

THE
NAVAJO INDIAN
PROBLEM

Handwritten notes

1936

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THE
NAVAJO INDIAN
PROBLEM

AN INQUIRY

SPONSORED BY THE

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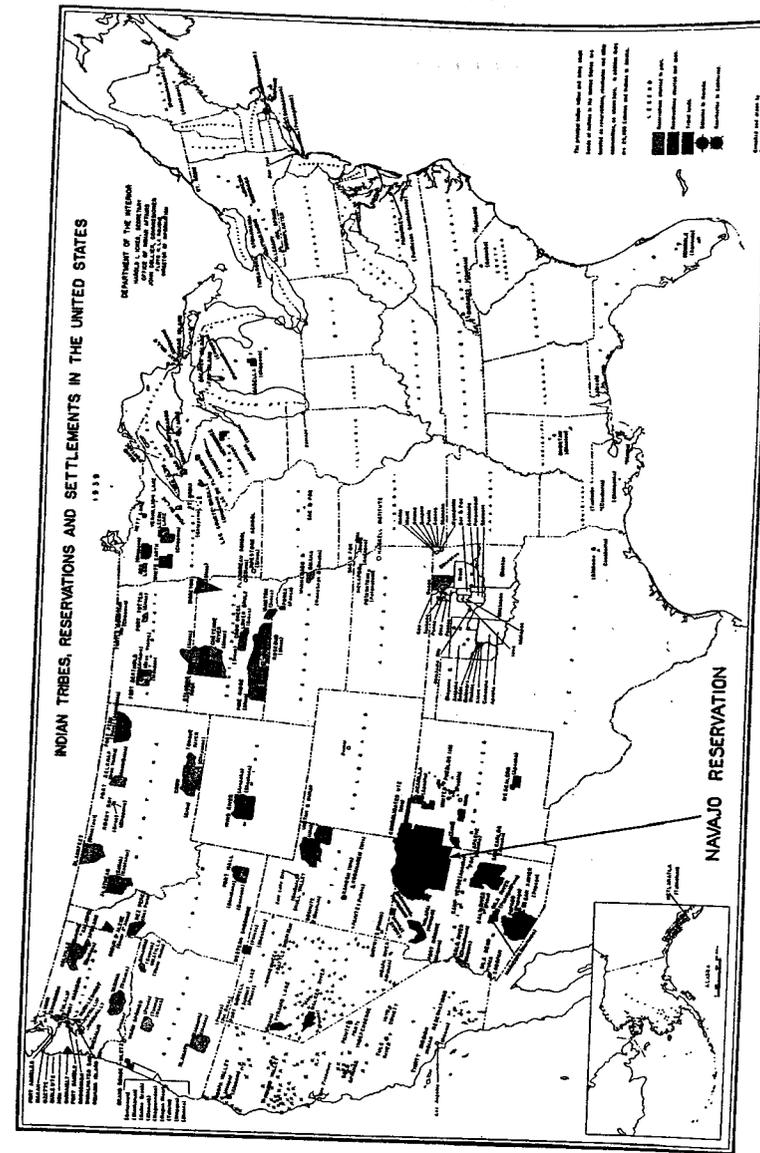
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THE NAVAJO RESERVATION

Located in Northeastern Arizona and extending across the borders of New Mexico and Utah.

An area of almost 24,000 square miles equal to West Virginia and almost three times the area of Massachusetts.

Vast stretches of semi-arid desert plateaus and mountains ranging in altitude from 5,000 to 10,000 feet.

Weirdly beautiful in appearance but drastically limited in water supply and in vegetation necessary for the sustenance of animal and human life.

The soil, always inadequate, now seriously threatened by erosion through over-grazing.

THE NAVAJO INDIANS

The largest tribe of Indians in the United States, increasing from 10,000 in 1868 to approximately 45,000 in 1938, a phenomenal increase in seventy years despite the poverty of their arid land.

Tenaciously clinging to their language and customs, they have resisted the impacts of the Hundred Million Migrants of European origin now paradoxically called Americans.

From the meager resources of their beautiful but arid land, they have wrested a living through their herds of sheep and goats, their small farm plots, and their skill in weaving and silver smithing, supplemented by occasional opportunities for day labor.

A brave and colorful people now facing a crisis, almost a catastrophe, through the very natural increase of population and the seemingly inevitable increase of their sheep and goats. All this, though the population is only two persons to the square mile!

INTRODUCTION

"THAT American self-respect is involved in the Navajo Problem" should be a conviction of real meaning to all of our citizens. Until the American people successfully fulfill their obligations to the American Indians, they have failed to demonstrate their ability to deal with the earliest and one of the most important of minority groups of the American Democracy. It has therefore been a privilege for the Phelps-Stokes Fund to sponsor the Navajo Inquiry, made with the hearty approval both of the Indian Bureau and of the Indian Rights Association, which had found themselves somewhat at variance on certain matters of policy. The primary purpose has been to secure such an understanding of conditions on the Navajo Reservation as to help bring about the coöperation of all agencies—Government, missions, philanthropies and, most of all, the Indians themselves.

The members of the Inquiry consisted of Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Dr. C. T. Loram of Yale University, Dr. Harold B. Allen, President of the National Farm School, and Miss Ella Deloria, a Sioux woman and an anthropologist. Each member has had unique experience in conditions very similar to those prevailing on the Navajo Reservation. The participation of an Indian in the Inquiry has been especially gratifying to the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Miss Deloria's services have guaranteed that the interpretations and views of the Indians themselves are sincerely recognized in the conclusions presented.

The Inquiry was begun January 1, 1939. The field visitation by the members of the Inquiry continued through January. Professor Loram and his Yale University group spent a full week in March on the Reservation. Dr. Jones made a second visit of two weeks in June and Miss Deloria

continued her observations from December to the middle of June. Dr. Allen has also been present at frequent conferences with his colleagues on the Commission both in connection with consultations with Government officials, and representatives of missionary and Indian welfare agencies, and with the drafting of the Report. Every member of the Inquiry reported impressive changes in the attitudes of the Indians toward governmental policies during the months that intervened between the first visit in January and the second visit in June. From an attitude of very decided Indian anxiety and antagonism in January, the Navajos at the meeting of the Tribal Council, May 15 to 19, expressed a willingness to cooperate in stock reduction and in other forms of cooperation.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund and the members of the Inquiry are grateful for the sincere and helpful cooperation of all who have assisted in the study and especially to those who have cooperated in the efforts to advance a better understanding of the perplexing relationships between the Government and the Navajos. Under the leadership of Mr. J. C. Morgan, the President of the Navajo Council, the Indians were very kind in their attitude toward the Inquiry. The Government Service opened all doors for a full and impartial study and observation of actual conditions. Missionaries and traders offered every facility and assisted in every possible manner. While the Phelps-Stokes Fund contributed the larger part of the modest expenses of the Inquiry, special appreciation is due to the Home Missions Council and to individual members of the Indian Rights Association for financial assistance. The American Association on Indian Affairs generously placed all its valuable files of information at the disposition of the Inquiry and cooperated to the utmost. The editorial cooperation of Miss Esther Strong has been of special help. Indeed, the Inquiry, the interpretations

and the efforts to advance friendly relationships have been throughout a sincerely cooperative undertaking.

In the will of Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes, probated in 1909, she included among the objects of her special interest "the education of North American Indians." Though the major activities of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in the past have been concerned in other fields of service, the Fund has always kept in very close touch with American Indian conditions through the U. S. Office of Indian Affairs, the Indian Rights Association, the Home Missions Council and through other agencies concerned in the welfare of the Indians. The principal contributions have been financial aid in the founding of the American Indian Institute, Wichita, Kansas, under the leadership of Mr. Henry Roe Cloud; scholarship grants to a few Indian students; and cooperation financially and otherwise in the preparation and publication of the highly important survey entitled *The Problem of Indian Administration*, Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. This study was made possible by the generous grants of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and was conducted under the direction of Mr. Lewis Meriam of the Institute of Government Research, at the request of the U. S. Department of the Interior.

