

The position of field matron is much more than a job. It is an opportunity for service to others; an opportunity for self-sacrifice in the interest of humanity; and for the exercise of the highest attributes of mind and soul in a preeminent cause. The position should be filled only by women who have the desire and the aptitude to teach the things that influence lives for good and fill them with higher aspirations.

No woman should seek or hold the position of field matron who is not endowed with physical strength, with strong moral and mental force, and with the real missionary spirit—a real spirit of helpfulness that finds expression in a fervent desire to better the condition of a worthy race that is struggling upward to a realm of higher life, for without these qualifications, the duties will be uncongenial and success cannot be attained. The material remuneration is not large and the discouragements and adversities are many. The rewards are chiefly in the sacrifices.

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The improvement of home, educational, moral, sanitary, environmental, and social conditions, is to be regarded as the primary object of field matron effort for the advancement of the Indian people. While it is the duty of every employee in the Service, regardless of his position, to do everything possible to contribute to this end, both by effort and example, the field matron, being the one who comes into the closest relationship with the family and having the best opportunity to influence the home circle, especially the mothers and the girls, is particularly charged with the responsibility—with the duty of developing high standards of living, of inculcating a desire for progress, and of evolving plans to make the homes more attractive.

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The duties of a field matron are too varied and extensive to be enumerated or fully defined here. To a certain extent they are modified by the different conditions which obtain in the various districts and on the several reservations, and by the degree of the advancement of the Indians and their particular needs. Many of the helpful things which a field matron may do are not subject to schedule classification and their influence for good can be fully measured only in terms of human destiny.

As a general summary of the duties of field matrons, the following outline may serve to associate and coordinate their work with special phases of local conditions needing improvement, and to give a unity of purpose to their endeavors with regard to the following named objectives:

*Home:* To give instruction with respect to ventilation, proper heating, and sanitary care, of the place of abode, be it a home, or a tent, or a tepee; and to show the necessity for more room when

such places are too small; pointing out the dangers and evils of overcrowding. In suitable cases the question of interior decorations and other matters that would add to home attractions should be given attention. Conditions that improve the home life of any people make for general progress in everything that concerns them.

There is among the Indians a marked and tender affection for their children, but too often the wife, the mother, is regarded and treated as the burden bearer. I wish we might see this habit overcome, for it is distinctly barbaric. I want to see developed and prevalent in every Indian school from the least to the largest that modern and truly chivalrous spirit that recognizes and respects the sacredness of womanhood. I should like to have every Indian boy leave school with this lofty and just sentiment fused into his character, as the picture in the porcelain, because of the deep and exquisite power it will have to bless his future home with health and happiness.

May it be the purpose, as it will be the privilege, of every field matron to work for the betterment of the condition of Indian women, especially for those who are humiliated by traditional customs which deny to them their rightful place in the home.

Then follow similar statements relating to premises, health and sanitation, practices and customs, domestic instruction, school cooperation, industrial cooperation, employment, and special classes. In some cases the injunctions under "special classes" are followed so conscientiously that the matrons have little time to themselves except when in bed asleep.

*Special Classes:* Field matrons are urged to have "at home" days for various purposes, such as mothers' meetings, saving-the-baby talks, cooking classes, instructions in canning, classes in sewing, and such other special gatherings as may be indicated, but when not away they should always be "at home" to the Indians within reasonable hours.

Clearly the motive back of this service has been good, but there have been only general aims, not definite objectives, nor has there been any organized plan for the work. The chief trouble, however, has been the lack of trained workers. This was recognized some years ago by Mrs. Elsie E. Newton, who was appointed Special Indian Agent in 1907 and from that time until her resignation in 1922 headed the women's work of the Service. In an early memorandum to the Office, she wrote concerning the difficulties of filling the position:

It cannot be acceptably filled by persons who are shunted into it because they do not fit elsewhere in our service, or to piece out their husband's salary. Yet now that the office has set itself against this sort of thing, we have the gravest difficulty in getting just the kind of woman we want, and often we must be content with a compromise.

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It has seemed best in many instances where missionaries were already established in an Indian community, having facilities already granted by their societies, and themselves having a personal knowledge of the Indians, to merely add sanitary and homemaking teaching to their duties and pay them accordingly from government funds. Many denominations have been included in this arrangement.

