himself. Many Indian parents who have never really assumed the responsibility of supporting themselves and their families by persistent labor are bitterly opposed to this policy. They believe that they should be allowed to use the children's money with their own for ordinary living expenses of the family without any restrictions, although in some instances such a course would mean that the child would have nothing with which to work on reaching maturity. This problem cannot be satisfactorily solved by the existing field personnel, because it is so distinctly an educational problem. Indians who have hungry children can hardly be expected to be reasonable. To them the obvious solution is to get hold of the child's money and buy food, letting the future take care of itself. They need able and intelligent teachers who will help them in arriving at the more permanent solution of producing enough to care for their children. While this educational process is going on it will be necessary from time to time to permit the use of some of the children's money for the benefit of the child, especially where health is endangered; but to handle this work well the Indian Service needs more and better field employees specially qualified for such a task.

The principles just discussed relate to the great body of Indians, whose chief need is to learn to be more productive and to achieve a higher standard of living. The Indian Service has two other classes with which to deal: (1) The well-to-do, with surplus income, and (2) the extremely poor and helpless. Each of these groups requires special consideration.

Investment of Surplus Funds. The government has consistently pursued the policy of allowing the restricted Indians with a large income a fairly liberal sum for living expenses and of investing the remainder in order to make provision for their old age or for the education and future welfare of their children. This policy is obviously correct. Its execution calls for men of high ability and unquestionable integrity. The present "guardian system" in operation among the Five Civilized Tribes has caused much well founded complaint. The rights of the wards should be more carefully safeguarded than at present, and if this cannot be done an effort should be made to abolish the guardian system and place the administration of Indian property and income in the hands of thoroughly

competent national government officers.[10] In the case of the Osage Indians the Indian Service has demonstrated what it can accomplish in straightening out such a bad situation if it is given proper authority by Congress.

Where a large surplus income is to be conserved it has not always been easy to find safe, long-term investments that would yield reasonable returns. This difficulty will doubtless increase for the next few years owing to the maturing of some of the Liberty Loans. The question of the purchase of annuities, deferred annuities, or in some cases ordinary life insurance with the surplus funds of wealthy non-competent Indians, is worthy of consideration. Such investments are permanent, safe, and seem to make the best possible provision for the future of individuals so lacking in business ability as to make it advisable to invest their funds in a manner to secure the maximum degree of safety even at some sacrifice of income.

The suggestion has been made that the surplus funds of some of these Indians be turned over to private trust companies for investment under government supervision. This plan does not particularly commend itself to the survey staff unless extraordinary precautions are taken to protect the safety of the principal. When an Indian's funds are used for the purchase of a life insurance policy or an annuity policy, he becomes a policy holder of the company and has an interest in common with all other policy holders in all assets of the company, and the companies are subject as a whole to thorough state supervision and control. None of the investments of the company is earmarked as the particular property of an individual policy holder. When an Indian's funds are put into a trust company, they are invested by the trustees for the Indian in particular properties. The safety of the Indian's property depends on the wisdom and integrity with which the funds are invested. His interest is a whole interest in the particular investment made with his funds, and not, as in insurance, a part interest in all the assets of the company. A general examination of an insurance company protects all policy holders, whereas a general examination of a trust company does not protect all persons whose money is being invested by the company as trustees.

[10] This subject is discussed more at length in the chapter on Legal Aspects of the Indian Problem, pages 779 to 798.

It is entirely possible for a perfectly solvent trust company to make unwise or even almost dishonest investments of an Indian's property. To protect the Indian against such abuses of trust will necessitate either close national government inspection of every investment made, rigid rules and regulations limiting strictly the particular securities which may be purchased with Indian funds, or contracts with investment insurance companies which will adequately safeguard the Indian's principal. It would seem far simpler and far safer for the national government itself to act as trustee to invest the surplus funds of its wards, unless their needs will be better met by an annuity contract or some form of life insurance. The government could very properly charge these wealthy Indians a reasonable fee on a percentage basis for its work in investing these funds as is now done in connection with some other matters of administration.

Companies selling life insurance and annuity contracts can render a valuable service in educating the Indians in the wise use of income if they can induce them to put some of that which they are permitted to spend into paid up insurance or annuity contracts. The government should inspect these contracts to see that the Indian is adequately protected against forfeitures and to prevent him from entering into long-term contracts which he may not be in a position to fulfill because of decreases in income.

Material Relief. At the other end of the economic scale a second group of Indians constitutes a grave problem in the matter of unearned income. They are the old, the sick, and the grossly incompetent, who are dependent partially or wholly upon the government for means to live.

Problems of material relief are always difficult, but they are especially acute among the Indians, because relief has never been effectively administered. The present "ration system" is carried over from the old army plan of feeding in wholesale fashion Indians concentrated upon reservations, largely as a military measure to prevent hostile outbreaks by a people whose natural food supply had been destroyed by the slaughter of the buffalo and other game. The system is antiquated and unsound in principle and has long outlived whatever usefulness it once may have had. It is merely palliative in character, with no other object than the relief of immediate suffering. A fixed dole of certain articles is given out

periodically, without regard to the special needs of the individual or family. On some reservations horse meat has been issued as a ration in spite of the protests of the Indians, who regard it with distaste. Old, crippled, almost helpless Indians are required to come to the agency office in all sorts of weather to get their supplies. On several reservations the survey staff saw poorly clad, old people, with feet soaked by long walks through snow and slush, huddled in the agency office waiting for the arrival of the superintendent or other officer who could give them an order for rations to keep them from actual starvation. Such a system of relief merely encourages mendicancy, for it fails to reach and to deal with the causes of poverty.

Relief should be made a means to an independent income rather than a source of income. Some relief of immediate suffering merely as a palliative measure cannot of course be avoided, especially in emergencies. The agency office, however, is seldom the place for such service, for it can be more effectively performed by visits to the homes of the people in connection with educational work. All relief on the reservation should be administered by trained workers as a part of the educational program, with the object of removing, so far as possible, the necessity of relief.

Relief agencies in the general population have found various means of helping indigent families in substantial ways so as permanently to increase their incomes. Some illustrations may be given:

1. The physical efficiency of the wage earner is increased by supplying spectacles, crutches, and other mechanical aids necessitated by physical defects; by providing dental and other clinical service; by financing operations and making sanatorium treatment available; and by giving individuals and families special foods to remedy dietary deficiencies.

2. Training for profitable occupations is financed. Re-education for earning is given the crippled, blind, and other handicapped.

3. Work opportunities specially suited to the abilities or limitations of individuals are sought, and tools or other equipment for work supplied, and the support of families assumed temporarily if such a course is necessary to give the family a start.

These are only a few of the possibilities. Some of these things are done in the Indian Service, but they are largely ineffective because they are not a part of a careful plan to develop the income

producing power of the family. Many persons now dependent entirely upon rations and supplies for a living could eventually be made at least partially self-supporting by the working out of a constructive plan looking toward that end. It would be comparatively easy to assist many not entirely helpless old people to engage in poultry raising, gardening, the manufacture and sale of bead work or baskets, and other forms of light but productive labor that would yield sufficient return to support them either wholly or in part. Such work would furnish useful employment for hours that are now spent in idleness, would give renewed interest in life, and would go far toward making poor old people self-respecting and happy.

The many indigent of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma constitute a special case. Some are landless as the result of having been declared competent prematurely or because they were left otherwise unprotected from unscrupulous whites. Others are crowded back into the hills on land that they do not know how to use. They are in a forlorn condition, neglected both by the national government and by the state. Relief should be provided for these people as a part of an educational program in which both the nation and the state should have a part.

Agriculture. The chief economic possibility for the great majority of Indians lies in some form of agriculture. Their principal economic resource is their land. They have considerable natural aptitude for agricultural pursuits, as is evidenced by their history and by the capacity some have shown to profit from the teaching and leadership in farming supplied by some of the more able government officers. They are, moreover, primarily outdoor people, and although many may move to towns and cities, the majority will, and probably should, remain on their lands. At present the overwhelming majority are engaged in some agricultural occupation.

The importance of agricultural pursuits is clearly demonstrated by material secured by the survey staff from pupils in the Indian schools. At most of the schools visited cards were filled out by the pupils with the aid of the teachers and returned to the member of the staff assigned to the study of education. Of the 16,720 cards thus collected 12,353 recorded the occupation of the students' fathers.[11] The occupations thus reported, with the numbers in each, are listed as follows:

Occupation of fathers	Number	Percentage distribution
All occupations	12,353	100.0
Farmer	8,056	65.2
Rancher	1,955	15.8
Laborer	856	6.9
Carpenter	151	1.2
Railroad employee	142	1.1
Lumberman	139	1.1
Policeman	91	.7
Miner	85	.7
Clerk	78	.6
Mechanic	73	.6
Minister or missionary	60	.5
Merchant or trader	49	.4
Engineer	47	.4
Blacksmith	46	.4
Fisherman	43	.3
Silversmith	38	.3
Miller	33	.3
Mailman	32	.3
Oil Worker	21	.2
Interpreter	20	.2
Dairyman	19	.2
All others[12]	319	2.6

Almost two-thirds of the fathers of the 12,353 children were reported as farmers. Farmers and ranchers together aggregate 81 per cent of the total. Laborers not otherwise specified are the next most numerous, but they constitute less than 7 per cent of

[11] It is obvious that fathers with more than one child in school are counted more than once. The concentration is so striking, however, that counting each father but once could not change the general character of the occupational distribution.

[12] These are distributed as follows: Government employees, not otherwise reported, 21; barbers, 16; painters and plumbers, 14 each; shoemakers, disciplinarians, and medicine men, 13 each; sailors, masons, and drivers, 11 each; trappers and hunters, and actors, 10 each; cooks and night watchmen, 9 each; janitors, tailors, and teachers, 8 each; contractors and musicians, 7 each; butchers, 6; realtors, sheriffs, forest rangers, and salesmen, 5 each; deliverymen, herdsmen, electricians, general utility men, and judges, 4 each; chiefs or head men, millworkers, manufacturers, printers, filers, and gardeners, 3 each; surgeons, smelterers, firemen, bankers, cannery men, longshoremen, weavers, ice men, porters, piano tuners, lawyers, agents and soldiers, 2 each; laundryman, foreman, jeweler, school employee, bookkeeper, dishwasher, broker, Indian checker, city officer, ironworker, baker, guide, restauranteur, artist, stone quarry man, and irrigation man, one each.

the total and the probabilities are that some of these are on farms. The remainder are scattered over a wide range of occupations, eighty-three in all, but no one of these other occupations includes much over 1 per cent of the total number.

These figures are believed to be fairly representative. They do not include either the very young men or the very old, for of course the fathers of school children are as a group men in the prime of life with their earning capacity at its best. The figures, too, relate primarily to men with a relatively high proportion of Indian blood. More than two-thirds of the pupils reported themselves as full bloods, while fewer than 10 per cent reported their degree of blood as less than half.

That approximately nine out of ten of these Indian fathers have not specialized outside of agriculture, is the really significant fact. Of the scattering occupations, several represent employment with the Indian Office or with mission stations on the reservations, and in many cases do not imply the specialization that would be required in cities for employments similarly designated. Railroad employees are the largest group clearly making an adjustment to modern industrial life, and this occupation is mentioned only 142 times. The great occupational problem of the men whose children are in the Indian schools is obviously the problem of making a living out in the country. If the fact is recalled that much of this country is in the desert, remote from markets, the difficulties faced by the government in the attempt to develop these men and their sons to the point of economic competence becomes apparent.

Emphasis on Subsistence Agriculture. The obvious course is to place the emphasis on subsistence farming for the support of the Indian families. The advancement of the Indians in farming should be along the natural lines indicated by the general history of agriculture. They cannot be expected to succeed at first in the highly specialized forms of commercial farming or, broadly speaking, even in the ordinary forms of commercial farming. Commercial farming, especially one crop farming, implies an ability to buy and sell and transact business that most Indians do not at present possess. Their need is aid, advice, and encouragement in the production of an abundance of grains and feeds, garden vegetables, fruit, milk, butter, poultry and eggs, and hogs for domestic use, with some small surplus of these and other farm products to sell. As

they develop they may be brought to specialize in certain crops for which their lands are particularly adapted, but for a considerable time emphasis will have to be placed on subsistence farming.

Although a few Indians were visited who could really be called farmers in the ordinary sense of that word, they were distinctly exceptional. The agricultural activities of a great majority of them are very limited, and are considerably below any satisfactory standard for subsistence farming. Frequently, as has been said, their crops did not greatly exceed those raised by suburban white gardeners who give to these operations only their spare time. Cows, poultry, and hogs were the exception rather than the rule, largely because the care of animals requires that some member of the family or a neighbor always remain at home to feed and water the stock. The Indian tendency is to lock up the house and take the whole family on any errand, journey, or excursion undertaken, and the neighbors, if there are any, often go too. Under these conditions it is impossible for them to keep domestic animals that require regular care.

That this care-free, camp life existence has its distinctly attractive features must of course be admitted, and anyone who proposes to change it is open to the charge of trying to make the Indians over into white men. The fact is, however, that the economic basis upon which this type of existence was predicated has largely gone and that the Indians must either be adjusted to a new economic basis or go through the slow, painful process of vanishing. The position taken by the survey staff is, as has been set forth at length in the chapter on general policies, that the government must continue and strengthen its activities to help the Indians in making this economic transition successfully. The main reliance for accomplishing this purpose must be placed on an adaptation, for use among the Indians, of those activities which have proved successful in advancing the condition of other agricultural or rural people.

Need for a Program for Each Jurisdiction. The first requisite for success in this endeavor is to supply the Indian Service with a group of specialists connected with the Washington office, who are thoroughly familiar with those methods which have proved successful in the advancement of a rural agricultural people. These persons would be connected with the recommended Division of Planning and Development, which is discussed at length in an

earlier chapter of this report.[13] No attempt will here be made to summarize what was there said regarding the organization and procedure of that division, but it is desirable to mention again certain aspects of the recommendations that are particularly applicable to the agricultural development of the Indians.

The Indian Service greatly needs on its staff at least one agricultural economist of high professional attainments and a wide acquaintanceship among the men and women in agricultural departments, agricultural colleges, and experiment stations in the several states. His duties would be, under the general direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to organize committees to study the several jurisdictions to determine what the agricultural possibilities of those jurisdictions are for a well-rounded program of subsistence farming. For these committees he would secure representatives of state and local agricultural educational institutions so that each jurisdiction could be studied by a group of specialists thoroughly familiar with conditions in that part of the country. This committee would work with the Indian Service employees in the local jurisdiction so that the program as developed would be sound both agriculturally and practically.