As a background of the Navajo Inquiry presented in this volume, it may be of interest to list the other educational surveys with which the Phelps-Stokes Fund has been connected:

Negro Education in U. S. A., a two-volume report made at the request of the U. S. Bureau of Education and published in 1917.

Education in Africa, a study of West, South and Equatorial Africa, published in 1922, made in cooperation with missionary societies and colonial governments.

Education in East Africa, a study of East, Central and

South Africa, published in 1925, made at the request of the British Colonial Office and missionary societies.

The Near East and American Philanthropy, published in 1929 by the Columbia University Press. Though this study was not made under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Educational Director of the Fund was Chairman of the Sponsoring Committee of the Near East Foundation and the plan of the survey was prepared by him.

Certain characteristics mark all of these reports:

(1) Each was made by a Commission chosen by the Phelps-Stokes Fund with the coöperation of other agencies, and in each case the Chairman of the Commission was Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, the Educational Director of the Fund.

(2) Each of these Commissions had as a member one or more representatives of the native or minority group whose needs were being investigated.

(3) Each of the Commissions laid special emphasis both on the social and economic background of the people concerned, and on developing an educational program directly related to their actual needs.

(4) Each of the Commissions endeavored to secure the coöperation of all factors: governmental, educational, religious and business—in securing a program which would have general support.

(5) Each of the Commissions proceeded on the same basis: a study of the existing literature; investigation on the field; consultation with various groups; and the preparation of a report, representing the point of view of the Commission as a whole. I should perhaps add that somewhat similar methods have been adopted in the other Surveys published under the auspices of the Fund, or with the assistance of its Educational Director, such as the Phelps-Stokes Fund's study, *Slums and Housing in New York City*, prepared in 1936 by Professor James Ford of Harvard University and Mr. George N.

Thompson of the U. S. Bureau of Standards, with the assistance of Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes.

The problem of Indian welfare is one which should appeal to the sentiment and conscience of the people of the United States in a very peculiar measure. The policies of the Government in relation to the Navajo Indians have been the center of contention for several years, involving as they do, not only the interests of the Indians, who, of course, deserve first consideration, but also the interests of the Government, the missionaries, the traders, and other groups. The situation is particularly critical on the economic side because the large increase in stock on the Reservation in recent years has resulted in a serious shortage of pasturage, in spite of the fact that the Government has spent very large sums of money to prevent soil erosion and to improve soil conditions. At the same time it must also be remembered that the Government in its relation to the Indians has been passing through a period when the tendency—in keeping with the constitutional guarantees of freedom—has been to place more emphasis on giving the Navajos adequate opportunity to preserve their racial heritage which is so intimately connected with their tribal religion.

Every American owes much to the original inhabitants of the country. Any group that can make a contribution, no matter how small, to their happiness and progress should be glad of the opportunity. We admire the Indians, and especially the people of the Navajo tribe, for their many fine qualities, and the least we can do is to give them an opportunity to develop in the way most in keeping with their best traditions and not inconsistent with American ideals. When we try to add to their culture anything that comes from our European background and our Christian heritage, and this is both inevitable and proper, we must be sure that we offer them only of our best. Throughout the process we must always be constructive, not destructive. There must

INTRODUCTION

be nothing dominant or aggressive in the attitude of the white man, whether he be a government agent, a missionary, a public school teacher, or a trader. We must do nothing to weaken the Indians' tribal loyalty and their own forms of art. We can do little more than help guide them to make wise choices for themselves under the general framework of government provided by the United States. If the present modest study helps to accomplish this purpose, it will be a source of gratification to the Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. It has tried to take into account the historic background of the Navajos, their present condition and aptitudes, and their advancement to a more positive and constructive place in American life.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES,
President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund

Phelps-Stokes Fund Office
August 4, 1939.

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Chapter I

THE NAVAJO PROBLEM

AMERICAN self-respect is involved in the Navajo problem as indeed it is involved in all American Indian problems. The security, the welfare, and the full development of the Indians are ever the special responsibility of the hundred million Americans who are enjoying "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness" on soil once solely the possession of American Indians. That the Indians are only a small proportion of the total population, and the Navajos number only 45,000 persons in no way minimizes the quality of the national concern for the original owners. Errors in the past are being corrected but the wise and effective ways of sharing American progress with the American Indians have not yet been adequately developed.

The Navajo problem is a most perplexing combination of Indian heritage, Indian customs and Indian ways of life in conflict with modern scientific programs of soil conservation and in opposition to present-day methods of social reform at any cost. History records many conflicts between reformers and the rebels against reform programs. The sincerity and soundness of the programs have often in the past failed to satisfy the equally sincere misunderstandings and convictions of the beneficiaries. The reformers, usually attacked for thoughtless impositions of their better ways, are the devotees of religion called "missionaries." Often in these days of idealistic social reform, "Western civilization" and especially "big business" and "industrialism" are also the objects of vituperative condemnation. However, history proves very emphatically that the beneficiaries of reform have often rebelled against any type of social change, whether economic, health, marital relations, political or religious.

The Navajo problem is a dramatic demonstration of the paradoxical processes of social changes. What, then, are the factors in the strange and unfortunate conflict between the Navajos and those who are attempting to improve their condition?

The Navajo Indians are a sturdy people, clinging tenaciously to their Indian customs, and especially to their Navajo language, the fortress of their family and tribal life. Through the centuries they have maintained their tribal heritage of customs and language against both the subtle influences and the vigorous attacks of other Indian tribes whom they have met. Neither the fighting forces of Spanish invaders nor the devotion of Catholic missionaries were able to change the Navajo people and their strange language. Even the vast army of a hundred million European-Americans have for a century failed to win these amazing Navajos either to the American language or to the American ways of life. Navajo memories and Navajo understanding of the European-Americans, past and present, are largely those of exploitation and ruthless control.

The second factor in the Navajo problem, now perplexing everyone concerned in the welfare of the Navajos, is the remarkable program of services initiated by the U. S. Office of Indian Affairs in 1933 to solve the almost catastrophic condition of soil erosion and over-grazing. Extensive researches by able and sincere specialists prove emphatically that the elemental necessities of Navajo life are threatened by widespread erosion of the soil, constantly hastened by the multiplication of sheep, goats, and horses. Briefly, the facts are, *first*, that Navajo population has increased from eight or ten thousand in 1868 to about forty-five thousand in 1938; *second*, that their livestock in terms of sheep-units increased in the same period to a million and a quarter; *third*, that the sheep-grazing capacity of the Reservation is only five hundred and fifty thousand sheep units or less than half

the number actually using the land. In these simple facts is a threatened tragedy to forty-five thousand Indian wards of the American Government that can hardly be exaggerated. The challenge to American self-respect had and still has an imperative quality that is dramatic. Long-time students of the dangers of soil erosion both in America and in other parts of the world are vividly conscious of the impending tragedy to the Navajo people. Impelled by all the drive of American ideals as well as by devotion to the standards and methods of their profession, the soil conservationists undertook the immensely difficult responsibility of saving the soil of the fifteen million acres of the Navajo Reservation. The huge task is emphatically beyond the imagination of the average American citizen whose natural indifference to the soil is rapidly becoming a menace to the security of American civilization.

Basically, then, the Navajo problem on its economic side is the failure to reconcile the tenacious and anxious devotion of the Navajo people to their customs and their language with the aggressive determination of able and devoted soil conservationists to save the soil elementally necessary to the very existence of the Navajos. To the earnest and impartial observer of both the embittered Navajos and of the perplexed and disappointed specialists in soil erosion, the task seems like the "irresistible force meeting the immovable object."

Most unfortunately, the extraordinary undertaking has been complicated by other forces and conditions in many respects beyond the control of those immediately concerned in the service. First of all has been the American sense of rush intensified in recent years by huge Government funds available only for brief periods of time and by temporary Government agencies organized for relief purposes rather than for the natural evolution of tribal customs. Officers of the Indian Service now freely admit that they have too often succumbed to the almost irresistible temptation of large

sums of money easily available for important projects intimately related to Indian welfare. Certainly, it is not difficult to understand the eager desire of the soil conservationists to do everything in their power to stop the ravages of wind and water erosion of the soil so absolutely essential to the very life of the Navajo Indians. There is evidence, in some of the plans, of a rather hectic idealism too exclusively conscious of objectives but lacking a realization and understanding of the long road turning and twisting in conformity with mountains of human nature and human convictions rooted in centuries of habits, experiences, and traditions.

