?)

6. Que piensa ud. de los catolicos? de los protestantes?
(What do you think of the catholics? of the protestants?)

7. Ha pensado ud. alguna vez cambiar su religion?
(Have you ever thought of changing your religion?)

8. Sabe ud. que es la masoneria? Cree ud. que puede ser mason y catolico a la vez?
(Do you know what is treemasonry? Do you believe it is possible to be a catholic and a mason simultaneously?)

V

1. A que organizaciones, clubs o uniones obreras pertenece ud?
(What clubs, organizations, or clubs do you belong?)

VI

1. Consulta ud. curanderos o brujas cuando esta enfermo o necesita ayuda?
(Do you consult, or have you consulted, witches or medicine men when you have been sick or needed help?)
2. Que enfermedad sabe ud. que se puede curar por esos medios? 
(What diseases can be cured thus?)

3. Que métodos, yerbas, ritos o ceremonias usan para curar? 
(What grasses, rites, or ceremonies are used for curing?)

4. Ha sido ud. víctima del mal de ojo, espiritus, fenomenos, o ha sido ud. embrujado alguna vez? 
(Have you ever been a victim of the evil eye, spirits, phenomenoms, or have you ever been bewitched?)

5. Ha recurrido ud. alguna vez a uno de estos curanderos? 
(Have you ever recourse to one of these healers?)
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