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As to employing farmers' wives as half-matrons, I am generally opposed to it. There are only rare cases when it is justifiable. It merely affords superintendents an opportunity to piece out a salary of a male employee without regard to results to be obtained. If these women have families of their own, it is obvious that they cannot really do much for the Indians. It is only when we are obliged to make bargain counter arrangements rather than none at all, that half-matrons of any sort are to be considered.

In 1912 Mrs. Newton called the attention of the Office to the unsatisfactory results of appointing field matrons from the list of matrons.

There is no justification for thinking that because a woman has passed the examination for matron, or has served as matron or seamstress in a school, she has the other qualifications for a kind of work which calls for a high degree of tact, intelligence and judgment. Many of our matrons and seamstresses may indeed have the qualifications but their work in the school has not developed them for the community work on the reservation; besides it is more than often true that a superintendent will transfer to a position of field matron some employee who cannot get along in the school.

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It is quite true that some of the most successful field matrons have been women who had no special training, but their success was due to the fact that they were well-endowed by nature, and their complete devotion to the Indians resulted in their being able to work out some practical plan and to apply their policies with

persistence. Unfortunately we cannot wait until we can find only women of this rare class, while the work needs to be done.

I believe that one way to improve the personnel of this branch of the Service, is by having a separate register for field matrons secured by a discriminating examination.

As salaries were increased the makeshift arrangements referred to by Mrs. Newton were resorted to less often. But the pay has never been even fairly good compared with salaries outside the Service, and consequently there has always been a dearth of trained workers. In a letter to the Indian Office, dated June 14, 1917, Mrs. Newton wrote:

In this connection I wish to add that the handicap of nearly every woman entering field matron work is that she does not know what to do, and in nearly every case her superintendent does not know much more than she does what he wants done. The ideal arrangement would be the location at one or two points in the Service or more, where probationaries could take up a preliminary course of coaching. Or make arrangements with some university or social training school to add to its branches a department pertaining to Indian work besides. Or failing either of these, there should be a manual put out by the Indian Office, detailing what the duties of a field matron are, suggesting methods of work, giving lists of literature bearing directly or indirectly upon the problems. Something is imperative, since we lose greatly in results through a lack of articulation and training.

These practical suggestions for training incumbents did not touch upon the root cause of Mrs. Newton's dissatisfaction with the work of the field matrons. The real trouble was that the qualifications for the position were so low as to be in practice non-selective.<sup>20</sup> The requirements have been raised somewhat since this letter was

<sup>20</sup> No schooling requirements were specified until 1924, when the applicants were required to have the equivalent of an eighth grade education. In 1916 applicants were required only to "answer fully what experience and training, if any, they have had in (a) cookery, (b) household sanitation, (c) sewing, (d) care of the sick, (e) care and feeding of infants, (f) home gardening and poultry raising, and (g) social work, such as reform, settlement, slum, civic betterment, or any similar line of work," and to state "What experience, if any, they have had in the management of their own homes or in the instruction and training of others in the household arts." In 1916 the salary was \$600 to \$840 and quarters "usually provided free." In 1925 it was nominally \$1200 to \$1500 with quarters, though in actual practice it seldom exceeds \$1200 with quarters.

written, but at the last examination (March 26, 1927) they were still so low that no one with professional qualifications would have been interested in the position even if the pay had been attractive. A woman with the equivalent of an eighth grade education, "eighteen months' experience in practical home nursing or care of the sick," and one year of "experience in home management and performance of general household duties, including the care of children and home cooking," could qualify.

As a matter of fact, higher standards of education than the minimum are represented by most of the field matrons, if the information furnished by the twenty-three reporting may be considered representative. Only three of these reported no education beyond the eighth grade; ten others reported no education beyond the high schools, but two of the ten were high school graduates; five had completed one or two years of college; one was a college graduate; the other four reported normal school or other specialized training in addition to their high school education. In addition to their regular schooling two of these field matrons have had two years each of nurses' training, and various of the others have had university extension courses, summer courses, correspondence courses, and the like.

These untrained workers lack supervision both local and general. The working relations between superintendents and field matrons are as a rule cordially coöperative, but superintendents cannot be expected to be qualified to give the detailed training necessary to specialized types of service. The social worker, like the forester, or the doctor, or the stockman, needs to know the job and to be able to achieve results without more local supervision than that indicated in the instructions to superintendents appended to the 1922 circular to field matrons:

*Duties of Superintendents:* It is expected that superintendents will give their active support to field matrons in the discharge of their duties and direct the activity by careful planning and friendly counsel. It may appear that the inconcrete results are not always commensurate with the trouble and expense involved, but it should be remembered that, even though all that is hoped for may never be realized, the true appraisal of the value of work cannot be made without regard to the sincerity, harmony and faithfulness of those who go forth to do good and of those who sustain, plan, counsel, and direct.