Very unfortunate, also, have been the embarrassing and emotional criticisms by some of the friends of the Indians who have emphasized too exclusively the errors of haste and the failure to give adequate and effective consideration to Indian customs, Indian heritage, and Indian misunderstandings. Such friends seem to have failed to understand and appreciate the imperative necessity of saving the soil of the Navajo Reservation. They have overlooked the patriotic devotion and the technical skill of the Government workers who are doing their very best to help the Navajos in the calamity now threatening their means of existence. Sound attitude and intelligent friendship for the Indians are rooted in the principle of "both—and" rather than "either—or." The ultimate solution of the Navajo problem requires the reconciliation of adequate and sincere regard for the Navajo way-of-life and an equally sincere appreciation of the very unusual efforts to share with the Navajo people the achievements of modern science and the best American ideals.

The earnest purpose of the Phelps-Stokes Inquiry has been to ascertain and to foster the trends toward this much desired reconciliation. The four members of the Inquiry were selected on the basis of their long-time experience in the study and administration of conditions similar to those in the Navajo Reservation. First of all, every effort was made to se-

cure for the American Indians a full share in the Inquiry. Miss Ella Deloria, a Sioux Indian, broadly and thoroughly educated in anthropology, was given full responsibility for the study of the Navajo women and Navajo tribal customs. Many days were devoted to intimate conversation with the Navajo Indians and especially with their recognized leaders, not only by Miss Deloria but also by the other members of the Inquiry. Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, whose studies include both American Indians and the races of the Near East and Africa, had the good fortune of knowing Mr. J. C. Morgan, President of the Navajo Tribal Council, while Mr. Morgan was a student at Hampton Institute. Professor C. T. Loram, of Yale University, has had a long experience both as a British Colonial Officer and as a friend and teacher of tribal groups quite similar to those of the Navajos. Dr. Harold B. Allen, of the Near East Foundation, who personifies the best achievements of American agriculture, has rendered services of very unusual significance to the peoples of Old Macedonia and other Near East countries. The observations and interpretations of the staff of the Inquiry are presented to the American people with the sincere hope and faith that the Navajo problem will be solved and that the Navajo people may share fully in the rights and privileges of American democracy.

It is most reassuring to be able to report now in the month of August that substantial progress has been made toward coöperative relations of the Navajos, the Government officers, the missionaries, and the traders. In the six months since last January when the Phelps-Stokes Inquiry united in their field study of Navajo conditions, the members of the Inquiry have been in personal touch with the changing conditions and attitudes on the Reservation. Numerous evidences of favorable changes have been observed, but the most convincing of all are the actions of the Navajo Council on May 15th to 19th when the Council endorsed the livestock program of the Government Service and pledged their coöperation and

active support in the removal of excess horses before September 1st, 1939.

Very difficult problems are still to be solved. Soil conservation is a long-time process, requiring not only technical skill and large expenditures of funds by Government but also patience and understanding on the part of the Navajos. Education, related both to the everyday needs of Indian life on the Reservation and also to the larger currents of American life, involves a responsibility beyond the ability of most educators both at home and abroad. Government administration of Native minorities in the process of adjustment with a huge and overpowering majority is an old undertaking not yet defined and formulated into practical and sound procedures either in America or elsewhere in the world. Economic provisions and adjustments of primitive society with the highly organized processes of production and distribution of the controlling and too often ruthless majority require economic statesmanship not yet available in national affairs. Religion and morals, law and order, health and sanitation—all require processes of adaptation that will both preserve the best of Navajo life and open the doors of opportunity for Navajo participation in the best American and modern life. These extraordinary responsibilities and opportunities involve not only the welfare of the Navajos and all American Indians; they involve also and very emphatically the self-respect of all American people who can never escape their responsibility for the original owners of the land and of the resources now the very foundation of American power and privilege.

Chapter II

THE NAVAJO AND THE LAND

It is difficult to appraise intelligently and properly, in the brief time and small space allotted to this study, a program so complicated and involving so many issues as the one found on the Navajo Reservation. Therefore, any statements that are made regarding either the strength or the weaknesses of this program are given with due consideration to the limitations mentioned above.

The present-day Navajo land problem had its origin, in part at least, in an enforced change in the agricultural economy of the Indians. There is evidence that before the War between the States the 8,000 or 10,000 Navajos then scattered through, roughly, the eastern half of their present territory almost to the Rio Grande, obtained a much larger share of their total livelihood from cultivated crops than they do today. Toward the close of the War between the States, the Government forces under Kit Carson subdued and imprisoned the inveterate Navajo raiders by the ruthless destruction of their crops, fields, fruit trees and livestock. When the Navajos were returned from Fort Sumner to the grazing areas of their old homeland in 1868, with a relatively small issue of sheep per family, they depended principally on livestock, game and uncultivated products for their livelihood. Their livestock, mostly sheep, multiplied rapidly on the good forage of the empty country. The hardy Navajos by 1930 had increased to about forty-five thousand still dependent largely on their livestock which at that time was estimated to consist of almost one million two hundred thousand sheep units (one horse counting as five and one cow as four sheep).

Experts in range management have determined, however,

that the safe grazing capacity of the Reservation is somewhere between about five hundred fifty thousand and six hundred thousand sheep units; that the Reservation produces only enough forage annually to feed six hundred thousand sheep. Livestock in excess of this number was eating into the forage capital of the Reservation, weakening and partially killing the valuable perennial grasses and shrubs, and leaving the soil unprotected against the attacks of wind and water. The range thus in 1930 was carrying double its capacity. These figures were established by an extensive survey of grazing made by Mr. Muck and others in 1930-31, and published as a part of the Senate Committee's Survey of Conditions of Indians in the United States. They have been confirmed and more thoroughly established by studies of the Soil Conservation Service.

Gullies or washes, some of them more than a hundred miles long and resembling the dry beds of empty rivers, have destroyed, and are continuing to destroy, the best valley lands. Annuals and unpalatable weeds have taken the place of valuable perennial grasses on thousands of square miles. Mountain slopes have been denuded of their soil down to bedrock. The destruction is continuing.

On these heavily overgrazed lands, where serious erosion is going on at increasing pace, the population is rapidly increasing. The standard of living would be on the downward trend if Government relief funds were not available. Livestock must be reduced, by some means, to the carrying capacity of the land. The income must be raised from other reservation resources and from the improvement of the livestock.

STOCK REDUCTION

A program for the reduction of livestock to the carrying capacity of the Reservation was begun by the Government as early as 1930, when a detailed study of grazing resources

was made, looking toward the development of an adequate policy of land management and conservation. It was not, however, until 1933 that actual steps were taken to bring about livestock reduction. With special and drought relief funds the Government in three successive purchase programs bought almost four hundred thousand sheep and goats from the Navajos, slaughtered the animals, and used the meat for relief in drought-stricken Reservations. Each of these purchase programs was endorsed and sponsored by the Tribal Council. Unfortunately, for practical reasons these purchases in 1934 and 1935 were made on a horizontal basis, every owner regardless of size of herd being asked to sell a certain percentage of his flock. Many Navajo families having less than one hundred sheep units responded to the lure of cash and sold their quota of livestock. Most of the large stock-owners operating on a commercial scale made use of the opportunity to cull their flocks by selling only their over-age, weakened animals, and emerged from the reduction campaign with fewer numbers but more profitable stock. Compulsion to sell livestock seems to have been applied, against instructions from Washington, in parts of the eastern Navajo jurisdiction. This application of compulsion, since corrected by the replacement of several thousand sheep in the area, reverberated across the huge Reservation. Its repercussions persist to this day and frighten and confuse the Navajos.