Since the application of this program is an educational enterprise designed to enlist the interest of the Indians and train them, the Indian Service should also have on its central staff a person who is similarly equipped by training and experience to secure the coöperation of persons who can develop effective educational methods to apply the program. In many instances methods which have proved successful with other rural people will prove successful with the Indians, but some new problems will be presented. To be successful the methods must be devised with due consideration to Indian interests and Indian points of view.

In several jurisdictions the land of the Indians is of value chiefly for grazing. The proposed division should therefore have on its staff a specialist on cattle raising and another on sheep raising, so that the program as developed may give full consideration to these possibilities.

The primary function of all these specialists will be to develop a sound program and to aid and advise the local officers in carrying it out.

[13] Pages 113 to 128.

Need for Local Agricultural Leaders. The second requisite is a local staff at each jurisdiction adequate in number and in training and experience really to educate the Indians in subsistence farming. The Indian Service has long had positions which have been designated by the title "farmer." An examination of the personnel cards of 143 of these farmers selected at random shows that of this number fifty-nine, or over 41 per cent, had an eighth grade education or less; forty-five, or less than 32 per cent, had some high school work in addition, but of these only fourteen had completed a four-year high school course; fifteen reported some business school training and eight some normal school training. Only sixteen had done any college or university work, and of this number only six had finished college and only three of these had done graduate work. Forty-five of the 143 reported that they had had special courses of one kind or another. The total number of such special courses taken by the forty-five was sixty-three, but only twenty-six of these special courses show any direct relation to agriculture or stockraising.

Since 41 per cent of the total number were entirely without high school training, and 89 per cent were without college training, obviously most Indian Service farmers have an educational equipment wholly inadequate for teachers or demonstrators of agriculture. Their lack of the necessary technical training accounts, in part, for the slow progress made by the Indians in farming.

In justice to these farmers it should be said that they have been far too few in number to give adequate attention to all the Indians in their districts, and they have been loaded up with numerous other duties in no way concerned with teaching the Indians farming. The questionnaires filled out by the 143 farmers mentioned above showed twenty-six different duties, not counting "numerous other things." Among these duties were included office work, law enforcement, issuing rations, looking after school attendance, keeping up ditches, and road work. In the administration of the affairs of a widely scattered people it is of course necessary for employees to perform many miscellaneous duties, but in the case of many of the farmers miscellaneous duties constitute the main job. They are field messengers or field clerks rather than agricultural demonstrators.

A few of the present farmers, because of their personality, good sense, and understanding of Indians, are making progress in stimulating the Indians and teaching them agriculture despite their lack of technical training for their work. Obviously such men should be continued as agricultural demonstrators. Those who are not successful as agricultural leaders should be assigned to other duties with a suitable designation. Unfortunately the Indians are often fully aware of the fact that an employee designated a farmer is not a real agriculturist, and they make fun of him among themselves whereas he would be entitled to their respect if he had a title more descriptive of his real duties.

New entrance requirements for these positions should be established comparable with those of agricultural demonstration agents in the national or state governments. The entrance positions should be classified at least in the junior professional grade, which would make the minimum entrance salary $1860. Rigid tests for entrance should be given by the United States Civil Service Commission. The practice of requiring the applicant to be certified as competent by the dean or president of the agricultural college in the state in which he wishes to serve or in some adjoining state would then be no longer necessary, because it would not compare in effectiveness with thorough tests given by the agricultural examiners of the Civil Service Commission.

The task which will confront these agricultural demonstrators will be difficult, far more difficult than that of an agricultural demonstrator in a white community. The Indians are not accustomed to the regular and systematic work which they will have to do to achieve their economic salvation. Their old habits stand in their way. Some of them, particularly the older ones, have been pauperized by former government policies and will take the attitude that the government owes them a living because it took their land. Others will be ready enough to try, but will be handicapped by their lack of resources and by the low standards under which they have lived. Often they will not be in physical condition for really hard work. These difficulties are cited to bring home the fact that if the government of the United States is really going to do this job of adjusting the Indians to the existing economic situation, it must send first-class men to give them leadership and education in agriculture. Both time and money will be wasted if the attempt is made to do a hard job with poor tools.

Reimbursable Loans for Agricultural Promotion. The Indians' lack of both cash and credit will be a serious handicap, because it often means that they cannot get the necessary implements, livestock, and tools for a start. The government has in the past often supplied implements and stock either as a gratuity or through reimbursable loans. The results have generally been disappointing because the furnishing of implements and tools was not the primary need. The primary need was intelligent competent leaders present in sufficient numbers so that when the Indians made up their minds to try they would be rewarded by reasonable success. Implements and stock without leadership and education could not solve the problem. Reimbursable loans for equipment could not be repaid unless the results of the labor were successful.

Some able superintendents are at present opposed to reimbursable loans because of their experience with them. These superintendents are inclined to let the Indians work with what they have, despite the fact that this course means a relatively small return for much labor. Possibly this position is sound if the Indians who are willing to work cannot be given closer supervision and direction so that they can make enough to repay their loans and have an added return for themselves. On the other hand, if the government is to make a real effort to encourage and teach the Indians to be successful subsistence farmers and supplies an adequate number of well equipped agricultural teachers, it would be a serious mistake to withhold credit facilities. The work of the agricultural teachers and demonstrators would be rendered far more difficult, and it would take much longer to get the Indians up to a reasonably satisfactory standard.

The recommendation is therefore made that if really competent agricultural teachers are sent to the Indians, provision be made for reasonable reimbursable loans for productive purposes. Under adequate supervision the loans could be safeguarded as are any other loans by choosing with care the Indians to whom they are given, by close supervision of the property purchased, and by insistence upon prompt payment when due. In the past it has been impossible to establish these safeguards because the number of competent employees has been too small and the Indians have often not been sufficiently successful to make the equipment or stock purchased pay for itself.

The amount required for reimbursable loans should be determined from year to year according to the progress with the program at a given jurisdiction.

The use of reimbursable funds should be educational, like almost every other activity on the reservation. They should be given only after the Indians have expressed a real desire for them and have shown some realization of the obligation to repay promptly. They should be given for a definite productive purpose, such as the purchase of livestock, farming implements, or seed, after the Indian has been instructed as to the use and care of the property to be purchased. They should be made in amounts sufficient to be worth while. Too much may be beyond the Indian's power to administer properly, but on the other hand too little is equally bad, since it does not furnish the proper incentive to effort. For example, if cattle or sheep are bought for Indians with reimbursable funds they should as a rule be given out in numbers sufficient to permit a real pride of ownership and to furnish employment for at least a fair share of the owners' time. Three or four sheep sold to each of a dozen men would not awaken any particular pride or cause the owner to make adequate provision for their care. Twenty or thirty, or if possible, forty or fifty to one man, would be enough to make it worth his while to care for them and they would make it worth while for the agricultural demonstrator to give the time needed for proper supervision.

The local officers should see that the Indian receives full value for the money charged against him. In some cases Indians feel that in the past they did not get their money's worth. The resulting dissatisfaction is demoralizing to industry and tends to discredit all reimbursable loans among the Indians.

Authority should be secured to cancel loans made carelessly in the past if the property has been wiped out and the chance for repayment is remote. Heavy debts that can never be repaid have a bad psychological effect. The Indian who owes such debts feels discouraged, fears that if he accumulates property it may be taken from him, and so refuses to take an interest in business or put forth any effort to improve his condition.

Each Indian receiving reimbursable funds should be given a book similar to a building and loan pass book or a bank book. In this should be entered the date and amount of each advance, the property purchased, the price paid and the date and amount of each repayment to the government. This book should contain the terms of the agreement and rules and regulations respecting such loans printed in English and, if the tribe has a written language, in the tribal tongue as well. This procedure would prevent many misunderstandings and much dissatisfaction, and the Indians would in most cases preserve the book, since they are usually careful with papers and prize them highly.

In the purchase of materials with reimbursable funds as in other purchases, the local officers of the Service, especially in the remoter sections of the country, are seriously embarrassed by the laws and regulations governing purchases. This subject has been discussed in the chapter of the report relating to organization and management [14] and need not be gone into again in detail. Emphasis should, however, be placed on the desirability of purchasing farm machinery of a type handled by local dealers so that repair parts may be secured without destructive delay. For the same reason it is wise to concentrate on a few good makes, rather than to let the make depend almost entirely on the lowest bid at the time a particular contract is let.

The problem of controlling the purchase of livestock, particularly breeding stock, demands careful consideration. Here expert judgment and actual examination of the stock offered are of major importance. Such purchasing cannot be done efficiently through written specifications and open competitive bids submitted to the Washington office for decision, because the Washington officers cannot inspect the stock. The solution lies in the direction of placing greater authority and responsibility on the shoulders of the local agricultural specialists. Possibly the purchases of stock could be further safeguarded by having the purchases involving any considerable sum made by a local committee including in its membership competent livestock men from the national or state department of agriculture or from the state agricultural college.

The Five-Year Agricultural Program. The program for the agricultural advancement of reservation Indians if it is to succeed must deal with families and communities as a whole rather than only with the men. Successful subsistence farming is a family

[14] Pages 149 to 151.

enterprise in which all members participate. This fundamental fact has been grasped by the able superintendents who have been making real progress with the Five-Year Agricultural Program. The Indians are organized on a community basis, into farm chapters with women's auxiliaries. The chapter meetings offer a substitute for less productive and more harmful gatherings. They bring the Indians together where the superintendent and his assistants can meet with them, discuss common problems, and arouse the enthusiasm of accomplishment. The Indians themselves participate in the discussions, and thus the seed is sown for the development of real Indian leadership. In a way the meetings remind the observer of a religious experience meeting except that the conversions represent the awakening of the spirit to achieve economic self-support and a higher standard of living.

The originators of the program have apparently developed the right line of attack because they have understood Indians and have appreciated the importance of community activities. The success of these efforts is, however, retarded by the present limitations of the Service which have already been discussed, namely, (1) The lack of an adequate expert body to aid in determining the best possible program from an agricultural standpoint, (2) the lack of a sufficient number of trained agricultural demonstrators, and (3) the lack of credit facilities.

In developing community work, careful consideration should be given the question of supplying a community house well adapted to the needs of the educational program. The Indians generally have some kind of a meeting house, a long house, a council house, or a dance lodge, but these houses are often extremely primitive and have no facilities for education. They could well be replaced gradually, as the Indians are ready, by well built structures that would not only furnish an attractive meeting place but would meet other community needs. The community house should be equipped with a kitchen suitable for demonstrations in cooking, canning, and preserving, and with a good work room for sewing. It might well be so equipped that the doctor and the nurses can use it for the medical clinic. It might well contain a storage room in which seed could be kept for the next year's planting, protected from the weather and from rodents, as well as from sale by an improvident owner. As the community progressed a motion picture machine might be added so that the Indians could have the advantage of the educational films on agriculture, health, and child welfare that may be secured from the national and state governments. The house should not precede the workers necessary to make it a success, but it should come as soon as the Indians are ready for it. Successful workers will be able to get some Indian labor for its construction, but the government should be prepared to give material aid either as a gratuity or from tribal funds.

Agricultural Education of Women. Another serious defect is the general absence of a suitable field force to work with the women in the homes. This subject is considered in detail in the chapter of the report dealing with family and community life and the activities of women, and therefore it is unnecessary to go into it at length here. It should be pointed out, however, that women play an exceedingly important part in successful subsistence farming. Much directly productive work falls to them, such as making a garden, keeping poultry, canning and preserving fruits and vegetables, sewing, and adding to the family income by the sale of home made products. Their skill in utilizing the products of the farm and in spending the family income are vitally important factors, and naturally the women are the ones primarily responsible for maintaining the health of the family.

In some homes visited by the survey staff it was apparent that the development of the men had outstripped that of the women. The men were doing reasonably well in the heavier productive tasks which are their share of the enterprise, but the women did not know how to utilize the products and the income efficiently. One Indian dairy farmer showed with great pride his small herd of really good cows and his modern dairy barn. Everything was so well kept and in such good condition that it was almost a shock to go into his house and to find no corresponding development there. Work with women was obviously much needed in that jurisdiction, but the agency had no woman field employee.

Need of Special Provision for Returned Students. The youths who return to their reservation homes from boarding schools are another group who need special attention in the general agricultural program. They often return with the feeling that they are ready to accomplish something. Their main need at this critical period is intelligent advice, direction, and coöperation, but usually

the staff at the reservation is too small to permit anyone to devote much time to them. They do not find laid before them a definite plan and a clear challenge. During their absence at school they have lost touch with things. On reservations where land has never been allotted and where range rights and water rights are granted by tribal custom, they may find it difficult to get a location. They may have no livestock in a country where livestock is essential to a living. That in many instances they slip back and eke out an existence by living with relatives or friends is not surprising. The field personnel should give them special attention.

The idea of a colony for returned students, tried a few years ago at Shiprock, New Mexico, is deserving of careful consideration. With an adequate force of experienced workers, it might prove possible to make such a colony a real demonstration and to preserve some of the enthusiasm and spirit which are awakened in the large non-reservation schools.

Agricultural Education of Indian Children. The importance of agricultural education for Indian children has always been recognized in the Indian boarding schools, and in recent years there has been an encouraging development of agricultural club work among reservation Indian children. Some Indian boys have displayed great interest in it and have taken prizes in competition with whites. Although some of this agricultural work has been excellent, it is believed that material improvement can be made in several ways.

At the boarding schools the agricultural work serves the dual purpose of educating the children and raising products for the school, food for the children, feed for the livestock, and, if possible, a surplus for sale, because the money from the sale of the products becomes available for the use of the school. Unfortunately, the two objects often conflict. Emphasis on education may reduce production. Emphasis on production may be carried so far as almost to eliminate education and to reduce the children practically to the position of child laborers in agriculture. The superintendents of the schools are obliged to attempt to steer a middle course, because the appropriations for the schools, arrived at on a per capita basis, have never been sufficient to maintain the schools unless they are materially supplemented by products from the school farm. It is

extremely doubtful if a single superintendent of an Indian boarding school is in a position to say, "This school is an educational institution, and I am going to run our farm primarily to give these boys and girls first-class training in agriculture." He would, doubtless, soon find himself without means for feeding the children according to even the low standard at present in use at the poorer schools. All the school superintendents have to give serious thought to production.