*Individuality:* While superintendents will have administrative control over the work of field matrons, it is deemed advisable that the latter should be given, so far as is consistent with the interest of good administration, an opportunity to express their individuality in the performance of their duties.

*Quarters and Equipment:* Superintendents will see that field matrons are provided with quarters and such station equipment as may be secured on requisition, and extend them such assistance in their work as may be advisable and expedient.

Since 1924 general supervision has been provided for by the appointment of a Supervisor of Field Matrons and Field Nurses. The creation of this position followed the demonstration by the American Red Cross in which public health nursing service was effectively given the Indians of several localities. The quality of this supervision is excellent, but the present supervisor needs assistance. Little can be done except by personal visits, for the instruction involved is a slow process. Under such conditions it is impossible for the supervisor to make the rounds of the Service in less than two years. More frequent visits would be desirable even if the local workers were well trained public health nurses.

At the present time most field matrons are trying to render visiting nursing service, a few have attempted home demonstration work, and two or three have done excellent work with the young people in stimulating them vocationally. But in spite of some outstanding exceptions, the field matron service is in large measure a service of palliative errands rather than the development of a program of constructive work. It is significant of the general quality of this service that although the work is essentially family case work, no family case records are kept. On the basis of visits with three-fourths of all the field matrons the conclusion is reached that in all but a few cases the money spent for these salaries is productive of little lasting good, notwithstanding much devotion and conscientious effort. It would be of more benefit to the Indians to spend this part of the salary budget in securing half the number of trained people at double the salary.

The Indian Office recognizes the ineffectiveness of this service and is gradually eliminating the position by substituting field nurses when vacancies occur. It should be recognized, however, that this plan meets the needs of the home only partially. The public health

nurse cannot be expected to render specialized service in those cases in which the problems are primarily economic, nor is she a specialist in the handling of those maladjustments that lead to divorce and delinquency.

*Field Nurses.* Since the Supervisor of Field Nurses and Field Matrons was appointed an effort has been made to secure graduate nurses for field service and a program of health education is under way. In addition to the qualifications as graduate nurse<sup>11</sup> the applicant for this position must have established "at least four months' post graduate training in public health or visiting nurse at a school of recognized standing, or in lieu of such training, one year's full-time paid experience under supervision in public health or visiting nursing." At present<sup>12</sup> nine out of eleven positions are filled. The movement is crippled because salaries are sub-standard<sup>13</sup> and nurses with public health training are much in demand outside the Indian Service.

Some excellent work is being done by the field nurses in various localities. The nurses interviewed like to work with the Indians and would like to stay with the Service if they could afford to continue at the low salary and if working conditions were more nearly satisfactory. They work under various handicaps, some of which could be removed, but others of which are inherent in the pioneer nature of the work. The least excusable and therefore the most irritating relate to the lack of supplies and equipment and to poor transportation facilities. Both of these things hinder the effectiveness of their work. The standard conveyance is a cheap touring car which in some cases is old and ill-suited to winter travel, especially at high altitudes. The nurses believe that their efficiency suffers from the exposure and the necessary delays caused by unexpected repairs to old cars. The living quarters furnished

<sup>11</sup> "(1) Graduation from a recognized school of nursing requiring a residence of at least two years in a hospital having a daily average of fifty patients or more (or having a daily average of thirty patients or more and employing at least one full-time resident instructor in nursing) giving a thorough practical and theoretical training; and (2) evidence of state registration."

<sup>12</sup> September, 1927.

<sup>13</sup> The salary is \$1680 a year, less a deduction of \$180 for quarters, heat, and light.

are not in all cases comfortable and this adds unnecessarily to the strain under which certain of the nurses work.

In some instances the work of the field nurses suffers from lack of coöperation on the part of other employees, who are unfamiliar with this type of specialized service and associate nurses only with personal service of the type found in hospitals, failing entirely to grasp the fact that the aims of the public health nurse are primarily educational. Occasionally also nurses meet with opposition from doctors who are conscious of their own limitations and fear too close association with anyone who has good training in a related field. Such doctors resort to the claim that they prefer field matrons as being "more practical." These difficulties, however, may be interpreted as indicating that the field nurse's duty of education must for a time embrace fellow employees as well as Indians.