These efforts to bring the livestock of the Reservation down to the number that the available forage could safely support are now apparently at a standstill. In the fall of 1938 the stock census indicated that the Navajos owned about eight hundred fifty thousand sheep units, almost three hundred thousand sheep units more than the present carrying capacity of the range. The hastily designed program, based on the expectation that emergency funds with which to provide wage work would be available for only two or three years during which the stock adjustment process must be com-

pleted, developed too much opposition among the mass of the Navajos. Although, as already stated, the reduction program had been approved by the Tribal Council, the members of the Council and the Government people were unable to educate the Navajos to an understanding of the program in the short time between planning and action.

If the antagonisms which have resulted from the early errors and misunderstandings and from much subsequent propaganda could be removed, the problem of reduction would not be too difficult. In all but three or four of the eighteen districts of the Reservation the necessary reduction could be brought about by removing unproductive stock such as old wethers, some goats and a large number of excess horses to which the Indians are devoted out of all proportion to their actual value. In the three or four districts mentioned above as presenting the chief difficulty, and in individual cases throughout other districts, the burden of the reduction must fall upon the relatively large commercial Navajo graziers. So far, all attempts made to force these large owners to reduce to the limits set by the administration and to protect the small owner who is close to or below the subsistence level, have met with much opposition. Furthermore, the large and often more intelligent Indian owner has been able frequently to enlist the poor and less intelligent in his cause. It is quite significant that the Tribal Council on May 15-19, 1939, approved the reduction of excess horses.

A reduction of the holdings of large operators is not a new policy for the Indian Service. Departmental regulations in existence in 1931 provided for an equitable distribution of grazing resources on Indian Reservations by placing a limitation on the number of animals to be grazed free of charge by an Indian family. This limitation, fifty horses, one hundred cattle or five hundred sheep, or a combined equivalent, apparently was never enforced in the Navajo jurisdiction,

although rigidly enforced in the northern plains and the inter-mountain region.

All land on the Reservation is tribal property held in trust by the United States Government for the use of the Indians. Large commercial Indian sheep owners may be said to have secured their individual wealth through the exploitation of land belonging to the tribe as a whole, thus eating into the capital assets of the Reservation. Such large commercial operators are able to conduct their business with no payment to the Government in taxes as per treaty arrangements with the Indians. This is, of course, a rather unusual opportunity for any individual who is engaged in a commercial enterprise. Such Indians could compete successfully with Whites anywhere and in fact frequently have investments and sources of income outside the Reservation. These considerations support the conviction that it is proper for the Administration to reduce the activities of large commercial Indian operators in the interest of the average small sheep owner. One method of achieving this objective may be to tax commercial owners using tribal lands for herds of sheep beyond a stated maximum number.

The present policy of adjusting the livestock to the carrying capacity of the Navajo range seems a wise one, especially as the adjustment program is based on painstaking, thorough inventory of all the resources and of the dependent population of the eighteen districts into which the Reservation has been divided. Excluding a small group of large owners who naturally fear the consequences of a reduction program, and excluding those who are opposed to the whole Government program, there appears to be a growing consciousness on the part of the Indians themselves of the seriousness of the land and stock problems. At one "Chapter" meeting which was attended, the Indians freely admitted the seriousness of the problem and expressed their conviction that something had to be done; but they stated that they were confused by the

haste and the complications of the Government program and that they did not know where they were going nor what it was all about. They asked for light and stated that they would be glad to cooperate if they really understood. This was undoubtedly an exceptional group in its cooperative attitude but it means that something has been and is being accomplished in the direction mentioned.

Another hopeful factor is that the administrators are gaining a better understanding of Indian relationships and traditional practices from the studies of the anthropologists. The studies have disclosed that Navajo families of a given area seem to constitute functional groups bound together economically, socially, and religiously. These functional groups are said to have well-defined grazing areas which are respected by the surrounding functional groups. Agreements are being worked out with the leaders and the more important members of such functional groups to reduce the stock within their recognized areas. This method of procedure has been started in District Four. Agreements have been completed, or nearly completed with five of these groups. There are a total of forty in this one district. The enormity of the problem of covering eighteen districts in this detailed manner is obvious.

Still another important factor which may tend toward the solution of this problem is the successful termination of the test cases in the Federal courts to establish the authority of the Government to regulate the use of the Navajo range. In the authority to issue or withhold grazing permits lies the power to reduce stock and save the range. These cases have resulted in much misunderstanding on the part of the Indians involved as well as on the part of friends not acquainted with all the facts. This feeling is utilized against the Government by those who are politically or economically opposed. It is unfortunate that the court cases had to be brought to trial while the Navajo mind was still confused. However, the

Indian has a tendency to argue with all his force until finally defeated, then turn and do quietly as required. If this is the outcome and if this authority is exercised with consideration and sympathy, it may after all result in the desired end.

Inventories of all of the range resources of the Reservation show that with the best kind of range management and the best improved type of sheep adapted to the peculiar needs of the Navajos, and with as equitable a distribution of the range among the Navajos as it is possible to attain, livestock alone will be still unable to supply a bare sustenance to more than about 50 or 60 percent of the present number of Navajo families. Additional land for livestock cannot be given the Navajos by the Government or bought by them with their own tribal funds owing to the opposition of the non-Indian population of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. Therefore the Government is pursuing the right course in emphasizing the development of the Reservation's scant agricultural resources for use by the Navajos, even though the per acre cost of such development may appear to be high.

It has been amply demonstrated that the Navajo will farm with a certain degree of efficiency if he is given an opportunity. Every Navajo supplied with sufficient arable land, whether it be completely irrigated, flood-irrigated, or dry-farming land, on which to produce subsistence crops for his family and necessary stock, is independent of Government relief work and a helpful member of the Navajo Tribe. For these reasons the Government program of irrigation and farm land development meets with hearty approval. The difficulties and misunderstandings arising out of the distribution and use of the arable land will be discussed in another part of this Report. Suffice it to say here that the three-tenths of one percent of the total land area which was devoted to cultivated crops in 1936 brought in 25 percent of the tribe's total income that year, whereas the 99.7 percent devoted to grazing produced only 29 percent of the total income. The

future of the Navajo tribe lies in the extension of the cropped rather than the grass area.

Extensive works are now under way to extend the farming possibilities. A total of sixty-five irrigation projects have been completed or are in process of completion. The area involved is about 30,000 acres, of which 14,500 will be cropped in 1939. It is claimed that another 50,000 acres could be added without too great an expense. These additional acres would not necessarily provide the highest type of irrigation farming, but they would, under the developments proposed, make less hazardous the growing of farm crops under the conditions that normally exist on the Navajo Reservation. It is felt that all such possibilities should be fully and carefully explored and, if necessary, re-explored. To determine the advisability of a project, as far as cost is concerned, an appraisal of the human element must be included. This means that the cost may legitimately exceed an amount which would ordinarily be considered proper from the purely agricultural point of view. How far in excess of this normal limit the Government should go we are, of course, not in a position to say.

DEMONSTRATION AREAS

The so-called demonstration areas have been the subject of considerable discussion both by the friends and the opponents of the Administration. Therefore this subject deserves brief mention in this Report. There are in all, nine demonstration areas. Seven of these are stocked with animals, most of them to the carrying capacity of the land, a few not quite to the carrying capacity due to the slow recovery of the depleted range. In two areas the land was in such an extreme condition of erosion and so utterly lacking in forage that all stock was excluded for a period of time. One of these areas has now attained a grazing condition sufficient for re-stocking. The seven areas with stock include a total acreage of 129,143. The two non-stocked areas have an acreage of 16,776. The

primary purposes of these demonstration areas are to demonstrate that the range may be brought back by reducing the animals to the carrying capacity, by instituting proper measures of erosion control and by providing necessary and possible water facilities for the animals.