Agricultural education naturally suffers in several ways. The decisions as to the crops to be raised and the other agricultural activities must be based on the needs of the school and the demands of its market. At some of the non-reservation boarding schools are boys and girls from reservations where they could not possibly raise the crops grown at the school, or practice agriculture in the way it is there done. If the superintendent should attempt to fit them for the kind of agriculture they will have to follow if they return to their own people, he would have largely to sacrifice production for education. Fortunately the superintendents of reservation boarding schools are not so greatly hampered by this difficulty, because their soil, climate, and methods of farming are like those the boys have on their own lands. Possibly this fact explains in part an impression gained by the members of the survey staff that the most successful Indian farmers they encountered had secured what education they had from reservation schools.

The demands of production determine methods. Possibly this fact can best be illustrated by contrasting the ordinary Indian school poultry department with that of a privately supported school which was devoted to training boys of another race for subsistence farming. At this other school each boy constructed a model chicken house which he could reproduce at his own home at very small expense. In this house he had a small flock of chickens of a standard general purpose breed. He had the entire care of this flock and entire responsibility for it, under the general direction of able teachers of poultry management. Near the center of the enterprise were several houses and runs, each containing a flock of a different breed. The boys kept track of the records of these different breeds and compared their merits with those of the general purpose chickens of which they were in charge.

At a typical Indian school the poultry house is a fairly large affair, containing several hundred chickens.[15] No boy could by himself build such a house, nor could he ordinarily raise the money to have it built. The chickens generally kept are White Leghorns, an egg producing breed, more or less unsatisfactory for a subsistence farmer because they are too small bodied to supply much meat and because the hens are poor sitters. The schools do not set hens; they run incubators or buy day-old chicks. The responsibility for the big flock in the Indian school rests with a government employee, the poultry man. The boys do the work as they are told to do it. It is not hard work; it is not educational work. The plants are not organized to give education which comes from being responsible for the management. Chilocco was the only school visited where a number of different breeds of chickens had been purchased so that the boys could have experience with different kinds, but even here the duties had not been individualized.

This illustration of poultry raising is fairly applicable to most of the agricultural activities. The boys are not trained by managing a subsistence farm under general direction. They do specific tasks on a large farm under immediate supervision. The practical work does not teach them planning or management or give them lessons to develop initiative and a sense of responsibility. They are not paid for their work nor do they generally have any share in the crops. It is apparently fair to say that insofar as the work is educational it is training for agricultural labor on a big farm rather than training for subsistence farming on the boy's own land.

[15] At several jurisdictions the opportunities for success with poultry are good. At Fallon, Nevada, the local farmer has been successful in stimulating the Indians to work with turkeys, Rhode Island Red chickens, and a few milk cows. The cream and the ordinary hens' eggs are sold for regular income. The skimmed milk is fed to the turkeys. Both the turkey hens and the Rhode Island Red hens are used to hatch the turkey eggs. At the Catholic mission school in Wyoming promising work is also being done with turkeys. On the Tulalip Reservation in Washington several Indians are following the example of their white neighbors in developing flocks of White Leghorns for egg production. The country there is peculiarly adapted to the industry, yet at the Tulalip school the school flock is operated more for production than for education. Poultry raising is peculiarly adapted for use educationally because the stock matures quickly, its cost is relatively small, boys can easily learn to build the houses that are required for a small flock, and the care is relatively simple. The small flock plays an important part in subsistence farming and in some cases can be developed into a specialty.

Two outstanding exceptions should be noted. At the Bloomfield school for girls in eastern Oklahoma the dominant thought is to train the girls for the life which most of them will probably lead as wives living on small farms. They get practical training and experience in the various kinds of agricultural work which fall to a woman on such a farm. No little ingenuity has been displayed in overcoming institutional difficulties and in individualizing education.

At Chilocco, Oklahoma, each of a small number of the older, more advanced boys is given full responsibility for the farming of a considerable area, and he gets for himself one-fourth of the proceeds of the crops. Started on a small scale a few years ago, the plan has grown. At the time of the visit of the survey staff thirty boys were thus engaged, each farming a tract of sixty-six acres. One boy made in two years a total of approximately $400.

The recommendations regarding agricultural education in the schools must be fairly obvious from the discussion of the existing situation, and so they may be very briefly summarized.

1. The agricultural work of the schools should be primarily educational. Production should be subordinate to education and should be an incidental object rather than the main one.

2. The agricultural instructors should be selected primarily for their capacity as educators rather than for their ability to make the farm pay.

3. The training should be designed to fit the student for the type of work he will have to do on his own land.

4. Special emphasis should be placed on giving him experience in planning and management. The effort should be to develop initiative and a sense of responsibility.

5. A system of payment for work done, in the form either of wages, or a share in the crop, should be devised to give experience in the use of money. Under such a system the pupil could well be required to buy clothes for himself out of this money, instead of having them given him by the government.

6. At schools where the farm lands are at present insufficient to permit of operation on an educational basis, more lands should, if possible, be secured.

7. Special effort should be made to enlist the interest and cooperation of the state agricultural colleges in the agricultural work of the Indian schools. They would doubtless send lecturers and

demonstrators who would stimulate the interest of both the students and the government teachers. In some instances these representatives of the state college would become interested in promising Indian students and would aid in perfecting arrangements whereby they could continue their education.

Grazing and Stock Farming. Ample evidence demonstrates that stock raising is the most promising form of agriculture and, in fact, the most promising of all pursuits for a large number of Indians. Not only does the average Indian show considerable aptitude for this work, but enormous areas of Indian land, tribal and individual, are of little value except for grazing. By far the largest body of self-supporting Indians in the United States, the Navajo, are dependent almost entirely upon their flocks for a living. If it is possible for the Navajo to wring a living from their barren deserts by sheep raising, it would seem that any tribe with a considerable area of grazing land should be able to succeed with livestock, if only they could be induced to put into the business a fraction of the energy, skill, and perseverance exhibited by those desert dwellers of the Southwest.

A vast acreage of Indian land in the United States, either tribal or individual, is at present leased to white ranchmen or in some cases used very little, if at all, by anyone either Indian or white. Through the recommended Division of Planning and Development, the Indian Service should work out at once a long-time program looking toward the eventual utilization of all these grazing resources by individually owned livestock of the Indians. Such a program will include among other features provision for instruction by competent livestock men, considerable water development, the use of reimbursable funds, and the tribal flock or herd.

The Tribal Flock or Herd. Tribal herds or flocks are justified where large areas of tribal lands are leased to whites or are lying idle, or in some cases, where allotments are large and many contiguous ones are leased to white ranchmen.

During the past few years the tribal herd seems to have fallen into disrepute; largely for two reasons. First is the post-war depression in the livestock industry, particularly the cattle business. This depression was nation-wide, if not world-wide. For several years following the war, cattle on the range were not profitable and

distress was great among all operators, so it is not surprising that the tribal herds operated by government officers were equally unprofitable.

The second reason is that the livestock men placed in charge of tribal herds often lacked the necessary technical knowledge. The range cattle business and sheep business are both highly technical and require for success a man of good business judgment and long experience in range operations. Such a man usually has little difficulty in securing a position with commercial enterprises, and unless the government can pay salaries comparable with those offered by private persons or firms it can hardly hope to retain permanently the services of a first-class man. Examples of tribal herds in charge of men that would never be given equal responsibility by a private firm have been too frequent. If the tribal herd is to succeed it must in every case be placed in charge of a competent stock man of long range experience and proved ability. He should receive a salary not materially below that paid by private enterprises for similar work, should be given ample authority, and should be allowed to work out a long-time program.

The tribal herd or flock must always be considered as part of a general program. It is a temporary expedient, even though it may be maintained for a long term of years, a means to an end and not an end in itself. The objectives sought are utilizing the grazing resources of the reservation to the greatest advantage and making it possible for individual Indians to engage in livestock raising. The last is accomplished by using the tribal herd or flock as a credit agency to supply animals to those Indians who will care for them properly, allowing ample time for payment.

The fact that a tribal herd is regarded as temporary does not mean that those in charge of it should be left in doubt as to its continuance. It should never be broken up because of temporary losses or depressed market conditions, but only when it has achieved its object and has made it possible for the entire pasturage of the reservation to be consumed by livestock owned by individual Indians. This may require years, but a definite program should be planned looking toward that end. Since the lands of white ranchmen who lease Indian lands show a reasonable profit after paying taxes and grazing fees, statements that a tribal herd will not

succeed are a confession of inefficiency on the part of governmental officers.

As soon as the tribal herd or flock has been built up to a suitable number, part of the increase should be used each year to maintain that number and the remainder sold to Indians with liberal terms of payment and in units sufficiently large to be worth while. If reimbursable funds are available, animals may be bought from other sources in order to provide a greater number of individuals with livestock each year. By help and instruction from the livestock men in charge and through the organization of the agricultural program to provide definite objectives and insure a sense of solidarity and coöperation by means of its chapter meetings, it may be possible to build up the livestock industry very rapidly upon some reservations. In such cases, leases to white men can and should be reduced year by year until at last the entire grazing resources of the reservation are utilized by Indian owned livestock.

Care should be taken to see that white lessees are given ample notice of an intention to reduce their leases in order that they may make other provision for their herds and so not suffer financial loss, but they should on no account be permitted to retain reservation land that is needed by Indian owned stock. The government should in such cases refuse to be influenced by the appeals of wealthy or other ranchmen to be permitted to continue to lease land that the Indians need. Such appeals are often difficult to withstand, since some of these men have come to regard a privilege long exercised almost as a vested right and doubtless in some cases would not only seek to discredit any enterprise in behalf of the Indians which would deprive them of their leases but would use political influence in order to retain their leases.

Individually Owned Livestock. As the flocks and herds of individual Indians increase it is sometimes necessary to set a limit to the number of animals an individual may pasture on tribal lands free of charge. This is now done in some cases and the policy should be continued, though considerable liberality should be exercised toward the industrious Indian who is advancing and increasing his herds. When the size of an individual's herd interferes with the rights of others he should be required to pay grazing fees on the excess over a certain number.

In determining the kind and breeds of livestock to be placed upon a particular reservation, due regard should be given to the range, water, and climatic conditions, as well as to markets and the needs and wishes of the Indians themselves.

Cattle vs. Sheep. The question of encouraging the Indians to raise sheep rather than cattle demands expert consideration. From 1919 till comparatively recently, cattle on the range were unprofitable. The cattle business is always somewhat speculative and often highly so, though sometimes very profitable, especially when the winter range is ample or when hay lands are available from which may be cut a supply of winter feed. Sheep require more care and attention than cattle, and for that very reason give the Indian a training that he often needs. Nearly half the wool used in the United States is imported, and the markets would readily absorb more mutton than is at present available. The sheep industry seems assured of a satisfactory status for a long time, since the number of sheep in the country could be nearly doubled without seriously overdoing the business. It seems certain that sheep should as a rule be given preference over cattle on most reservations. Each Indian family, however, should be assured a supply of milk. Every effort should be made to foster the keeping of milk cows, though in some cases milk goats may be as good or even better.

Worthless Horses. Many reservations are now overrun with worthless horses. These consume much grass that could be utilized by cattle and sheep. Yet the Indians love horses and are often reluctant to get rid of them. A persistent campaign of education as to the relative profit to be derived from horses and other forms of livestock will often help. In some instances the Indians may be encouraged to use horse meat for food and so reduce the number considerably. In some jurisdictions mule raising may be undertaken with profit. The government should employ a specialist to study the situation with respect to horses on the various reservations and try to find a profitable market for them.

Poultry, Bees, and Dairy Cattle. On most reservations not enough attention is given to poultry. Chickens and eggs are not only valuable additions to the food supply of the family, but the care of poultry will prove a factor in keeping Indians at home, while a market can usually be found for the surplus at good prices and so the family income may often be increased very considerably.

Turkeys and guinea fowls offer good possibilities, since they are able to forage for themselves, require but little care, and in the case of guinea fowls are excellent egg producers. The initial cost of a fair stock of poultry, together with the necessary buildings, is small and reimbursable funds should be made available for this purpose.

Many reservations in the Southwest in particular are well adapted to keeping bees. The desert plants, notably mesquite and cat claw, yield an excellent quality of honey, as does the alfalfa of the little farms along the streams. Bees require but little attention in a mild climate, and not only do they supply a food product that would otherwise be wasted but they add to the Indian diet a food that is much liked and needed.

Commercial dairying is a highly technical industry and only a relatively small number of Indians are sufficiently advanced to pursue it successfully on a large scale. Every help and encouragement should be given them, however, in securing milk cows for their own use and in many cases some surplus of milk and cream may be produced for sale. Milk cows, like sheep and poultry, are a valuable factor in keeping the Indian at home and teaching him to be regular and methodical in his habits of life.

Irrigation of Indian Lands. The task of the Indian Service in teaching the Indians to be successful subsistence farmers would be difficult enough if all the Indians were located on land where crops could be raised successfully without resort to irrigation. Many Indians, however, are located in the semi-arid and arid sections where relatively little can be raised if dependence is placed on natural rainfall. Resort must be had to irrigation.

Success in irrigation farming ordinarily requires the intensive cultivation of a relatively small area. The cost of constructing and operating an extensive irrigation system usually results in a relatively high land cost. If these high costs are to be met, the land must be utilized with a high degree of efficiency. To win success from a small area of high cost irrigated land requires far better farming than is necessary on a similar area of low cost land watered by natural rainfall. In many cases, therefore, the Indian Service has to educate the Indians for successful farming under the most difficult conditions.

The Irrigation Problem. In the irrigation of large tracts of Indian lands problems of two types are confronted: (1) Those that have to do primarily with engineering, and (2) those that are distinctly human and have to do with the Indians and their utilization of the lands for production.

The problems that have to do with training the Indians to make effective utilization of large areas of land irrigated by the white man's irrigation methods are obviously the more difficult and the more important from the standpoint of the economic education of the race. That the Indians in the arid and semi-arid sections of the country have long practiced some sort of irrigation is of course true. In some cases they had developed fairly extensive, though primitive, systems of irrigation, but these systems did not involve the items of cost of construction and cost of operation. These items arise when large modern irrigation systems are built by the government and when white settlers are purchasing or leasing irrigated Indian land or are using land that is irrigated under the same project that supplies water for the Indians.