At present no development in the Indian Service is more promising than these beginnings of public health education in the homes. Essential to the future of the Service, however, is the improvement of conditions of work, including a higher salary scale. The three nurses maintained by the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs are paid at a much higher rate than the government nurses and are furnished closed cars. The state supported public health nurses among the Minnesota Indians are maintained on higher standards than those of the Indian Office. The work among the Indians on most reservations involves inevitable hardships because distances are long, roads rough, weather conditions severe, and the demands on the nurses' time never ending. It will be impossible to build up and maintain an efficient force unless the Indian Office can offer salaries and living conditions approximating those found elsewhere.

*Superintendents.* Superintendents differ greatly in their attitude toward the Indians and their conception of the objective toward which they should direct their own and their employees' efforts. As a rule they give their field matrons and field nurses support and appreciation and as good facilities for work as the very limited funds permit. But like many of the field matrons, some of the superintendents lack any conception of constructive social work and a few have a definitely antagonistic and contemptuous attitude toward the people whose welfare they are employed to promote. Some of the more intelligent and socially minded superintendents

have at various times undertaken projects for the improvement of home conditions. Two of these are noteworthy; namely, the building of houses and the Five-Year Agricultural Program.

Some of the government officers have rendered the Indians an excellent service in providing good homes at reasonable cost. Not only have they protected the well-to-do from exploitation, but they have exercised in the Indians' behalf a combination of business ability and experience that few white people can command in building homes. Some others have been ingenious in using housing material at hand and therefore inexpensive for the simple homes within the means of the poorer Indians. But on the whole the building of homes has not generally improved conditions of living as much as anticipated. Several reasons for this are apparent.

Some houses are less attractive and less healthful than the primitive dwellings of the Indians. Many are built of rough lumber with single walls and are therefore cold in winter and hot in summer. These structures are usually as utterly devoid of beauty, both inside and out, as a dwelling could possibly be. In various localities the mistake has been made of building the rooms very small, a serious thing when there are few rooms. In the Reno colony, where the rooms are as small and as crowded as those found in the tenements of New York City, twenty-nine of the fifty-one homes are one-room houses, and fifteen are two-room houses, while only seven have three rooms. On an Oregon reservation, where the Indians have great wealth in standing timber, the houses are small shacks and the people complain that they cannot get lumber for floors. More than twenty years ago the government bought about forty little portable houses in New York City and shipped them by sea to southern California, setting them up for the Mission Indians. The expectation was that the people would build better structures in front of these, but today they still serve as forlorn makeshifts.

Most of the cheaper houses are built without fireplaces, small stoves being used for heating and cooking. With the disappearance of open fire cooking the means of ventilation is cut off, for few Indians have learned to ventilate by means of windows. Under these conditions the wickiup, the hogan, and even the tent, are less dangerous to a tuberculous population than the white man's house,

and it is not altogether regrettable that sometimes these houses stand idle or are used only for storage, the family meanwhile living in a wickiup or tent nearby. Any housing plan for a primitive tribe should retain at least two of the features of their native dwellings; namely, the open fire and the arbor.

On some reservations houses have been built before the Indians were ready for them. The Apaches, for example, do not like windows because they think the ghosts of the dead may look in; they abandon a house if any occupant dies. Shoshones and Bannocks will vacate a house in which a death has occurred or will use it as a barn. Some of the more progressive Navajos are building stone or log houses, but as a tribe their housing habits are influenced by ghost fear.

In many localities tribes much less primitive than these have carried Indian ways of living into modern houses. Many of them do not appreciate or know how to use modern equipment. Some are reported to have pawned furniture in order to buy other things of more practical importance to them, such as gasoline for their cars. Nothing is more forlorn than the well built, well furnished, much abused house of a well-to-do Indian. Such examples serve to strengthen the conviction that the public health nurse and the home demonstration worker should precede the builder and furnisher of homes; that training in housekeeping should precede or at least accompany the acquisition of much equipment; and that the desire for beautiful and useful things should first be created if such things are to be appreciated and used to good purpose.

On some reservations there is at present a demand for homes to be built from tribal funds. This desire on the part of the people could be made the occasion for teaching them many things they need to learn about home-making if workers could be supplied before mechanical programs of housing are adopted.