At the same time it is hoped to demonstrate that a higher income may be secured from a range stocked to carrying capacity under effective management than from a range improperly managed and overstocked with a larger number of animals. Those areas which have been under good management for several years provide results that appear to be quite favorable. These include the following items: The forage gives indication of coming back. Wool clippings have been increased from the Navajo average of about four pounds to eight pounds per head. The lamb crop has been increased from 55 to 76 and in one instance up to 90 percent. The income from sheep has been increased from \$1.33 per breeding ewe to \$3.84 per breeding ewe and from \$1.13 per forage acre to \$1.27 per forage acre.¹ These figures are neither the highest nor the lowest, but were selected as being average. The Administration has been criticised for removing land from the use of the Indians in a region which is already short of good grazing areas. The most that can be said by way of criticism, is that perhaps a larger acreage is involved than is absolutely necessary in a region so lacking in good land. In this connection it is necessary to call attention to the following facts:

These demonstration areas represent by no means the best land of the Indians. As a matter of fact they are usually selected because of the seriousness of erosion and overgrazing on the particular areas involved. All of these areas except two are stocked or are being stocked to the full carrying capacity standards. The animals placed in these areas belong to the Indians themselves. While the income from the re-

¹ Forage acre equals one acre of forage of 100% density and 100% palatable.

duced number of sheep seems to compare favorably (and is undoubtedly improving) with the income from the much larger number of sheep previously overgrazing these areas, the number of families profiting from this income is probably smaller, due to the removal of several in reducing the animals formerly grazing on these areas.

STOCK-WATER DEVELOPMENTS

It is frequently asserted that large-scale development of stock-water facilities is the greatest need of the Navajo Reservation. This statement implies that the Navajo management has not tried to meet this need. The official records of the Government verified by the Inquiry show that since 1933 two hundred eighty-eight deep wells with wind-mills have been constructed, many artesian wells have been drilled and eight-hundred reservoirs have been built. This has resulted in a much more adequate supply of water so greatly needed by animals and people. Many projects of this character are still under way and this year \$350,000 is being expended for this purpose.

Critics have stated that if more water were developed the reduction of stock would not be necessary. This is emphatically a mistaken observation. The range surveys constitute an actual measurement of all forage on the Reservation and the surveys have shown that the forage is sufficient for only 560,000 units of sheep. Water developments will not increase the carrying capacity but they will make it a reality, if so distributed as to make all forage accessible to livestock.

THE SHEEP BREEDING LABORATORY AT FORT WINGATE

A discussion of the programs under way for the saving of the soil and the improvement of agriculture in general would not be complete without mentioning the sheep-breeding laboratory at Fort Wingate. This laboratory is technically under the Department of Agriculture but connected with the

Indian Office of the Navajo Reservation by certain coöperative relationships. This is an excellent experiment station and under effective management. The chief objective is to develop a type of sheep that will have the ability to compete in the large commercial markets outside of the Reservation, provide a good feeder lamb, have a carcass with a maximum amount of meat for home consumption and provide a wool which is suitable for the Navajo weaver and at the same time meets special needs of the non-Reservation wool market. The program at the station is altogether too new to provide any definite results in a field that requires considerable time to attain its objectives. It is thought, however, that the type ultimately to be developed will be an animal resulting from the native sheep used as a base and mated with some other breed such as the Romney or Corriedale.

IRRIGATION AND CROP FARMING

Great emphasis is placed by the Navajo Administration on the importance of increasing the areas for irrigation and crop farming. This is vital because of the increasing population, the deterioration of land suitable for grazing, and the probable ultimate lessening of sources of wage income. Irrigation projects may be divided into three classes: simple inexpensive types which merely provide assistance to Indian projects, enabling them to replace old wooden or earthen dams with permanent concrete dykes; work constructed to take full advantage of flood waters as they are available from melting snow at the end of the winter season and following the short rainy period in July or August, an illustration of this type of development being the Many Farms Project; and extensive types providing all-season irrigation water as at Fruitland.

The Fruitland project deserves special mention from the Administrative point of view. The vicissitudes of this project and the consequent discussions relative to twenty-acre versus ten-acre allotments have resulted in much agitation. This

has been injurious not only to the Fruitland project itself but to other works of a similar nature in other parts of the Reservation. Merely because of this agitation and the resulting implications of the term "ten-acre," Indians have persistently refused to move on to plots that have been made available in other sections. It is not the purpose of this report to discuss the merits or demerits of the decisions made relative to the Fruitland Project. It is obvious from a study of the records that twenty-acre plots at Fruitland were originally promised, by whose authority it is immaterial. This was taken for granted both by Government officials and by Indians. For reasons that appeared sound, this decision was altered and ten-acre plots were finally decided upon. One would hesitate to recommend another reversal and another evidence of non-continuity of policy by suggesting a return to twenty-acre plots. However, it is strongly recommended that more tact and tolerance be exercised by both sides in assigning this land. It would seem that special effort should be made to assign plots of a size proportionate to the number in a man's family, perhaps ranging all the way from five or six acres for a childless couple to seventeen or eighteen acres for large families without livestock.

POTENTIAL INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

The Administration has rightly given considerable thought to the development of industrial resources and some progress has already been made. The Forestry Division has been operating a sawmill in the tribal timber and additional small sawmills, to be operated by all-Navajo labor, are planned. In twenty-four and a half months, lumbering operations paid out \$69,700 to the Indians for labor; 5,500,000 feet of lumber were manufactured during this period at \$22.50 per thousand. This represented an average saving of \$10.00 per thousand over imported lumber or a total saving of \$55,000. In this connection the experts claim that there is a potential

cut of 15,000,000 board feet per year available on the Reservation while at the same time conserving the forests. There is a potential labor market of 60,000 man-days of labor per year. There is another potential 60,000 man-days of labor per year which could be used in processing lumber. Other industrial possibilities include development of slaughterhouses and manufacture of meat products for home consumption, tanning of hides and pelts as a by-product of the slaughterhouses, further developments of oil wells and increase in the production and sale of rugs and Indian silverware by improving design and quality. All of these possibilities should be given the utmost consideration by the Indian Bureau in Washington. They are vital to the needs of an increasing population in an area of decreasing revenue from grazing. Income from such projects properly developed could gradually take the place of labor income from wages which are bound to decrease as construction projects under way are completed.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION

On the Navajo Reservation those extension activities which relate to crop production are under the farm management section of the Land Use Division. Farm activities are promoted by farm supervisors. Extension activities relating to the use and improvement of animals are under the Division of Range Management. Its field men are range riders concerned with all those activities and regulations relating to the grazing of animals and to range control.

This organizational arrangement is perhaps justified by the emphasis necessarily placed at this stage on range control and the development of new areas, which are, in fact, the major problems occupying the attention of these two divisions from the departmental heads down to the men in the field. Such an arrangement, however, has the weakness of placing, or seeming to place, chief emphasis upon the ma-

terial side of agricultural life rather than upon the human element which is involved. Moreover, the primitive practices of the individual Navajo Indian and the need of improving many of these practices in the interest of a higher production would seem to justify much greater emphasis upon agricultural extension as such.

On the agricultural side there are, on the Navajo Reservation, from one to three farm supervisors in each of the eighteen districts. As already indicated, these men are occupied chiefly with the subjugation of new crop areas and the various irrigation projects. In some cases these supervisors hold college degrees, but in no instance is there a man engaged purely in agricultural extension work who has a college degree. On the contrary, such educational qualifications range from three years of college work (in two instances) all the way down through high school to the eighth grade. This means that the agricultural extension service on the Navajo Reservation is in no way comparable to the programs conducted in other areas of this country. The service is further handicapped by a limited knowledge of the Navajo language. In order to remedy these conditions and at the same time make this program more effective without too great an expense, the following procedure is suggested:

(1) Install in each district one white extension agent. This requires the addition of a man in several of the districts. These district leaders should be college graduates and thoroughly experienced in modern extension methods. (2) Surround such a district extension leader with four or five Indian assistants to be imbued with the attitudes and methods of their leader and made responsible for dealing directly with the Indian farmer in changing primitive practices. This procedure appears to be quite within the realm of possibility, even within the limitations of civil service, which permits salaries to Indian workers up to \$1,080 per year. This should

be sufficient, for the present, to retain Indian workers of secondary education.