The present survey did not have time to make the detailed study necessary for a thorough understanding of each large irrigation project in the Indian Service, nor did it include on its staff an expert irrigation engineer. Its work in respect to irrigation did not extend beyond the attempt to understand the broad fundamental economic and social problems involved in the construction and operation of irrigation projects on Indian lands. The more detailed problems of construction, maintenance, and operation require for their solution a detailed study by a competent committee of specialists in this particular subject, including specialists in each of the following fields; irrigation engineering, irrigation agriculture, and irrigation law. A competent business man who has had long experience with Indians and understands thoroughly their nature and psychology would be a valuable addition. The Secretary of the Interior has appointed a committee of well qualified specialists for this study, and they are at present at work. The appointment of this committee, containing representatives of several different government organizations, is a remarkable step in advance and presents an application of the principle which the survey staff believes should be generally followed in solving the many difficult technical and scientific problems which confront the Indian Service.

It should perhaps be said that the action of the Secretary was taken without any suggestion whatever from the present survey. It is purely accidental that his course has been almost precisely that which the survey would have recommended.

Since the survey did not make the detailed study necessary for a report on each individual project, its findings and recommendations must necessarily be disappointing to those who would like a definite statement of findings and recommendations regarding specific projects. The best course apparently is to present the results of the work in this field in part at least as questions demanding answers rather than as the answers themselves.

Completed Projects and Questions Regarding Them. With respect to completed projects the main question is whether the costs of construction and the costs of operation are fairly charged against the Indians. In some instances the projects were begun under gratuity appropriations, and then by subsequent legislation these original gratuity appropriations were made reimbursable and a charge against the Indian lands. Later appropriations have generally been reimbursable. The fairness of converting an appropriation originally made as a gratuity to a reimbursable debt by subsequent legislation is distinctly questionable. The government should seriously consider cancelling such debts where the money was originally given and subsequently was made a debt.

The second question with respect to large completed projects is whether they were economically sound. Considerable evidence suggests that some projects were undertaken because they were feasible from an engineering standpoint without due consideration of the question whether the land when irrigated could produce enough to pay the construction and operating costs and yield the farmer a fair return for his labor. It may be possible that this factor of return was considered, but that the calculations were based on high prices for agricultural products and not on the relatively low prices that have prevailed in recent years. In some jurisdictions visited by the survey, it seemed doubtful if even a highly skilled experienced white farmer could utilize the land in such a way as to pay the costs and have a reasonable return. If these projects are judged on the basis of present agricultural conditions, they appear economically unsound. If detailed investigation substantiates these impressions, as seems probable, the construction charges obviously

should be written off. The Indians were not themselves responsible for the undertaking, although they may have desired it.

In other jurisdictions superficial examination suggests that the projects were economically sound in that an able white farmer could operate under them successfully, and that the value of the land has actually been increased to the full extent of the construction costs. When the land passes from Indian ownership to white ownership, it is entirely reasonable that the white owner should pay a price which will include the construction costs. The question here is whether the Indian owner should receive the added value or whether it should go toward reimbursing the government for its expenditures. If the appropriation when originally made was reimbursable, the right of the government to be reimbursed from the enhanced value seems clear, provided the value of the land has been increased to the full amount of the construction costs. If the appropriation was originally a gratuity to the Indians, they apparently have a claim to the enhanced price even if subsequent legislation declared the money reimbursable. If the value of the land has not been increased by the full amount of the construction costs, the prior right of the Indians should be respected and the government should take only such part of the proceeds as represents the increment in value resulting from irrigation.

Duty of the Government with Regard to Irrigation. On these economically sound projects, however, the chief concern of the government should be to educate the Indians to make effective use of the land and its water rights. As guardian of the Indians, the government must protect them against two great dangers. The first is the familiar evil of sale and leasing. The demand of whites for good irrigated land is great enough so that the land may be sold or leased readily, at a fairly high figure, and the Indian owner can live for a while on the money from the sale or eke out an existence on the lease money without work, and of course it is easier for the local officers to permit sale or leasing than to teach the Indians to be farmers. The second danger is that the Indians will not use the water to which they are entitled and that some white man will use it for land belonging to him. Although the Indians may or may not thereby lose their legal right to the water, they may lose the water itself and be left with a legal cause of action. Under these circumstances both the protection of the Indians' property and the devel-

opment of the Indians themselves require that they be led to make full use of their land and water.

New Projects. In considering new large projects or the extension of existing ones, the question of whether the land when irrigated will meet the construction and operating costs should be given most careful consideration, especially in determining whether appropriations shall be reimbursable. To make appropriations reimbursable, when the land because of climatic conditions cannot produce enough to meet the costs, is unfair both to the Indians and to the general public. Such an expenditure will in the long run be in part at least a gratuity paid from the general treasury, however much it may be labelled reimbursable at the time the appropriation is made. This fact should be clearly faced at the outset, and the appropriation should either be made as a gratuity or not made at all.

Drilling of Wells and Improvement of Small Sources of Water. The discussion thus far has related to large irrigation projects involving heavy outlays. The Indian irrigation service has engaged in another type of activity in the desert country of the Southwest, the discovery and improvement of small sources of water and the drilling of wells. These small supplies are used for domestic purposes, for watering livestock, and for irrigating very small tracts. They have a value far beyond their cost. The health and comfort of the Pueblos, the Hopis, and the Navajos have been materially benefited by the drilling of wells, the improvement of springs, and the building of cisterns that have brought them a far more adequate supply of domestic water. Wells here and there in the Navajo country have made large areas available for grazing which formerly could scarcely be used at all because of distance from water. Little oases grow up where one of these water developments makes a few acres available for gardening and fruit raising. For the government men who have rendered this service, the Indians have nothing but praise. They name children for them and greet them with the greatest display of friendliness. More important, to make the appropriations go further, some of the Pueblo Indians, and possibly some of the others, have voluntarily given much labor. They have to have something to live on while they work, but that is all they ask. They willingly work for far less than ordinary wages for the sake of helping the government men bring them the precious water. The appropriations for work of this character will always be small in the aggregate and an almost infinitesimal item in the national budget. The amount appropriated for this purpose each year should be as large a sum as can be effectively used.

Coöperation between Engineers and Superintendents. The recommended Division of Planning and Development should give special consideration to the subject of irrigation and particularly to the utilization of irrigated land. Reservation superintendents sometimes complain that irrigation engineers are often concerned solely with the engineering features and lose sight of the human side. The irrigation engineers on the other hand assert that the reservation superintendents know nothing of the technical side of irrigation and so often expect the impossible. Through the Division of Planning and Development the work of these two groups of officers should be coördinated so that all may work on a common program agreed upon after thorough study of all the facts.

Points for Special Consideration. Although the work of the survey in respect to irrigation has been general, the staff wishes to call attention to certain matters which should be given thorough consideration.

1. The problem of the effective utilization of the water to be supplied the Pima Indians under the Coolidge project is one of the most pressing in the Service. It calls for immediate action, since it represents at once the greatest immediate economic opportunity and responsibility of the Indian Service seen on this survey. A competent impartial committee of experts should give special attention to the matter of the diversion dam at Sacaton, which also serves as a highway bridge. The evidence regarding the value and efficiency of this diversion dam as an irrigation engineering project of benefit to the Pima Indians is conflicting. Some persons apparently qualified as irrigation engineers maintain that the diversion dam is not properly designed and constructed for efficient operation; and much local opinion is to the effect that the real object of the dam is to serve as a highway bridge of use mainly to the white population. As the Pima Indians have been charged with the cost of this diversion dam as part of the irrigation system for their reservation, it is highly important that the facts should be fully determined by an impartial board of competent experts and that the charges against the land of the Pima Indians should not

exceed the value which the structure adds to their land. If the diversion dam is in fact an engineering mistake, the Indians who had no part in planning it, should not be asked to bear the expense except insofar as they are directly and clearly benefited by what has actually been done.

2. The Indian Service should take all possible steps to safeguard the rights of the Indians in the irrigation and power projects on the Flathead Reservation. The power development there will be of far greater economic importance than the irrigation project, and the question is: To whom do the power rights belong? The Indians and their friends cite substantial evidence to show that the power rights are the property of the Indians. White settlers on the irrigation project are anxious to secure the returns from the power to pay their irrigation charges and to yield them a profit. This question should be promptly settled in the courts; and until it is settled the Indian Service should regard itself as the guardian and attorney for the Indians, leaving no stone unturned to further and protect to the utmost the right of the Indians. If a decision adverse to the Indians is to be rendered, it should come from the court of last resort and not through any administrative action by officers of the executive branch of the government.

3. The reservoir impounding water for the use of the Zuni Indians has silted up to such a degree that their water supply is threatened. Unless something is done promptly to remedy this condition, the land of these Indians now under cultivation may be left without sufficient water. Many of these Indians are making excellent use of their irrigated lands, and they should not be set back by failure on the part of the government to maintain a proper reservoir. At Zuni consideration should also be given to the more permanent development of smaller projects away from the main village. At the time of the visit of the survey staff an earthen dam had just given way, freeing all the impounded water upon which several Indians were dependent for their year's agriculture. From the social and economic point of view it is apparently highly desirable to develop smaller projects away from the main village.

4. The development of water for livestock and household use by drilling wells, excavating springs, and building reservoirs throughout the Pueblo, Navajo, Hopi, and Papago reservations has been one of the finest and most constructive pieces of work

done by the Indian Service in recent years. This work should be continued and larger appropriations made for it. Valuable work remains to be done in the Navajo country, and it is estimated that the Papago Reservation can be made to support nearly twice as many cattle and sheep by increased water development.

5. Attention should be given to the problem of irrigating the Uncompahgre Flats of Uintah and Ouray. The Indians here complain that the government has not kept promises made to them as to watering these lands.

6. In general, new projects should be constructed only after careful consideration of costs and a definite determination that they are economically sound for Indians who can hardly be expected at the present time to make as efficient use of land and water as whites.

7. In some cases adjustments should be made of construction and operation and maintenance charges and authority secured to write them off in cases where it is clear that the Indians can never pay them.

This adjustment should be done with considerable liberality, even to the extent of cancelling large sums which the Indian nominally owes, if the evidence shows that the project was an engineering blunder or that the decline in agriculture has rendered the land incapable of paying such charges. The psychological effect of heavy indebtedness against his land is very bad for the Indian. He becomes discouraged in the matter of improving his farm, since he feels that he may eventually lose it, together with all improvements.

8. The question of water rights should be made the subject of careful investigation, and reservation officers charged with the administration of projects used by both Indians and whites should be given the duty of seeing that the Indians secure their rightful share of water. In Nevada the legal cases to establish the rights of the Indians should be pressed to the utmost until they have been carried to the court of last resort.

Forestry. In the discussion of Indian property, both tribal and individual, considerable space was given to the subject of timber lands.[16] The difficulties resulting from the allotment of timber land at Quinaielt, Washington, were described. The problem of individualizing the holdings of the Klamath and Menominee Indians

[16] See pages 462 to 466.

without allotting the timber lands was outlined and the recommendation was made that an experiment be tried with the corporate form of organization. To go into these matters again is unnecessary, but a few other matters remain for discussion under this general subject.

Few Indians in Forestry Work. The number of Indians engaged in work with timber is surprisingly small. Except at Menominee, Wisconsin, where the Indian Service does the logging and operates the lumber mill, Indians were rarely found either working in the lumber camps or at the mills. The tendency in both logging and milling has been toward the increased use of power and machinery and a decrease in the number of workers. The requirement now is for a relatively small number of highly skilled workers who are regular in attendance and reliable. One mill manager interviewed, who runs an enormous plant operating entirely on timber purchased from the Indian reservation, did not think of a single Indian at present on his pay roll. He said that there was no race prejudice against Indians, but that they were not sufficiently regular in attendance to meet the requirements of a modern high power mill and that their irregularity prevented them from gaining the skill required for the better paying jobs.

Menominee Mills. At the Menominee Reservation Indians are employed both in the camps and in the mill. One got the impression that the Indians there were doing more work and prospering more than was the case on other reservations, and for this situation the policy of employing Indians in the timber and mill operation was apparently largely responsible. Interviews with the white officers on this reservation brought out the opinion that the policy of employing Indians increased the cost of production, that if a private commercial company had charge of the operations they could reduce labor costs by employing a smaller force made up almost entirely of white men. The tendency is to give the Indian who applies for work a job, whether he is actually needed at the moment or not, because the welfare of the Indians is placed ahead of the immediate interests of the balance sheet. At times Indians have occupied some of the more responsible positions requiring skill and experience although it may be doubted whether they could have held these positions in a commercial mill where they would have been in direct competition with the whites. Despite this policy

of preferring Indians, the available statistics indicate that the operations are carried on at a profit.[17]

The survey staff has not made a detailed examination of the accounts of the Menominee operations, but it is of the opinion that even if the profits are not what they might be with a white staff, the undertaking is well worth while because of the training and the economic opportunities it affords the Indians. It is not only a commercial enterprise, it is also educational. The superintendent at the time of the survey visit showed a keen appreciation of the social side of his task.

The Establishment of Other Government Mills. The question of establishing other government mills should be given careful consideration. Small sawmills on reservations remote from market and with comparatively small and unimportant forest resources offer considerable promise. Such mills are a valuable aid in providing lumber for better homes and outbuildings for the Indians and in furnishing them opportunity for productive employment. They should not be constructed where they come into competition with larger, more economical, units operated by private enterprises, if the government is to charge the Indians using lumber with its cost. At Klamath the Indians complained that when the little government mill was running, the lumber from it cost more than lumber from private mills. No small mill could possibly compete with the modern highly efficient big private mill operated there with all the economies of large scale production. The question of the establishment of small mills calls for careful investigation and planning by competent technical experts connected with the proposed Division of Planning and Development.

[17] A curious situation was encountered at Menominee. The superintendent has adopted the policy of having the slash cut up for cord wood. This wood is piled by the tracks in the woods where it is cut, and when it is sold, generally in the larger cities of the section, it is loaded on the cars and sent by freight to its destination. The workers are paid by the cord. They live with their families in shack camps back in the heart of the woods. They are not Indians but mountain whites from Kentucky. The Indians apparently do not care for this type of work. At the time of the visit by the survey staff, all this work was done with hand tools. The question naturally arises whether small power saws operated by portable gas engines would be more efficient. A social investigator, too, is inclined to raise a question as to what school facilities are available for these white children back in the woods, but the survey staff did not take the time to go into this subject.