Under the division of Range Management, a similar condition prevails with regard to workers in the field, namely, the range riders. However, due to the importance of grazing on the Reservation, there is a larger number of range riders in each district than farm supervisors, but the qualifications of the workers are no higher. In fact, they may be slightly inferior from an academic standpoint only. All of them, however, are men with years of practical experience in the livestock business on Western ranges. But in order to improve the efficiency of the whole program and to carry improved animal and range practices directly to the Indians, a procedure similar to that suggested above for the farm supervisors is also recommended in this case; namely, one district white range rider, college educated and thoroughly experienced, with four or five Indian assistants, trained in range riding, knowing the language of their people and carefully supervised.

It should be emphasized again that the procedure recommended here is essential to the improvement of the agricultural and animal extension service as it affects the individual farmer and also highly important as one means of bringing into service a greater proportion of Indian workers in the technical or semi-technical fields. To this end qualifications for all white workers should be raised; qualifications for Indian assistants should be modified until such time as technical education is more common to a larger number of Navajo Indians.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The objectives which have been provided for vocational training in the educational system of the Navajo Reservation are sound; the attitudes and the policies which guide those in charge of the execution of this program are adequate.

However, there is, in several instances, a wide gap between the stated policies and the carrying out of the program itself. This is no doubt to be expected in view of the newness of the present program and the difficulty of securing a suitable staff. The emphasis which is placed upon vocational education; the efforts made to relate such training to conditions as found on the Reservation; and the present policy of making agricultural instruction the core around which to relate much of the shop instruction are all wise. It remains to be seen how much of the school instruction will be applied in home practice. Supplementary to these generalized remarks, the following comments are offered under each of the three main divisions of vocational training.

Home Economics. The home economics instruction seems to be unusually good. The programs appear to be practical and sound. Instruction is adapted fairly well to the home level of the pupils. Furthermore, there seems to be a consistent effort to relate the instruction still better, as time goes on, to the home resources of the people served. There is a high proportion of well-trained instructors and many of these have been prepared not only in the subject matter of home economics, but also in methods of teaching as applied to this field. Emphasis is rightly placed on the use of hogans in the home-economics instruction. There is still room for greater emphasis in this direction and much more careful thought should be given to the construction and equipment of such hogans under the limitations of the people involved. We were impressed also with the use of a fairly large number of Indian girl instructors in certain aspects of the home economics program. This was particularly noted in the weaving work. It is indicative of a trend in the right direction.

Shop Training. As already indicated, the intention of this Department is to build the shop instruction around the agricultural course; in other words, minimize training of an industrial nature and emphasize shop training as it relates to

farm work. In several instances this objective is far from being attained but the principle is sound. In this connection it was interesting to note the excellent training which is provided at Fort Wingate in types of instruction that are not necessarily related to farming, but which could provide the basis of excellent home industries and which utilize products found on the Reservation. It would seem that this is an excellent practice where good instructors can be found, properly qualified to give training on a thorough vocational basis. As a whole, shop instructors lacked the educational qualifications to be found in the staff of the home economics department. However, this is accounted for in part by the use, in several instances, of Indian instructors. This departure from the usual standards is very commendable. One of the finest pieces of shop instruction observed was under the direction of an Indian instructor.

Agricultural Instruction. Agricultural instruction occupies an important place in the educational plans of the Navajo Reservation. This is as it should be, in view of the mode of life among the Indians of this area. Unfortunately, however, the vocational instruction in this field was far below standard. It may be said to be inexcusably poor. It must be admitted that the task of ascertaining the farm practices of this area and then determining the practices which can be made the basis of a good agricultural course, is not easy. Unfortunately, however, there is no one on the vocational agricultural staff properly qualified to make such surveys or to prepare suitable courses of study on the basis of the information secured. In a word, the work is not comparable in any way with vocational agricultural instruction as found in Smith-Hughes Schools throughout this country. This is particularly noticeable in comparison with the development which has taken place in America in this field of education. With one or two exceptions, instructors were quite inadequate in training and personality. In all cases these instructors lack the preparation

which is now required by the Federal Government for qualified agricultural instructors in secondary schools. In view of the large supply of well-trained men who are now available in this field, the above condition should be, and could be, immediately remedied, though here again the importance of Indian personnel should not be overlooked.

ELEMENTARY SCIENCE

This item is brought into this discussion partly because of its relationship to vocational training. However, it is here treated under a separate section because of the importance of this phase of basic instruction. Elementary general science should occupy an important place in an educational program which is designed for a rural people who are exceedingly primitive and who place superstitious interpretations upon natural phenomena. Correctly taught, an elementary course in general science should help:

1. To arouse the interest and curiosity of Indian children in their natural environment.
2. To serve as an excellent basis for the later and more advanced vocational work in agriculture, home economics and shop.

Such instruction is considered to be sufficiently basic in this particular area as almost to justify a special supervisor; certainly a good portion of the time of one supervisor who is qualified to promote this type of instruction. Such a person could prepare very simplified material (including the most elementary demonstrations and experiments) so that the material could be placed in the hands of some of the better day-school teachers. These outlines should be of such a nature as to be used by teachers who are themselves rather lacking in science training. The supervisor should also see to it that interesting and helpful courses in general science are organized around natural life and agriculture and that similar courses are taught in every boarding school as a fundamental preparation for all vocational work.

A VOCATIONAL CENTER FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

The use of Indian assistants as agricultural agents, range riders, and vocational teachers requires the necessary preparation. Other sections of this Report give similar emphasis to the importance of bringing Indians into the academic field. This also requires a suitable type of training as preparation for such teaching. In dealing with primitive peoples everywhere, qualifications of local leaders should be so modified as to enable a fairly large proportion of such persons to enter into the professional fields. To base educational requirements on standards found in advanced society is to overlook the very people whom the program aims to assist. Programs of this nature should be so organized as to enable Indians to share in the leadership as well as in the more general values. The time will ultimately arrive when the requirements of the various types of leadership can be raised to standards generally recognized throughout the country. This stage has certainly not been attained on the Navajo Reservation. The necessary modifications should provide for a much higher proportion of Indians throughout the whole service. With this thought in mind, the following suggestions are proposed for a training-center for leadership in the various fields of activity required on the Navajo Reservation:

It is suggested that careful selections be made from among the best graduates of the Fort Wingate agricultural course. A limited number of additional students might presumably be made to this group from Tuba City, Shiprock, and some of the other places. These young men should be given a course of advanced training in agriculture somewhere on the Reservation. Such a training center might be located at Fort Wingate or at any one of the other schools, depending upon the factors involved. The course of study should not take longer than two years. It should include an intensive study of the more important agricultural problems on the Reserva-

tion as well as training in methods of extension, the psychology of Indian farmers, and possibly even some work in methods of teaching agriculture. In this center young men could be prepared as Indian assistants for agricultural extension, range riding and perhaps certain phases of agricultural instruction in the vocational schools. Such a center for the training of professional workers might also include similar training courses for related purposes in shop, in home economics, and possibly also in teaching. Expanding the idea still further, such a center might give some attention to the training of clerks, bookkeepers, and stenographers for the central office at Window Rock. This whole program is of such importance that serious attention should be given to the question of training Indian assistants for all of the programs and activities to be found on the Navajo Reservation.

FINANCIAL ASPECT OF THE LAND MANAGEMENT DIVISION

A rather surprising aspect of the land management program on the Navajo Reservation is the fact that this division seems to be non-existent as far as any sound budgetary arrangements are concerned. It appears that this whole organization has been executed without the proper financial support. Funds and personnel are drawn from various other departments. Both funds and personnel are then assembled to form the Land Management Division. The chief source of men and money is from the Soil Conservation Service and this is undoubtedly as it should be. But to complete the necessary provision, levies must be made upon various other departments to the embarrassment of the Land Management Division and to the indignation of those departments that are forced to share their resources. This is a serious condition which needs to receive the utmost consideration. If programs which are thought to be essential are to be permanent, the necessary financial support in a unified way should be provided by Congress.

Chapter III

ADMINISTRATION

POPE's familiar lines,

For forms of government let fools contest
Whate'er is best administer'd is best

apply particularly to primitive peoples and many mistakes have been made in the government of dependent peoples by attempting to impose upon people of one history, tradition and culture, an alien form of government and administration. Neither totalitarianism nor democracy, neither socialism nor communism will suit all the world, enthusiasts to the contrary notwithstanding.

In the case of so-called primitive peoples, experience has shown that the nearer the ruling group can keep to the institutional forms of the governed the better. Hence the relative success of the so-called Indirect Rule in colonial countries is worthy of consideration. But one cannot afford to be a doctrinaire or romanticist and preserve all the institutions of a people brought into contact with another great and powerful culture. Much of the indigenous practice of such a people is regarded as "contrary to public morals" by the conquering group. In any case, for the sake of the indigenous people themselves their institutional forms must be developed and modified if they are to continue to exist in the modern world. A balance between the indigenous culture and that of the modern world must be found. There has in the past been too great an attempt to impose modern American civilization on the Indians; there is evidence that the present policy of the Office of Indian Affairs has been inclining rather vigorously in the other direction. Many believe that the anthropologists and the romanticists have been in-

differences and to the primitive status of the Navajo people, especially toward religion.

(b) The differences of opinion as to what is the religion of the Navajos have confused the problem of religious freedom. The Regulations have done much to strengthen respect for the Navajo heritage, but there are strong differences as to whether many of the customs are a help or a hindrance in the adjustment of Indian life with American standards of living.

(c) The change from the long-established relationships of missionaries and Government officers required by the Regulations has been a perplexing undertaking for local officers, missionaries and even for the Indian pupils. Some of the missionaries have believed that their presence at Government schools is not welcomed. It is reported that some of the Government officers consider it expedient to avoid any expression of interest in missionary services and that the older pupils are inclined to follow their personal desires and to avoid contacts and association with missionaries.

(3) Despite the frictions of the past, remarkable progress has been made in the development of cooperative relationship between Government and missions on the Navajo Reservation. Reports from missionaries reflect the friendly assistance of local officers in arrangements for religious instructions. There is now real evidence that the trends toward cooperation will continue until missions and missionaries will be regarded as among the very helpful influences for the full development of the Navajo Indians.

Chapter VIII

CONCLUSIONS

"AN OVERWHELMING majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization." These significant words were the opening sentence of the monumental Report on the *Problem of Indian Administration*, published in 1928. Lewis Meriam was writing of all American Indians. How emphatically does the statement apply to the Navajo Indians today. Every chapter in the present Inquiry deepens the impression that the way out of poverty, ignorance, disease, superstition and other maladjustments is not yet adequately functioning on the Navajo Reservation. However, it is certain that trends in the right direction are being discovered and developed. Dangerous and misleading as summaries and conclusions may be in the perplexing diversity of the factors in the Navajo problem, it seems desirable to venture a few of the more obvious and fundamental observations.

PRESENT CONDITIONS

The Navajo and the Land. The elemental importance of the land to the Navajo people cannot be exaggerated. Even the layman who observes the arid condition of the sandy plateaus immediately begins to wonder how animals can exist on the scant vegetation. Most fortunately the Office of Indian Affairs was able to enlist the services of the Soil Conservation Division of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in thorough surveys of the soil problems. In view of the world-wide standing of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service, the extensive and intensive studies of the Navajo Reservation can safely be accepted as authoritative. Members of the

Inquiry, and especially the agricultural expert, with experience both at home and abroad, are convinced that overgrazing of land, capable of supporting only 550,000 sheep units by almost a million sheep units is a menace to the very life of the Navajo people. That errors of haste were made is most unfortunate and especially those that resulted in the antagonism of the Indians. In the special chapter on Land, recommendations of changes and improvements are briefly outlined. All-in-all the members of the Inquiry are agreed that the general trends in soil conservation and in related movements are decidedly in the direction vitally needed on the Reservation.

Government Administration. The special chapter on this important phase of the Navajo problem reflects the stormy experiences through which the Reservation has passed. In view of the almost revolutionary objectives which the Indian Office endeavored to achieve in a comparatively brief time, it is little wonder that both Indians and many friends of the Indians were confused and often resentful. Present policies and attitudes indicate a decided change toward a recognition of the importance of time as an imperative factor needed for the adjustments. The spirit of tolerance and cooperation is developing in all parties concerned. However, the process is not easy for it involves real understanding, real sympathy and sincere concern for the Indian people as the fundamental objective of Navajo Service. Working with Indians rather than for them requires a profound change not only in policy and program but also in the personalities of the Administrative staff.

Education. The change from the boarding-school plan of education to that of the day-school and community-centered influences for the common realities of everyday life was profound in potentialities for the future of the Navajo people. However, it involved and still involves all kinds of difficulties which only patient experimentation can solve. Only educa-

tional prophets and educational statesmen really understand the means and methods required to achieve community-centered education even in the most advanced American communities. There are many word-artists and wishful thinkers and reformers who are advocating education for life but the number of those who really know the community implications for education is very small.

The application of the day-school and community plan among the nomadic and primitive Navajo people with two persons to the square mile in an area almost three times as large as Massachusetts was an extraordinary undertaking. The results prove that errors were made despite the good intentions and the unusual skill of some of the educational leaders. However, an important trend has been initiated and some valuable objectives have been accomplished. Changes and extensions can be successfully made provided the method of experimentation is adopted and sufficient time is allowed to test the experimental demonstrations. Some of the types of planning for the future of education among the Navajos are suggested in the special chapter.

Law and Order. The guidance and control of 45,000 Indians, mostly of a semi-primitive type, distributed over an area of almost 24,000 square miles is obviously a very difficult undertaking. The Indian Service recognizes the seriousness of the problems and every effort is being made to find the right methods. Of course the vigorous government programs in every phase of Navajo administration have necessarily increased the problems of the Judiciary and the Police. The main features of the present system of Law Enforcement may be summarized as follows:

1. The Chief of the Navajo Patrol is a man of long experience in the American police system. He combines the qualities of common sense, sympathy and devotion to American standards of law and order. Some students of anthropology and ethnology are of the opinion that his knowledge

of Navajo heritage and customs is not adequate. However, the members of the Inquiry are convinced that the first responsibility of the Navajo Patrol is for the American standards of law and order. They share the conviction of the anthropologists that every consideration should be given to Navajo customs in all efforts to adjust the Indians to American life.

2. Fortunately, the Judges are Navajos carefully selected for their wisdom, character and understanding of Navajo heritage. The Police also are Navajos and therefore fully aware of life on the Reservation.

3. There is some evidence that even the Navajo status of the Judges and the Police does not guarantee either a real regard for Navajo life or an impartial attitude in the administration of justice. After all, Navajos are very human. Undoubtedly the misunderstandings, anxieties and antagonisms resulting from government programs and Indian attitudes have sometimes undermined the tribal loyalties of Judges and Police. In such instances Navajo officers are said at times to become overenthusiastic champions of their government employers.

Health, Hogan, Heritage. The Navajo Medical Service is genuinely conscious of the interdependence of health and every phase of Navajo life. Every effort is made to enlist the cooperation of all divisions of the Indian Service. The response of the Division of Education is especially impressive. The teaching staff and the school curriculum provide substantial attention for health and sanitation.

Impressed by the vital relationships of the Navajo home—the hogan—and Navajo heritage to the improvement of health and sanitation on the Reservation, the special chapter devotes considerable space to these subjects and also to economic conditions and education. While the Inquiry is certain that the Medical Service is well organized and increasingly effective for the cure of prevailing diseases, the members are

convinced that the prevention of the spread of disease can be accomplished only through educational services that will transform every phase of Navajo life.

Three notable facts deserve special mention: The first is that despite the prevalence of tuberculosis and trachoma, and despite also the high infant mortality, the increase of the Navajo population from 10,000 in 1868 to 45,000 in 1938 is most impressive.

The second fact is that provision for securing vital statistics is regrettably lacking. This is all the more surprising in comparison with the really remarkable surveys of the soil and economic resources.

The third fact is the imperative need for the training of Navajos for Medical Service both as nurses and physicians. Difficult as this long-time objective undoubtedly will be, the vital responsibility should be begun immediately.