A Fair Price for Timber and Forest Production. Where Indians own individually forest areas every opportunity should be given them to cut and market their own logs, timber, and firewood. Aid should be extended to them in selling their forest products at a fair price.

In eastern Oklahoma the Indian Service should if possible extend greater protection to the Indians to see that they get a fair price for their timber and to protect them from option contracts that tie up their lands and prevent their development. The question of the fair value of a stand of timber is a technical one, requiring expert determination. The Indians have little or no real knowledge of its actual value, and in many cases they have sold it for a fraction of its worth, just as they have the land itself.

Protection Against Forest Fires. The matter of more adequately protecting Indian forests from fires is now receiving careful consideration from the Indian Service and the Bureau of the Budget apparently is prepared to recommend larger appropriations for this purpose. Some of the states and some private companies have been of the opinion that the Indian forests in the past have not been adequately protected.

The work of forest protection appears to be of a type for which Indians are particularly adapted. The Indian Service, through the recommended Division of Planning and Development, should give special study to the possibility of giving Indian boys from reservations where there is considerable timber land special training for work of this character. This training should fit them either for positions in the Indian Service or for positions with other governmental agencies, national or state, or with private companies. Indian boys who show particular promise in this preliminary training should be encouraged to go on with their education and to fit themselves for the more technical branches of forestry.

Personnel of Indian Forest Service. The survey staff wishes to record its impression that the Indian Service has many excellent men in its forest service. Their decision to practice selective logging on several of the jurisdictions seems specially worthy of commendation, especially because the land is at present of little value except for timber raising. The salaries of these able employees is comparatively low and consequently the turnover is high. Salary

standardization is needed here as it is in other branches of the Service.

Labor Problems in the Indian Service. Next to some form of agriculture, unskilled labor is the more important occupation among Indians. This fact, it will be recalled, was brought out by the table on page 489, showing the occupations of Indian fathers as reported by Indian school children. Probably 15 to 18 per cent of the children have fathers in no way engaged in agriculture. Of these a large proportion are unskilled laborers.

In many parts of the Indian country are Indians who were never given land or who have lost their lands through being declared competent prematurely or for other reasons. Many of them have no resources but their labor, and they are rarely trained to do any special kind of work. Some of them cut wood, raise gardens, hunt, fish, gather wild products, serve as guides, and do other miscellaneous things to eke out an existence. Others are almost wholly dependent on wage earning in non-agricultural pursuits. As examples of the wage earners may be cited, the landless Indians of California and Nevada, many Chippewas of Minnesota, and numerous members of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma. Many Indians of the Southwestern desert reservations also depend for a large part of their living upon wage earning.

The Policy of the Government Regarding Unskilled Labor. The relatively large number of Indians in casual labor or in other jobs essentially unskilled reflects in some measure the attempts of government employees to meet the difficult problem of helping the Indians to make a living on their own lands. In some localities where the conditions of life are very hard and the returns for farming meager and uncertain, the Indians have been encouraged to abandon their little farms and to leave the reservation to become wage earners in various industries and labor projects.

This practice should not be condemned hastily. The employees responsible for the policy see the Indians facing uncertain futures on the reservations. They see that successful farming or grazing operations depend upon an availability of water supply, in many cases not yet realized and perhaps never to be realized by their wards. They know that the market for agricultural products is uncertain at best and that Indian farmers must realize something

from sales of produce, since they need money for implements and seed and for a few indispensable items of family expenditure, such as clothing, medicine, and some kinds of food. They know, moreover, that modern industrial life usually has a place for any people who will accept the less desirable types of labor at low wages, and they believe that even the less desirable industrial work is preferable to a half-starved existence on the reservation. They find, too, in large scale agricultural operations in distant regions, seasonal opportunities for wage earning that afford work for whole families while meeting the Indians' liking for a change of scene.

In some cases the immediate results of the change from the reservation to industrial employment are undoubtedly encouraging. Here and there an Indian boy shows ambition to work up into a really paying occupation. Some of the workers with permanent jobs develop steady habits of work not traditionally attributed to Indians. The more progressive Indians take over white ways of living without great delay. Even the primitive Indians may make slight improvements in their modes of living as a result of contacts with white civilization.[18]

The more remote results of the general policy, however, are open to question. It seemed to members of the survey staff that some employers favor Indian labor partly because the Indians have low standards of living, and therefore will accept poor living quarters and will shift from place to place more easily than do whites. Wherever this is true, neither the government nor the Indians really profit much by the change from the reservation. Even if the policy should be justified as a temporary expedient it should not be regarded as in any sense a permanent solution of the economic problems of these people. When the Indians are taken from the reservations to do seasonal labor in harvesting, cotton picking, or beet thinning, or to engage in temporary construction work on railroads or highways, they are removed from the only considerable property they own, namely, the land of their reservations. They get no training calculated to develop initiative in the matter of securing or holding jobs. Children are sometimes kept out of school for such work, and when they enter late find themselves behind

[18] For a fuller treatment of this subject, see the chapter on Migrated Indians, pages 667 to 742.

others of the class, and so grow discouraged and seek to leave school at the earliest opportunity. Settled homes are likely to be broken up, since either the husband and father must be separated from his family, or else the family itself must be taken away from the permanent home on the reservation to live in camp under conditions that are often not conducive to either health or morality. In the meantime the permanent home is not kept up. To raise gardens and to keep chickens and milk cows is impossible. The family is likely to become a wandering group, drifting from place to place in order to find employment. Working and camping in groups undoubtedly promotes vice and dissipation. The gambler, bootlegger, and dope peddler frequently seek to prey upon these camps, and the dirty, unsanitary surroundings make the people particularly subject to epidemics.

Industrial Colonies. The establishment of industrial colonies in Nevada and California for the purpose of affording homes to Indians was actuated by humanitarian principles. The Indians had been living about the outskirts of towns and cities in tents or miserable shanties. They shifted frequently from place to place as the neighboring whites protested and complained of their presence. Bad as was their situation, it is a question whether the attempt made in Nevada to give them homes has wrought any real improvement. As a rule housing conditions there are bad and moral conditions even worse. The industrial colonies of Reno-Sparks and Yerrington, Nevada, are examples. They are located upon small tracts of dry, stony land, where little could be produced even if the homesites were larger. Opportunities for wage earning are not plentiful in the nearby white communities, with the exception of domestic service for women and some desultory, temporary jobs for men. Located as these colonies are near a city or town, they furnish a market for narcotics and for liquor in various forms including canned heat, extracts, and proprietary medicines. In many cases, the men, finding employment difficult to secure, give up trying to earn a living, and spend their time in loafing, gambling, drinking, and drug addiction, while the women eke out a scanty existence for the family through washing, house-cleaning, or other forms of domestic service. The damage to character already wrought upon many Indians by the life in these colonies is probably beyond repair.

Homesite Tracts of California. The homesite colonies of California, where Indian families have each been given a small tract of from two to five acres of land with sufficient water for irrigation, have in some cases been fairly successful and present a much more attractive picture than the industrial. It is possible on a tract of this size to raise chickens and to produce fruit and garden vegetables as well as sufficient alfalfa for a milk cow, and in fact to produce much if not most of the subsistence for the family. The husbands usually work at day labor in nearby towns or on neighboring ranches for a part of the year at least. These families, therefore, are as a rule comfortable and have reasonably attractive prospects for the future.

Principles Underlying Sound Labor Policies. The economic resources of the reservation should be developed to the point where they are capable of supporting in comfort as many Indians as practicable before it is assumed that the permanent solution of the economic problem of these people is to remove them from the unmet problems of the reservation to work elsewhere as wage earners. The worst feature of the policy of encouraging the Indians to leave their land lies in the fact that by resorting to this means of mitigating the conditions of life, the real problems of the reservation are obscured and their solution postponed indefinitely.

The objectives sought should be: (1) On reservations that are supporting large numbers of cattle and sheep owned by white lessees, the replacing of white-owned livestock by animals owned by Indians; (2) on reservations that are not fully stocked or that are capable of supporting a much larger number of animals by water development, the complete utilization of all pasturage by additional water development; (3) on reservations that have considerable timber resources not yet fully utilized, the development of the lumber industry on a profitable and permanent basis; (4) on reservations where subsistence farming is a practicable possibility as yet far from realized, a careful adaptation of the type of farming to soil, climate, and other conditions. Only when the Indians are using all grazing, timber, agricultural, and other resources of the reservation themselves, should attention be turned to directing a large part of the population not engaged in production or in fairly profitable employment on the reservation to labor outside the reservation as a permanent occupation.

The transition from the reservation to wage earning elsewhere, when a necessary measure, should be accomplished by careful work with individuals instead of as a wholesale process. These individuals should be the younger men with few if any family responsibilities. They should be placed as learners in skilled trades and occupations and in other positions where opportunity for advancement is good. Enough members of any race will gravitate to the lower occupational levels without artificial stimulation. Those Indians who cannot speak English or are past the age to acquire new skills readily, had better be helped as far as possible to improve their familiar mode of life on the reservation rather than encouraged to migrate.

Any educational policy that looks toward making day laborers of the men and domestic servants of the women is to be deplored, not because these employments are in themselves objectionable but because they represent standards of life too low to be sought as a goal for any race. As a rule the day laborer or domestic is nearly if not quite as far from the position an intelligent Indian should hope to reach as is the boy or girl in the reservation home. Employees who urge these occupations for boys and girls would in most cases regard them merely as a step toward a permanent home and steady well paid employment at work requiring training and skill. There is little evidence, however, that either of these forms of employment is to any great extent educational or of material assistance in taking the next step ahead. The practicable plan would be to bring Indian young people directly from the reservation to the more promising occupations by means of thorough training in school, rather than by way of day labor and domestic service.[19]

If families must leave the reservations to seek industrial or agricultural opportunities elsewhere, or if they are without resources in land, the ideal sought should be a permanent home for every Indian family, supported, in the main, by the earnings of the husband. The balance in the division of labor between men and women has been destroyed in many Indian tribes. The men's work as hunters, trappers, and warriors has disappeared, but the work of women continues much the same as ever. Government officers should use every effort to make the men realize that new tasks

[19] For a discussion of domestic service as an occupation for women, see the chapter on Family and Community Life and the Activities of Women, pages 639-640.

should replace the old, and that every man should assume the same responsibility for the protection and care of his own family as his ancestors did for theirs. Children should not be kept out of school to engage in labor.

The results of establishing industrial colonies do not justify a further extension of the policy. On the contrary the present colonies in Nevada should be broken up and other provisions made for the Indians in locations where each family can have sufficient land to produce a large share of the living and where supplementary employment is available throughout much of the year. Some means might be worked out for providing building and loan funds for honest, energetic Indians to enable them to build comfortable little homes. If these colonies must be maintained in their present locations, they constitute special problems for the best expert advice available from the proposed Division of Planning and Development. They will be expensive to maintain, for untoward conditions will make much administrative work a perpetual necessity.

Children in the Beet Fields. It has been customary in the past to transport a considerable number of boys each summer to Colorado and Kansas for work in the beet fields. The undesirable results of this plan from the educational standpoint have been discussed in the educational chapter of this report. The economic results are equally objectionable. Although the gross amount earned by all the boys, or even a group of them engaged in such work, may seem considerable, the net earnings of the average individual, especially after transportation, food, and other expenses have been deducted, are often very little. Circulars issued indicate that a boy may expect to earn two dollars a day or more at this work, but no available reports show actual earnings of anything like that amount.

Reports for the summer of 1926 from three schools among the Navajos indicate that twenty-nine boys from one school returned after sixty-three days in the beet fields with average net earnings of $5.62, or less than nine cents a day, while their average gross earnings were less than fifty dollars each or less than eighty cents a day. Only one boy in this group had net earnings at the end of the period of more than twenty-five dollars and only two more had more than ten dollars, while the gross earnings of only five were more than fifty dollars.

The report of the second school from this region showed that thirty-six boys after eighty-two days in camp had net average earnings of only $9.56, or less than twelve cents a day, or average gross earnings of less than sixty-two dollars or about seventy-five cents a day. Only one in this group had net earnings of over twenty-five dollars and one-half the remainder had less than ten dollars.

The third school reported on the work of thirty boys who spent eighty-five days in the beet fields. These returned with average net earnings of $38.20, or forty-five cents a day, and an average gross earning of nearly $112, or about $1.35 a day. These boys made purchases of clothing averaging over twenty-eight dollars each, but with the other two groups the clothing purchases averaged only about $3.50 and $6.50 each, respectively.

The work of school boys in the beet fields obviously is far from a success economically. In other ways the showing is equally bad or even worse. It is admitted that the work is "tedious" and that nearly all the labor of thinning beets must be done in a stooping position or on hands and knees. The quarters furnished are far from good, and health and social conditions of the camps far from satisfactory. The pupils can hardly be expected to return improved in weight and health, since the amount spent for food, by the groups mentioned above, in no case averaged as much as thirty-five cents a day each, and in the case of one group was less than twenty cents a day. Since the work started in some cases as early as the fifteenth of May it is inevitable that some boys were forced to lose at least two weeks of school.

It can hardly be urged that these boys received valuable experience in agriculture that would help them later in farming their own lands. The specialized tasks of thinning, topping, and hoeing are not such as to arouse any great interest in the subject of farming. Indeed, if the officers responsible wish to create a prejudice against farming and farm labor they could hardly find a better way than to take these comparatively young boys and place them in such tedious and unremunerative employment as work in the beet fields.

Of the twenty-nine boys in the first group mentioned only two were over 14 years of age and more than half were either 11 or 12. Even had all possible precautions been taken to safeguard their health and welfare, the taking of such young children hundreds of

miles from home to live in camps and engage in field labor cannot be defended. It is to be condemned not only upon humanitarian grounds but on all others as well, since it is nearly certain to fix in the impressionable young minds of these children an intense dislike for farming, if not for all regular routine labor.

Industrial Training in the Schools. Boys used in the beet-field work have been transported directly from the schools, and the practice has been defended on the ground that it is part of a necessary program of education for work.