Missionaries. In view of the long-time services of missionaries among the Navajos as indeed among all American Indians, the Inquiry was much surprised to note the indifference of the Navajo Government Service and also of many of the Indian people to the Mission Centers on the Reservation. There was practically no consciousness of such important facts as: that missionary service is an effort of a considerable proportion of American people to share the American way-of-life with the Navajo Indians; that American churches contribute the generous sum of \$350,000 annually to their Navajo missions and also maintain 250 missionaries of whom 64 are Navajos; that fully 20,000 Indians share the educational, the medical, and the religious services provided by mission societies maintained by the Protestant and Catholic Churches of America.

The explanation of the rather peculiar status of missionaries on the Reservation is explained in the special chapter on Missionaries. However, a brief summary seems desirable in this chapter on Conclusions. As the following statement

indicates, the causes are partly in the rather vigorous and sudden change of government policies toward missionary service, and partly in the varying types and standards of missionary services rendered.

1. The Government Regulation of 1934 to protect "Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture" as required by the U. S. Constitution brought about a change in the long-established relationships of missionaries and government officers. Some of the missionaries believe their presence at government schools is not welcomed. It is also reported that some of the government officers consider it expedient to avoid any expression of interest in missionary work and that the older pupils often prefer to follow their own personal inclination and to disregard association with missionary activities. Some of these attitudes were intensified by the close relationships of missionaries with the anxieties and antagonisms of Indians who were sorely perplexed by government programs for stock reductions. The missionaries were evidently between the upper and nether stones of Indian anxieties and Government programs.

2. A second explanation of the status of missionaries is probably in the types of services rendered by some of the missionaries. While much of their work is in accordance with the highest standards of social and religious service, the Members of the Inquiry are convinced that some of the missionaries do not have an adequate appreciation of the expanding programs of Christian service. Some of them are so narrowly evangelistic as to seem to forget that Christ came to preach and to advance the more abundant life. In some instances the exclusive emphasis on the name of Christ borders on superstition. Surely the true missionary sincerely concerned in the acute struggles of the Navajo people for life here and now must believe that the Christian way-of-life includes not only security for life hereafter, but also

health, food, sound family life and re-creation for body, mind and soul.

Fortunately, there is encouraging evidence that the frictions and misunderstandings of the past are being gradually replaced by a spirit of coöperation between Government and missions. Surely missionaries, representing as they do large sections of American interest in Indians, should find the way of helping the Government in its great responsibility for the Navajo people.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

So unique and significant is the Navajo problem in the annals of Indian affairs as to deserve and require a brief outline of the historic background of Indian policies and programs since the founding of the Republic. It is believed that such a perspective will emphasize the conviction that the Navajo problem is a national responsibility involving the self-respect of the American people.

The first period of one hundred and fifty years from 1776 to 1926 is frequently characterized as a "Century of Dishonor" in American relationships with American Indians. Most regrettably there is much truth in the long record of ruthless exploitation, the haphazard programs, the sentimental intentions and well-meaning efforts of generation after generation. There were serious thinkers, devoted missionaries, and wise statesmen who did their best to do justice to the original inhabitants and to stem the plottings of the selfish.

All gratitude to the European Americans who did their best according to the standards of their generation. For years General Pratt and his Carlisle School, far removed from Indian life and heritage, were the pride of the nation. Indian citizenship and "Indian land held in fee simple," legalized through the efforts of Senator Dawes, were annually celebrated on "Dawes Day" as the National Emancipation of

Indians. Anthropologists and ethnologists, delving into Indian folklore, Indian mounds and the mysteries of tribal organization and ceremonies, returned to their museums with fervent regard for the Indian heritage. There were elements of wisdom and truth in all the diversity of voices that urged their respective convictions on the American public and the American Congress. Alongside of all the altruistic forces and friends, there were always the ever-alert exploiters of Indian resources. Their cunning and powerful plottings are all too clear in the historic records of Indian affairs.

The prevailing characteristic of this first long period of Indian policies and programs was that of zigzagging from one plan to another. Each decade had its own prophet or reformer, whether he be missionary, educator, militarist, anthropologist, romanticist, politician or exploiter. Scientific studies, governmental investigations, missionary services and educational plans were all conceived and conducted in the limited areas of their respective special interests.

The second period in Indian Affairs began in 1926 when an epochal survey was proposed and made possible mainly by the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The U. S. Department of the Interior welcomed the proposal and the Institute of Government Research appointed Mr. Lewis Meriam to organize and conduct the survey. The extraordinary quality which differentiated this notable undertaking from the compartmental studies of the past was the provision to study the elemental and essential factors of Indian life and Indian administration. The study, known as the *Problem of Indian Administration*, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, is comprehensive, factual, fearless, and fundamental. It is the beginning of a new era in Indian Affairs.

In the first period of the present era the findings and recommendations of the Meriam Report were initiated and applied under the administration of Messrs. Charles Rhoads

and Henry Scattergood, two Philadelphia Quakers and long-time members of the Indian Rights Association, who served from 1928 to 1932. Of their administration the following tribute by Ruth Muskrat Bronson, an able Indian woman, is indicative of the improvements in the Indian Service during the period of four years:

"I would like to have you know what a joy it is to me, as an Indian, to work with the present Administration of Indian Affairs. New policies of social advancement, and a new spirit of comradeship with the Indian in the study and working out of their problems, is taking place. This I did not dare to hope would come within my lifetime. The future of the Indian people, in the light of what is being done under the present administration, looks very bright indeed. And for us Indians this is the happiest outlook we have had since Columbus discovered America."

The notable qualities of the administration were practical idealism guided by the sound findings of the Meriam Report, sound business management and sincere philanthropy rooted in the well-known characteristics of Philadelphia Quakers and indeed of Quakers throughout the world, faithful adherence to the method of experimentation and demonstration before launching the full program made possible by available funds then rather conservatively granted by the Federal budget. Best of all, Rhoads and Scattergood were sincerely conscious of the importance of working *with* the Indians rather than *for* them. They initiated definite trends in that vital direction, but with wise regard for the element of time necessary for the acquisition of experience and intelligence for the new responsibilities.

The second period in the new era based on the Meriam Report began in 1933 under the leadership of the Honorable Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior Department, and the Honorable John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Both of these able men have been long-time friends

of American Indians and both are fully conscious of the value of the Meriam Report. In addition they are both vigorous idealists with almost a passion for reform in all human affairs. Under a conservative national administration their natural trends would probably have been seriously hampered and curbed. However, the present Federal policies and programs have exactly suited their passionate devotion to vigorous programs of social reforms. Not only have there been the will and the determination to achieve vital social changes; there have also been the financial resources to attempt almost any program that seemed necessary for human welfare.

These, then, are the backgrounds, historic and contemporary, of the present Navajo Indian problem. The first long period was characterized by policies that zigzagged according to the accidental or incidental interest of some individual or group whose concern, sincere or otherwise, happened to be in control. The second brief administration immediately following the comprehensive study of 1926 was sincere, cautiously progressive, and a happy combination of intelligence and practical idealism. The present administration, as demonstrated on the Navajo Reservation, is vigorously idealistic, impatient of the experimentation required to test the methods to be used, and, though sincerely devoted to human welfare, determined to push through the programs without adequate regard for the natural apathy or ignorance of the group to be helped. Under the temptation and almost the compulsion of large funds easily available, the danger of drastic reforms can hardly be exaggerated.

However, and most emphatically, the final conclusion of the Inquiry cannot justly be limited to past errors and dangers. There are many difficulties to be overcome. But plans and trends of extraordinary value have been initiated. Results of continuing usefulness to the Navajos are being achieved. With seemingly almost reckless daring the soil conservationists are successfully combatting the ruthless devas-

tations of wind and water erosion, formerly believed to be subject only to divine providence or at any rate to uncontrollable nature. Health and sanitation are limiting the ravages of disease. Education in the simple essentials of daily life is being extended with marked effectiveness to children and adults in the lonely communities where they dwell. However pronounced the difference as to methods and expenditures, the inspiring fact remains that the United States of America is demonstrating an idealism in services for the Navajo Indians that may in time save the self-respect of the American People in their relationships to the uniquely important minority of our nation.

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