The weaknesses of the industrial training program in the boarding schools have been described in the chapter of this report dealing with education. From the point of view of economic development it is clear that the schools have not done as much as they might do. Lack of any preliminary occupational survey of the Indian field, entrenchment of an institutional scheme which stresses production rather than genuine vocational training, an almost complete absence of qualified vocational teachers, and a lack of the necessary guidance, placement, and follow-up machinery, make the vocational program of the boarding schools relatively ineffective. Little attempt has been made in the past to relate the work of the school to the industrial needs of the country. "Vanishing industries," such as harness-making or blacksmithing, are frequently given as large a place in the school program and employ as many or more pupils as do such industries as auto mechanics, plumbing, or electrical work that furnish a much greater opportunity for the pupil to secure gainful employment after he leaves school. Pupils are also in some cases taught a vocation that they will have little opportunity of pursuing when they return home to their own reservations, such as baking and tailoring. It is necessary not only to relate the work of the school to the industrial needs of the nation as a whole, but also, as far as possible, to the needs of that particular part of the country in which the pupil may reasonably be expected to reside.

The half-day system, intended nominally to give the child industrial training, operates actually to provide the school with child labor for work that should be done by paid employees using efficient modern labor-saving devices. In busy seasons, or in cases where the school has few large pupils, small children are sometimes given tasks too heavy for them and perhaps unconsciously,

as a measure of self-protection, take a pace that eventually fixes in them the habit of doing everything slowly. On the other hand, when there is a surplus of labor, three or four are assigned to a piece of work that should be done by one and habits of slowness and loitering over tasks are still further developed. As a result the student sometimes has difficulty in holding a job after he leaves school, not because Indians are naturally so slow, as is often asserted, but because he has developed bad work habits in school.

It is sometimes asserted that even though most of the work done in school under the name of industrial training is nothing more than unskilled labor, it nevertheless has a value in teaching the Indian boy or girl to work. Every child should be taught to work and to do at times necessary tasks which may not be altogether agreeable, but week after week spent in the deadly routine of institutional labor in which the pupil has no interest may have an effect exactly the opposite of that intended or desired, and may fix in him a distaste for all routine labor that may remain with him throughout life.

The training given under the present system does not often go far enough to enable the student to become a skilled workman even after a reasonable period of experience. This is one of the gravest faults of the system. Students are generally sent out from school with a training inadequate to enable them to earn a living in competition with white workmen. Large boarding schools should permit graduates to maintain living quarters at the school, and receive evening instruction if it seems desirable, while working at a job nearby that will give the experience and additional knowledge necessary to enable them to qualify as skilled workmen.

Some favorably located schools may find it desirable to maintain a shop for commercial work in auto mechanics. In such cases repair work should be done by students under the supervision of the teacher and careful account kept of costs and hours of labor so that the student may know something of his earning power and how well he can hope to succeed in a shop of his own. Such an enterprise would give the students a chance to work upon all makes of cars, something almost impossible in any school at present, and so make him a much more efficient and valuable mechanic when he leaves school.

Vocational Guidance, Placement and Follow-up. If Indians are to be adjusted successfully to the economic and social conditions of their community and of the nation it will be necessary to study more carefully than has ever been done before the occupational opportunities available. At present efforts in this direction have been confined chiefly to the mass labor placements just described and to the outing system connected with the larger boarding schools.

The underlying principle of the outing system, that youth in training shall have practical work opportunities under real labor conditions, coördinate with school training or supplementary to it, is generally admitted to be sound. It is the basis for some of the most successful modern vocational education programs. As carried out in the Indian Service, however, the outing system has been reduced largely to a plan which looks to outside observers to be in the main an arrangement for providing certain types of male seasonable labor and for providing women for domestic service. It seems to the survey staff extremely doubtful whether the outing plan as at present in operation is helpful to the economic advance of the Indian. The system should be administered by technically trained guidance and employment persons, as part of a complete program that will embrace vocational counseling, try-out courses, and specific vocational training in the schools; practice opportunities in carefully selected and supervised employment outside the school; placement by the school, and follow-up for a considerable period after school leaving. A number of American cities have organized junior employment services embodying the same principles that are involved in the employment problem as it affects Indian schools. In some localities it will be possible to work out coöperative arrangements with existing agencies of this type; but in any case it will be necessary to employ persons whose training and experience have been similar to those of workers in these public agencies. The machinery of the United States Employment Service and the various state labor bureaus could be utilized in the Indian employment problem. A study of labor conditions, both for industrial training and placement, will have to be made. Fortunately the numbers involved are in no case overwhelming, and it will be possible to get help for Indians from existing agencies that could hardly be secured if the group was larger. Professional direction at Washington will be necessary, however, and elsewhere

in this report [20] a qualified staff specialist in employment and guidance work is suggested.

"Follow-up" of youthful workers has been found necessary in all the better employment programs. It is especially necessary for young Indian entrants into industrial life. Students of the larger schools of the full-blood area of the Southwest often leave school with some knowledge of a trade, or other means of earning a living, but not enough to enable them to enter into competition with the whites except after a long period of apprenticeship. They have, however, been unfitted for reservation life by their school experience and so are left in a most discouraging situation, since they are equally unfitted for life among the whites. The government has a responsibility for these young people as individuals that is in a sense even greater than its responsibility toward the reservation Indian because it has taken them from their homes, sometimes against their will, and unfitted them for life among their own people.

The Indians are naturally timid and sensitive when dealing with whites and lack the aggressiveness and self-confidence necessary to secure and hold a job in competition with white workmen. These natural qualities have at times been emphasized rather than counteracted by the close and constant supervision of the school. Accustomed to having their life ordered for them, even in the most minute details, the students leave school to face the task of earning a living bewildered, more or less helpless, and not ready for self-direction.

This situation is made worse by the fact that they cannot hope to receive help from home and relatives. It is difficult enough for the white boys or girls who leave school with inadequate training and preparation, to win success and establish themselves upon a firm and lasting economic footing, even when they are supported, helped, and encouraged by parents and relatives. How much more difficult it must be for the Indian boys or girls when so many of the forces of home and kindred tend to drag them back rather than to push them forward.

If the student returns to the reservation with the idea of putting into practice the things he has learned at school he finds himself in a world scarcely less strange to him than is the industrial world

[20] Pages 124-125.

of the white man, and confronted by conditions that are most discouraging. He has no money; his land, if he has any, is undeveloped; his range rights are possibly gone, and any property he may have once had in the form of livestock has been largely dissipated. He meets, moreover, from those to whom the white boy or girl would look for encouragement and help, only suspicion and hostility, or, what to an Indian is far worse, ridicule.

Stories are related of a girl's returning from school to have the clothing torn from her body by the aged grandmother and the tribal costume tendered her as the only proper dress for an Indian. Again and again superintendents have told of girls who after some years in government schools have returned to the reservation home, and after a few days have come to them with the statement that such a life was impossible and have begged for an opportunity to work at anything that would take them away from it and enable them to live according to the standards they had been taught.

"Mr. Superintendent," said a young man among the Navajo, "when you give out reimbursable funds to buy sheep I wish you would not forget the returned students; you know they are under an awful handicap."

Native Products. Indians of all sections of the country retain in some measure their racial habits of seeking and utilizing the products of wild life. These native products they use in family consumption as in the case of food and skins; or utilize as the raw materials of their household industries, as in the case of stems, roots, and other materials from which baskets and mats are made; or sell without expending much labor upon them, as in the case of medicinal herbs, wild rice, and piñon nuts.

Some of these wild products are to be had by individual members of the family operating from the home as a base and only slightly disturbing the continuity of home life. As a rule, hunting, fishing, and the gathering of various vegetable fibers are pursuits of this character. Quests for vegetable foods, however, such as fruits, nuts, grains and maple sugar, involve women and children fully as much as men. Homes are temporarily abandoned, crops and domestic animals are neglected, children are kept out of school, and whole families are exposed to serious health risks. In many cases the financial return is not at all commensurate with the time and labor expended in such pursuits.

Dependence upon native products as a source of food supply is at best a makeshift. Wild fruit and nut crops are subject to considerable variations, amounting sometimes to complete failure. As white civilization encroaches more and more on the open country where native foods grow, the Indians must journey farther and farther from their homes, thus breaking in upon the routine of life for ever increasing periods. The damage that these habits of wandering do to farm life, is attested by many superintendents and other workers, who believe the two modes of existence incompatible. So far as the reliance upon uncultivated products interferes with a dependable food supply derived from agriculture, it should be discouraged by government workers. The Five-Year Program is a good example of attack on this problem by making home tasks engrossing.

The encroachment of whites upon what many Indians regard as inalienable hunting and fishing rights has in some cases seriously affected food supply and the pursuit of native crafts. Legal restrictions grow increasingly severe. Some industries, such as lumbering and mining, destroy fish in waters on Indian lands, thus causing serious economic loss to people already poor. Hunting, trapping, and fishing constitute important sources of the income of some groups. If encroachments are inevitable the Indians deserve at least that local situations be studied and their interests safeguarded so far as possible. In some regions reservation programs should include the systematic stocking of streams and lakes on Indian lands and teaching the Indians to husband these resources.

Insufficient attention is given at present to the methods of marketing native products that are commercially profitable. Some instruction in packing and marketing fish and in grading, packing, and marketing pecans and piñon nuts might increase very considerably the return for the Indians' labor.

Native Industries. Most tribes of Indians give some attention to native crafts. In a few tribes such work is of considerable economic importance; in many others it is only an avocation, or a means of earning small sums of spending money; in a very few it has almost entirely disappeared.

The articles manufactured are of wide variety, including rugs, pottery, baskets and mats, beadwork, and silver jewelry, as well as

of the white man, and confronted by conditions that are most discouraging. He has no money; his land, if he has any, is undeveloped; his range rights are possibly gone, and any property he may have once had in the form of livestock has been largely dissipated. He meets, moreover, from those to whom the white boy or girl would look for encouragement and help, only suspicion and hostility, or, what to an Indian is far worse, ridicule.

Stories are related of a girl's returning from school to have the clothing torn from her body by the aged grandmother and the tribal costume tendered her as the only proper dress for an Indian. Again and again superintendents have told of girls who after some years in government schools have returned to the reservation home, and after a few days have come to them with the statement that such a life was impossible and have begged for an opportunity to work at anything that would take them away from it and enable them to live according to the standards they had been taught.

"Mr. Superintendent," said a young man among the Navajo, "when you give out reimbursable funds to buy sheep I wish you would not forget the returned students; you know they are under an awful handicap."

Native Products. Indians of all sections of the country retain in some measure their racial habits of seeking and utilizing the products of wild life. These native products they use in family consumption as in the case of food and skins; or utilize as the raw materials of their household industries, as in the case of stems, roots, and other materials from which baskets and mats are made; or sell without expending much labor upon them, as in the case of medicinal herbs, wild rice, and piñon nuts.

Some of these wild products are to be had by individual members of the family operating from the home as a base and only slightly disturbing the continuity of home life. As a rule, hunting, fishing, and the gathering of various vegetable fibers are pursuits of this character. Quests for vegetable foods, however, such as fruits, nuts, grains and maple sugar, involve women and children fully as much as men. Homes are temporarily abandoned, crops and domestic animals are neglected, children are kept out of school, and whole families are exposed to serious health risks. In many cases the financial return is not at all commensurate with the time and labor expended in such pursuits.

Dependence upon native products as a source of food supply is at best a makeshift. Wild fruit and nut crops are subject to considerable variations, amounting sometimes to complete failure. As white civilization encroaches more and more on the open country where native foods grow, the Indians must journey farther and farther from their homes, thus breaking in upon the routine of life for ever increasing periods. The damage that these habits of wandering do to farm life, is attested by many superintendents and other workers, who believe the two modes of existence incompatible. So far as the reliance upon uncultivated products interferes with a dependable food supply derived from agriculture, it should be discouraged by government workers. The Five-Year Program is a good example of attack on this problem by making home tasks engrossing.

The encroachment of whites upon what many Indians regard as inalienable hunting and fishing rights has in some cases seriously affected food supply and the pursuit of native crafts. Legal restrictions grow increasingly severe. Some industries, such as lumbering and mining, destroy fish in waters on Indian lands, thus causing serious economic loss to people already poor. Hunting, trapping, and fishing constitute important sources of the income of some groups. If encroachments are inevitable the Indians deserve at least that local situations be studied and their interests safeguarded so far as possible. In some regions reservation programs should include the systematic stocking of streams and lakes on Indian lands and teaching the Indians to husband these resources.

Insufficient attention is given at present to the methods of marketing native products that are commercially profitable. Some instruction in packing and marketing fish and in grading, packing, and marketing pecans and piñon nuts might increase very considerably the return for the Indians' labor.

Native Industries. Most tribes of Indians give some attention to native crafts. In a few tribes such work is of considerable economic importance; in many others it is only an avocation, or a means of earning small sums of spending money; in a very few it has almost entirely disappeared.

The articles manufactured are of wide variety, including rugs, pottery, baskets and mats, beadwork, and silver jewelry, as well as

many other things regarded by the Indians as useful or ornamental, but of interest to whites only as curios and therefore of no great importance as a source of Indian income. Among these are pipes, drums, rattles, bows and arrows, feather ornaments, charms, amulets, and necklaces of shell and stone. With the single exception of silver jewelry nearly all the articles of commercial importance are the products of women's labor.

The weaving of rugs and blankets constitutes an important source of income among the Navajos. Almost every Navajo woman washes, cards, spins, and weaves the wool from her sheep in inexhaustible variety of design, either as a necessity or as the practice of an art she loves.

Pueblo, Hopi, and Zuni women produce pottery characteristically Indian and distinctive of the several localities. This in many cases they sell directly to tourists at good prices, thus adding materially to the family income.

Baskets of distinctive character are made by the women of tribes in every section of the United States, but the craft is probably nowhere more profitable than among the Hopis. It is doubtful whether any people in the world make baskets of finer workmanship than do some of the Indians.

Beadwork like basket making is all but universal, but it is seen in its most perfect forms among the more northern tribes, particularly those of the Plains. It is less profitable than the other crafts practiced by women because expensive materials must be purchased, but it constitutes an important resource in poor tribes.

Work in silver and turquoise is a somewhat specialized handicraft practiced by certain men of the Navajos and Pueblos. In some families it is the principal source of income. Like beadwork it involves the use of expensive materials which must be purchased.

Unfortunately native industries have, with some exceptions, received little encouragement from government officers and missionary workers. This neglect in some cases springs from contempt for all that constitutes distinctive Indian life. More generally, however, the failure to foster these arts seems to be due to a lack of understanding of their economic possibilities.

On most reservations Indians are isolated from industrial opportunities in regions unfavorable to agriculture. Even more than among white farmers, therefore, economic prosperity depends upon

family earning power rather than upon the ability of the father alone, and natural resources must be utilized fully by all adult members of the family if life is ever to be more than bare existence. Fortunately the women are able to follow at home traditional arts highly respected by discriminating white customers. Fortunately also, most of the native industries utilize raw materials that are to be obtained at little or no monetary cost, such as reeds, roots, osiers, grasses, corn husks, and other vegetable fibre, clay, the skins of wild animals, and native woods and minerals.[21] Most of these things have little or no market value. The total value is created by the Indians' labor. The time spent in this labor need not be taken from any other useful occupation. The selling price of the article is therefore as a rule clear gain, the return for labor that would not otherwise have been marketable. It is difficult to see how some Indians are ever to achieve a reasonably satisfactory standard of living in their present locations without the fostering and development of these native industries.

Some dangers may be involved in the development of industries pursued chiefly by the women, notably the risk of lessening too much the responsibility of men for the support of the family; but as a rule these dangers are not so serious as to offset the advantages to be secured. They can be avoided in great measure if government officers realize their existence and provide proper safeguards against them.

A marked tendency for the native handicrafts to disappear or to degenerate is to be found among many Indians whose economic needs are great. This tendency has been discussed elsewhere in the report. If these means to self support are to be preserved to the Indians, it seems necessary for the government to take a hand by furnishing sufficient aid to secure the production of marketable products and by developing a steady market for the output.[22]

[21] The rug industry, it is true, utilizes a marketable product, while bead work depends to a very considerable extent upon manufactured products, but these industries can be managed in such a way that a fair wage is received for the labor expended. The work of the Mohonk Lodge, a missionary enterprise at Colony, Oklahoma, constitutes a demonstration that bead work can be produced successfully and marketed at prices that make the work profitable to the Indians of several widely scattered tribes.

[22] For a further discussion of this subject, see chapter on Family and Community Life and the Activities of Women, pages 645 to 652.

Personnel. Most of the plans and policies recommended in the foregoing pages for the improvement of the economic conditions of the Indians are not new. Some of them are now in operation and are meeting with indifferent success. Others have been tried in the past and have failed. Many of these partial or complete failures, however, are to be accounted for on the grounds of faulty execution rather than economic unsoundness. No plan for developing a race to economic competence can be expected to succeed if carried out by untrained workers. This task involves difficult educational problems and requires the services of persons skilled in various specialized fields, such as agriculture, stock raising, and home demonstration. The foregoing recommendations therefore will depend for their effectiveness upon very considerable improvements in personnel.

The Influence of Employees. The purpose of the Indian Service is primarily educational. Every employee on a reservation, no matter what his specialized work, has his part in the general scheme of educating the Indians for economic independence. Even if an employee is not concerned directly with developmental work, he inevitably influences morale. Every employee, therefore, should have three essential qualifications. He should know how to perform his own specialized task, he should have a clear comprehension of the big objectives of the local office and the relation of his job to them, and he should like and respect Indians.

The third of these qualifications is by no means the least important. To lift a people up and look down on them at the same time is not possible, nor can one without respect for a people and faith in their future inspire them to self respect and faith in themselves. The discouraged, pessimistic government employee is one of the greatest barriers to the progress of the Indian race. It is not mere accident that the superintendents and other officers who are accomplishing most are those who have the highest regard and sympathy for the Indians and the greatest confidence in their ultimate success.

Adult Indians on the reservation are comparatively free in their personal movements, but in many ways they are under control so exercised as to impede the development of initiative or self reliance. Some control may be necessary in the case of individuals accustomed to it all their lives, but it should be so administered that it will add to the Indians' confidence, resourcefulness, and self respect. At present the administration of Indian property by government officers has for its chief object the securing of income rather than the education and development of the owners. Their individual money is under the control of officers who often have scant time to talk with them as to its wise use and so merely dole it out in small amounts, thus forcing them to the humiliation of becoming suppliants for their own money.

What is done for the Indians is largely done without consulting them or giving them an opportunity to express an opinion. If they are old and in need, rations are issued consisting of certain definite articles without regard to whether or not the applicants may need something entirely different. Little time is taken to explain to the Indians their own business matters, and they are left in the dark as to why many things are done, even though such steps may vitally concern their welfare and happiness. The courtesy and respect afforded the Indians on some reservations are scanty and are far less than would be extended to white men under similar circumstances. Such an attitude is an effectual barrier to the accomplishment of the purpose for which the Service exists, for it creates in the Indians an antagonistic, unteachable frame of mind. It is therefore unquestionably a serious disqualification for service.

In one sense almost every employee working directly with the Indians has an influence upon their economic condition. The physician and nurse by the cure or prevention of disease enable their charges to engage in productive employment; the field matron through raising standards of living creates new wants that require additional effort for their gratification; the teacher also creates new wants, besides training the mind and hand to a point where earning power may be greatly increased.

The influence of these employees upon economic conditions is, however, more or less indirect. Since their work is discussed at considerable length in other sections of this report, it seems necessary to deal here only with those officers whose duties have a direct bearing upon the economic advancement of the Indians and only with that portion of their work which seeks this particular objective. It seems best also to give only a very brief general statement of the qualifications and efficiency of present officers, together with a few suggestions for improving those qualifications so as to raise the general level of the service as a whole. The officers largely

concerned with the economic advancement of the Indians and the control and administration of their property are superintendents, farmers, livestock men, and in some cases foresters and other timber employees, irrigation engineers, oil experts, labor supervisors, and special or irregular employees.

Superintendents. Reservation superintendents are as a rule efficient, industrious, and able. With a few exceptions, they create a feeling of surprise that the government is able to secure and retain such able men at the salaries paid. Improvement can, however, be made even here partly by removing some of the handicaps under which the superintendents work and partly by raising the general level of education, training, and experience required for the positions.

The average superintendent at present finds himself handicapped by two major difficulties. The problems confronting him are so numerous and so complex that it is not possible for him to have the technical knowledge necessary to cope with them, and yet there is almost no one to whom he can turn for expert advice and aid. This handicap should be removed by the creation of the recommended Division of Planning and Development, consisting of experts in various fields who can give to the superintendent throughout the service that technical advice and help they so often need.

In the second place the superintendent seldom has sufficient help and is kept so busy with a multitude of petty details that he has scant time to carry out broad, constructive policies. This second difficulty should be obviated by simplifying the routine work and by giving the superintendent sufficient field and clerical assistance to leave him free for the large administrative problems of his jurisdiction. With a sufficient staff, both in the office and in the field, some of the most serious defects of present local administrations could be remedied.

1. The practice of forcing Indians to come to the agency to receive checks for individual money, or to transact minor matters of business, could be discontinued. As far as possible each Indian should transact his business with the government officer nearest him. This officer should as a rule receive and deliver checks that for any reason cannot be mailed to individual Indians. The practice of requiring the Indians to make long journeys and stand in line before the agency door grows increasingly bad with the recent tendency of the government to consolidate jurisdictions and so increase the distances that many people have to travel.

2. Government employees could take time to require of Indians the conduct of adults instead of often hastily according them the treatment given small children. Officers should recognize that morale, self confidence, and self respect are not developed by paternalism. Able-bodied Indians should not as a rule be given money or goods for consumption except as an emergency measure, nor should they have anything done for them that they can reasonably be expected or required to do for themselves. Too many Indians have been helped into helplessness.

3. Officers could take time to explain to the Indians the details of the business management of individual and tribal property. The desire of the Indians to secure their money and the wish of the office to conserve it frequently results in a contest which is destructive to the morale of the Indians. If the Indians are ever to be taught how to manage their own funds, then every such difference of opinion should be recognized as an educational opportunity not to be neglected in the rush of business.

The superintendent of an Indian reservation is primarily a general administrator of an important educational enterprise. His duties require him (1) To see clearly the ultimate objective of his work, (2) to analyze correctly immediate problems in the light of this ultimate object, (3) with expert advice and assistance to work out a practicable plan for the entire undertaking, including the development of a local organization for the necessary personal contacts with Indians that is adequate in respect to both the number and the qualifications of the employees, (4) to be a real leader of this organization and a coördinator of its activities, and (5) to be a fitting representative of the United States government in all dealings with the Indians whether these dealings are with individual Indians whose cases are brought before him either by the Indians themselves or by members of his staff or whether they are with gatherings of Indians whom he must instruct or inspire and whose confidence he must win and hold.

Since the objectives of the work are broadly educational and require the solution of economic and social problems, the super-

intendent should have an excellent general education so that he may be equipped by training to master them. Such training is ordinarily represented by graduation from a college or university with specialization in some field that is related to the problems the superintendent must face. Specialization in education, the social sciences, agriculture, or business administration would each represent knowledge in a special field required in the position and would at the same time give the general training that would help in understanding and solving problems in related fields.

Since the duties require ability to plan a program, and to organize and direct a force of workers, the superintendent must possess marked administrative ability. This ability is ordinarily demonstrated by the work a person has done since his formal education was completed. The employment record of persons selected for superintendencies should ordinarily show successful experience in administration, including the direction of trained workers in educational extension work.

Since the superintendent must be to many Indians the personal representative of the government of the United States and their great leader, he must be possessed of personality. No one type of personality is essential. Some successful superintendents succeed by their force and energy, others by their strong character which shows through a quiet, even reserved, exterior but all possess one common trait, a belief in the Indians and a strong faith in their possibilities.

Above all else the superintendent must be of unquestioned integrity. Practically all superintendents have considerable responsibility for Indian property, and in some jurisdictions this responsibility is extremely heavy. If ever the integrity of a superintendent is seriously questioned by any considerable number of Indians in his jurisdiction, his influence is seriously impaired. This fact makes it incumbent on superintendents not only to avoid all evil but also to avoid all appearance of evil.

At some jurisdictions visited by the survey staff the Indians were very critical of superintendents, past or present. In one instance a past superintendent had been dismissed from the Service for violations of the law and the regulations regarding transactions in Indian lands. The present superintendent confronts an almost impossible task in overcoming the deep seated resentment of the

Indians, and it will be several years before this feeling can be eliminated. Some superintendents in perfect innocence and with the very best of motives have tried to help in the solution of difficulties encountered by local financial institutions in recent years, even to the extent of accepting positions on the directing boards. The Indians cannot understand the real situation, and if any issue arises between the bank and an Indian they assume that the superintendent is on the side of the bank. The safe and wise course for superintendents and other employees is to avoid such positions because such connections are so easily misunderstood.

Care should also be exercised in social relationships. In a small community near a reservation opportunities for social contacts are at best slight, and it is not surprising that government employees and their families mingle socially with their white neighbors, even if some of these neighbors are reputed among the Indians to be engaged in gaining possession of Indian property by questionable means. The situation is particularly bad if the neighbor whose integrity is questioned by the Indians is a person of considerable means and entertains elaborately. Apparently the Indians do not miss much, and like a good many other persons they are inclined to put the worst interpretation on such a situation. Although avoidance of any appearance of evil may add to the hardships and the isolation of the life of a superintendent and his family, the efficient performance of his duties as a leader and an educator of Indians dictate that he and his family view such relationships from the Indian point of view and govern themselves accordingly.

This statement of the duties and qualifications of a superintendent shows that the position is at once difficult, responsible, and restrictive. The salaries should be materially raised so that as positions become vacant they may be filled by persons possessed of requisite qualifications and so that the incumbents may be in part compensated for the isolation and the restrictions.

The creation of the recommended Division of Planning and Development and the strengthening of the field force in immediate contact with the Indians should materially increase the group from which the Service may choose in making selections for promotion to superintendencies. The Service has in the past been seriously limited in this respect. In some instances it has been obliged to choose persons whose experience has been mainly in the technical

office work of a reservation. Although some office men may possess the requisite qualifications in education, training and experience, they are the exception rather than the rule for such work rarely furnishes the basis for educational administration of the type required. It is believed that in the future better success will be obtained by recruiting superintendents from well trained workers who have demonstrated their success in dealing with Indians in the field.

Farmers in the Indian Service. Since the Indian Service farmers and their qualifications have been discussed in the section on agriculture, only a brief summary statement will be made here.

Since by far the greatest part of the Indians' property is land and most of them derive their living wholly or in part from agriculture, it seems particularly regrettable that salaries are so low that with a few exceptions it is not possible to find in the Indian Service farmers of even a small part of the ability found among the superintendents. They are, in most cases, honest, conscientious men, but although they are employed theoretically to teach the Indians farming they usually have no knowledge whatever of teaching, and but very little of farming.

To make matters worse, comparatively little time is given most of them for teaching agriculture. They have a multitude of other duties to perform and some of these, as for example law enforcement, often make them feared and distrusted by the Indians and thus greatly lessen the amount of good they might otherwise do. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that many of them accomplish little. Yet they are by no means idle. They issue rations, keep up fences, supervise road work, bring patients to the hospital, seek out children who have run away from school, help at law enforcement, construct buildings, and drive about the reservations with the physicians or other officers. In short, they are likely eventually to become "errand boys" who do everything but farm. No doubt they earn the salary paid them and more, and no doubt there is need for such employees on the reservation, but they should not be called farmers.

The qualifications for farmer should be raised to those required of the county farm agent and a corresponding salary should be paid. This would make it possible to secure men who could assist

in working out a satisfactory agricultural program for each reservation. No doubt some of the present farmers could be retained as assistant farmers, and others could be assigned to duty as administrative assistants to perform virtually the duties to which most of their time is now given. The new farm agents should be allocated among the various reservations in such a way as to derive the largest possible benefit from their special individual training in the various fields of agriculture. They should be advised and helped by the agricultural experts of the Division of Planning and Development in carrying out the programs for their particular reservations.

Livestock Men. What has been said of the Indian Service farmers is largely true of the livestock men, except that the general average of ability among the livestock men seems to be higher. A few are well trained and highly efficient. Like the farmers, however, they are subject to dissipation of their energies by assignment to petty details of administration, while in some cases, as when in charge of a tribal herd, the responsibility placed upon them is great and failure has far-reaching consequences.

Two classes of livestock men should be employed in the Indian Service:

(1) Graduates of agricultural colleges with special training in the various branches of animal husbandry. These should direct the Indians in stock farming and, on reservations where the chief industry is stock raising, they might be the most important, if not the only employees in charge of agricultural operations.

(2) Men charged with the care and development of tribal herds and other range operations. These should be men of business training and ability and long experience on the range. They should be paid salaries somewhat commensurate with those paid by commercial companies for similar service, and should be given large responsibility in working out policies and programs and in carrying them through.

Foresters. The Indian forest service is as a rule effective, but the funds allotted to reservations are in some cases insufficient. The qualifications required for foresters and other timber employees should be as high as those demanded by the United States

Forest Service. Corresponding salaries should be paid, in order to secure and retain the services of competent men.

Irrigation Men. The personnel of the Indian irrigation service is as a rule fairly satisfactory. A few exceptionally good men are to be found in this branch of the Service.

Additional employees are needed for the development of water for livestock and household use, particularly in the Southwest. The qualifications required should correspond to those of the United States Bureau of Reclamation and salaries should be approximately the same for similar service in the two bureaus.

Every effort should be made to correlate and coördinate the work of the irrigation service with that of reservation superintendents and farmers, in order to prevent friction between the two. This would be facilitated by choosing such new employees as may be required for the irrigation service from the ranks of those who know the problems involved in producing a living from irrigated land as well as the technical side of irrigation engineering.

Supervisors and Overseers of Labor. The number of officers charged with the supervision of Indian labor is very small and should be considerably increased. Many jurisdictions have large numbers of Indians depending mainly upon wage earning for a living and these as a rule do not receive the guidance they need. It is everywhere recognized that the Indian farmer should have advice and instruction in crop growing and stock raising in order that he may maintain himself and family. It is not so generally recognized that the Indian laborer is equally entitled to advice concerning his work and to instruction in securing and holding a job in order that he too may fulfill the obligation of family maintenance. With due allowance for the fact that a relatively large proportion of the Indians are engaged in agriculture, the statement may be made that the number of labor supervisors or overseers is small compared with the number of Indian Service farmers. Each jurisdiction with any considerable number of Indians earning a living by wage earning should have at least one labor supervisor.

Not only are many more employees needed, but they should be possessed of higher qualifications than at present required. Each supervisor of labor should have a good general education as well as a technical knowledge of employment problems. It is his function to promote mutually useful and permanent relations between

employers and Indians. This involves on the one hand the ability to size up jobs and on the other the ability to size up men as prospective workers.

He should be thoroughly familiar with industrial opportunities in his own territory. He should apply to each prospective position a two-fold test:

(1) Does it offer to the individual a reasonably good opportunity for the development of his capacities as a worker?

(2) Will the conditions of employment, including conditions of living, promote rather than interfere with wholesome family life?

He should regard his work with the Indians as that of an industrial teacher in the broadest sense of the term. It should be a part of his duty to encourage habits of industry, efficiency, and punctuality and other qualities useful in finding and keeping a job; in other words to develop in the workers, so far as possible, fitness for reasonable permanency. His objective should be the establishment of permanent connections between employers and employees with mutual trust and respect.

In the chapter of this report dealing with Migrated Indians comments of employers are cited to the effect that Indians are timid and appear to be contented with the relatively poorer positions with the firms they serve. If this is commonly the case the duties of the supervisor of labor may well include a careful follow-up of substantial Indian workers to encourage them to achievements in their various lines of work.

The placement of young people with specialized training is not necessarily a regional problem. Young people who are footloose should be put in touch with distant vocational opportunities if suitable positions are not to be had nearby. The function of clearance involved in such a policy should be exercised by the expert member of the Division of Planning and Development at Washington.

Indian property itemized for jurisdictions studied by survey staff: 1926

Jurisdictions	Tribal property				Individual property						
	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber and stock	Balance of funds in treasury	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber	Funds in banks and in hands of superintendents	Homes, furniture, barns, etc.	Wagons, implements, etc.	Stock, poultry, and miscellaneous
Arizona											
Fort Apache	$5,985,390	$1,385,800	$4,213,000	$386,590	$918,202	.....	.....	$1,202	$12,000	$5,000	$900,000
Havasupai	50,000	50,000	.....	.....	11,100	.....	.....	.....	3,600	350	7,950
Hopi	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,016,800	.....	.....	85,000	48,000	29,000	854,800
Leupp (Navajo)	507,500	507,500	.....	.....	452,650	.....	.....	.....	3,250	15,700	433,700
Navajo	21,756,765	6,706,765	15,050,000	.....	2,291,200	.....	.....	3,500	38,000	30,000	2,219,700
Pima	770,250	770,250	.....	.....	5,108,231	$4,800,000	.....	10,556	69,295	70,255	158,125
San Carlos	3,521,731	1,949,586	1,465,664	106,481	177,335	.....	.....	5,165	40,000	11,000	121,170
Sells	2,721,090	2,721,090	.....	.....	637,970	17,970	.....	.....	150,000	120,000	350,000
Western Navajo	670	.....	.....	670	330,400	6,000	.....	23,000	1,400	25,000	275,000
California											
Bishop	.....	.....	.....	.....	287,439	214,053	.....	21,503	26,775	8,540	16,568
Fort Bidwell	.....	.....	.....	.....	327,820	152,858	$18,000	53,052	40,000	25,000	38,910
Fort Yuma	205,515	194,113	.....	11,402	1,476,773	1,400,600	.....	9,673	30,000	20,000	16,500
Hoopa Valley	814,017	401,000	408,000	5,017	1,960,884	17,500	1,800,000	30,084	22,500	16,800	74,000
Mission	3,459,126	3,440,180	16,156	2,790	1,205,756	961,979	.....	550	86,375	52,475	104,377
Sacramento	1,033,412	523,090	480,000	30,322	6,749,384	3,309,384	1,600,000	350,000	714,000	275,000	501,000
Colorado											
Consolidated Ute	2,412,689	1,540,565	.....	872,124	754,457	415,020	3,600	170,837	47,000	16,500	101,500
Idaho											
Cœur d'Alene	62,401	.....	.....	62,401	6,144,252	5,500,000	224,620	146,632	161,000	42,000	70,000
Fort Hall	2,916,815	2,250,000	20,000	646,815	4,397,000	3,930,000	5,000	47,000	90,000	40,000	285,000
Fort Lapwai	1,995,201	909,319	875,000	210,882	3,412,942	2,692,580	35,000	217,168	150,756	179,650	99,803
Kansas											
Potawatomi	115,902	11,800	.....	104,102	2,723,138	1,790,498	.....	116,020	355,950	119,480	341,190
Minnesota											
Consolidated Chippewa	5,776,195	.....	.....	5,776,195	3,673,139	2,714,708	590,000	368,431	.....	.....	.....
Red Lake	2,984,456	1,750,000	1,000,000	234,456	366,547	10,000	.....	20,832	225,000	50,000	60,715

Indian property itemized for jurisdictions studied by survey staff: 1926—Continued

Jurisdictions	Tribal property				Individual property						
	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber and stock	Balance of funds in treasury	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber	Funds in banks and in hands of superintendents	Homes, furniture, barns, etc.	Wagons, implements, etc.	Stock, poultry, and miscellaneous
Montana											
Blackfeet	$712,596	.....	$700,000	$12,596	$3,928,730	$3,000,000	$380,000	$21,230	$200,000	$101,500	$226,000
Crow	368,809	$200,000	24,000	144,809	10,025,504	9,253,010	75,000	239,295	153,019	64,171	241,009
Flathead	158,494	.....	.....	158,494	6,167,919	4,794,580	388,472	144,867	300,000	150,000	390,000
Fort Belknap	6,018,534	5,812,581	134,576	71,377	213,299	.....	.....	18,399	28,400	26,000	140,500
Tongue River	9,067,804	2,315,000	6,750,000	2,804	338,195	.....	.....	17,195	75,000	46,000	200,000
Nebraska											
Winnebago	65,962	31,603	10,000	24,366	3,139,460	1,946,641	815,304	203,265	110,000	24,000	40,250
Omaha	103,264	100,000	.....	3,264	3,582,559	2,342,144	.....	126,865	830,000	200,000	83,550
Nevada											
Carson	676,829	675,000	.....	1,829	718,500	57,500	5,000	5,000	33,500	24,000	24,000
Walker River	22,701	17,949	3,355	1,397	264,284	204,000	.....	1,062	10,000	5,000	43,820
New Mexico											
Jicarilla	875,048	375,142	265,026	234,880	702,973	318,268	.....	12,705	15,000	30,000	327,000
Northern Pueblos	770,446	542,325	228,121	.....	485,240	.....	.....	.....	401,000	34,140	50,100
Pueblo Bonito (Navajo)	.....	.....	.....	.....	989,905	400,000	.....	19,905	15,000	30,000	525,000
San Juan (Navajo)	4,495,959	4,274,000	30,000	191,959	1,398,000	.....	.....	.....	203,000	35,000	1,160,000
Southern Pueblos	2,063,590	2,062,602	800	188	1,163,021	254,405	.....	22,796	288,800	86,545	510,475
Zuni	1,312,297	1,289,797	22,500	.....	496,780	.....	.....	3,980	175,000	65,000	252,800
North Dakota											
Fort Berthold	255,294	167,536	50,475	37,283	5,243,767	3,731,355	.....	551,022	315,750	220,000	425,640
Fort Totten	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,656,617	1,409,084	12,800	55,399	125,000	17,285	37,048
Standing Rock	345,614	.....	.....	345,614	20,132,663	18,650,000	.....	352,663	500,000	210,000	420,000
Oklahoma											
Cantonment	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,429,969	1,123,427	.....	74,862	99,000	75,000	57,680
Cheyenne and Arapaho	96,773	.....	.....	96,773	2,959,111	2,400,900	.....	344,111	120,000	45,000	50,000
Kiowa	554,863	.....	.....	554,863	18,627,925	13,352,925	.....	1,500,000	3,125,000	250,000	400,000
Osage	4,716,906	127,276	280,275	4,309,355	27,251,211	5,673,300	.....	16,502,911	3,200,000	1,500,000	375,000
Pawnee	1,692	800	.....	892	2,463,858	1,181,657	.....	515,701	701,000	41,000	24,500
Ponca	58,484	44,000	.....	14,484	3,565,283	3,255,000	.....	47,283	136,000	75,000	52,000

Indian property itemized for jurisdictions studied by survey staff: 1926—Continued

Jurisdictions	Tribal property				Individual property						
	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber and stock	Balance of funds in treasury	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber	Funds in banks and in hands of superintendents	Homes, furniture, barns, etc.	Wagons, implements, etc.	Stock, poultry, and miscellaneous
Oklahoma—*Continued*											
Seger	$59,109	$5,000		$54,109	$1,522,334	$1,207,103		$199,379	$193,000	$43,028	$115,852
Shawnee					2,654,395	1,996,205		338,175			$83,908
Oregon	31,738,621	1,200,000	$30,000,000	538,621	4,026,488	1,041,000	$2,100,000	255,488	200,000	280,000	150,000
Klamath	77,985	20,136	57,849		108,797	31,000	259,000	21,842	8,700	5,800	16,455
Siletz	80,010			80,010	3,643,038	3,190,567	30,450	78,907	107,000	30,000	200,114
Umatilla	6,849,821	350,000	6,499,821		953,141	250,000	506,862	11,764	40,000	30,000	114,515
Warm Springs											
South Dakota	2,888,510	1,478,480		1,410,030	3,398,612	2,662,040		281,447	141,400	65,125	248,600
Cheyenne River	1,125,465	297,556	417,873	500,036	13,124,682	12,240,000	181,700	432,982	165,000	52,000	53,000
Pine Ridge	514,520	100,000		414,520	22,727,048	19,558,750		1,602,698	740,250	285,350	450,000
Rosebud	4,508			4,508	5,367,143	4,590,025		179,102	121,590	33,769	442,297
Sisseton	16,573			16,573	2,950,417	1,970,793		345,593	200,000	30,000	104,031
Yankton											
Utah	1,089,392	745,000	34,000	310,392	3,434,333	2,500,000		148,238	168,300	102,000	515,796
Uintah and Ouray											
Washington	5,695,908	1,555,000	4,000,000	140,908	2,434,821	500,000	1,000,000	194,821	250,000	500,000	890,000
Colville	851,853	29,850	675,000	147,003	314,175	23,635	108,459	3,932	209,000	32,100	37,050
Neah Bay	8,844,250	93,470	8,750,000	780	3,333,917	243,293	2,726,600	280,374	49,900	21,040	12,800
Taholah	187,662			187,662	3,193,130	2,688,020	69,500	476,459	239,550	149,600	46,460
Tulalip	5,999,910	1,466,153	4,486,670	47,087	3,281,213	454,798	909,670	377,045	800,000	400,000	339,700
Yakima											
Wisconsin	10,490,065	3,453,590	4,043,137	2,993,338	775,957			505,957	150,000	40,000	80,000
Keshena											
Wyoming	2,730,613	1,608,246	755,035	367,332	1,251,156	815,024		57,718	28,828	47,141	302,446
Shoshone											

NOTE.—The detailed figures do not add across to the total figures in the following reservations: Winnebago, Carson, Walker River, Fort Totten, Shawnee, Siletz, Sisseton, Uintah and Ouray, Colville, Neah Bay, Tulalip and Shoshone. All the figures in this table have been copied from Table 4 in the 1926 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. As it is impossible to know which figures are correct, no effort has been made to adjust them.

CHAPTER XI

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE AND THE ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

A relatively small number of Indians make the transition from primitive to civilized life successfully; the great majority tend to shift from primitive ways to the ways of the poorest and least enterprising of the white population.

The standards of living in nearly all Indian communities are low, among the men as well as among the women. The homes are characterized by poor structure, poor repair, overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and bad housekeeping. The food supply is usually lacking both in quantity and balance. Diseases of a chronic nature are prevalent. Both tuberculosis and trachoma interfere with the ability to make a living and both flourish under bad living conditions. Much extreme poverty exists and the social consequences of poverty are fully as bad in tribes with potential wealth as in tribes that possess nothing.

Though there are some exceptions the women are poor homemakers. Whether due to physical inability, lack of training, discouragement, or general shiftlessness, the idleness of the housewives of many tribes constitutes a barrier to the improvement of home conditions, especially when associated as it often is with improvidence. With the single exception of sewing, the essential household arts are relatively undeveloped even in the more progressive tribes. The proper preparation of food and the care of infants and the sick are in no tribe understood or practiced generally.

The women as a rule are poor spenders of income. Many are like children in spending without a plan and buying what strikes the fancy. The men cannot help them much, for they too spend without an understanding of what is essential to family welfare.

Few women add to the family income by wage earning. As a rule they are remote from industrial centers and few have training