The Five-Year Industrial Program is in progress on some of the reservations of Plains Indians. It is a practical effort to stimulate the people to self support by the creation of habits of industry and by teaching them how to utilize the opportunities at hand. Most of the Indians on reservations where this plan is tried are without any great tribal or personal resources. Their future depends on their own efforts. The men are organized into farm chapters and the

women into auxiliary chapters, and this form of organization is utilized for instruction, encouragement, and the developing of the qualities of initiative, perseverance, foresight, and regularity of work. The program is a venture into adult education with the chief objective the development of character. The methods utilized are sound and something lasting is being accomplished. A Sioux on the Cheyenne River reservation where the superintendent had recently died said:

Different superintendents have different hobbies. About the time he gets working he is transferred and other man comes. As I see this five-year program it doesn't depend on one man staying. I see too that it isn't for just five years but for all time. Our superintendent took an interest in us and went into the work strongly. He saw our future better than many of us see it ourselves, but we've lost him.

This whole program is handicapped by the lack of family workers. Both men and women need the type of service that has been developed in the demonstration work of the Agricultural Department. But in the absence of such help other means have been used, such as mimeographed cartoons and mimeographed circulars of instruction to the women, some of which have been issued in the Sioux language for the benefit of those who know no English.

Where the women are definitely included in the program the response seems to be good, if the speeches made in a chapter meeting following a severe late blizzard may be taken as evidence:

I am a full blood Indian woman. Mother nursed me ten years, and I know nothing of cow milk. There are eight women in our auxiliary. We do a good deal of work. We pick cherries, plums, grapes, and wild turnips. I make jelly and have a garden that I work. We raised wheat and sold it and got flour and did not suffer for want of food. Last year we did not plant potatoes. After my store of food was put up I worked in the potato fields and got enough to buy groceries for the winter, flour, lard, etc. We also do bead and porcupine work and sell and make little purchases at the store. This snow-storm lost us no horses. I think these men that were talking about hard times should work a little harder, make bigger barns and store more hay. They are grown up men and they ought to know how to work and take care of themselves. All you women get to work, and your men, and next winter you won't suffer so. I generally have more than I need myself. I help my

neighbors. I'm going to work harder yet this summer. I have even preserved and boiled cows' feet. In my auxiliary we are not having hard times. We get along pretty good. I want everybody to get after us and make us work. I'm not bragging. It can be done and we have done it.

We have 20 members and 11 have chickens and 10 have cows. We are getting along nicely. What we raised in gardens helped us through the winter. Some made enough jelly to last the winter. We do not raise cabbage. We do raise carrots and potatoes. Each is to have a small individual garden this year. I have chickens, eggs, butter, and raised wheat and sold it for flour and other grub for the winter. It is a fine thing to have chickens, eggs and milk. We tried the superintendent's recipes that were sent out in Sioux. We put up hay, alfalfa, and oats, and took care of our horses and milk cows. Alfalfa is a fine thing for it makes our cows produce more milk and cream. We lost no stock in the storm. We thank the superintendent for the program.

These young men who got up and talked, I feel sorry for them. If they had got out and worked they wouldn't be talking now. They go to fairs off the reservation instead of putting up hay and keeping it. I'm awfully sorry to hear we are starving to death right now when we have put up jelly, etc. Each one with her husband should stay at home this summer and attend to our business. We'd have no more trouble like this.

This work so well started in the face of difficulties should be developed. The superintendents need trained workers. With sufficient help the children could be organized and closer affiliation between schools and homes worked out. The economic program should be accompanied by a health program. On one of these reservations, where distances are truly magnificent, the local office reports one physician to 3500 Indians, with no field matron or nurse. There is need also for work to prevent family disintegration and crime. The local office just cited reports 100 convictions for crime within a year.

*Improvement of Home Conditions.* If the government is to make any considerable permanent improvement in Indian homes within the next generation certain policies should be followed:

1. Any program designed to raise Indian planes of living to the recognized "health and decency" standard should be developed on a community basis and should embrace some convenient unit like a tribe or a reservation or a locality. It should include all the

Indians of this unit and not merely the women, the traditional homemakers. The necessity for including everyone lies in the fact that homemaking is essentially a coöperative undertaking and the standards of living cannot be raised very much in any sex or age group of a population if the others lag behind. To say, as has often been said, that the backwardness of the Indian race is due to the unprogressive character of the women, is to over-simplify the diagnosis of the trouble and to obscure the deeper causes. These causes are community wide, and any plan must therefore embrace the community if it is to be successful. Any program for the women alone would be as disappointing as has been the program of education for children alone.

2. Any program for the improvement of the homes should include all departments of welfare. At various places in the Service the visitor finds health programs, industrial programs, housing programs, women's clubs, Four-H clubs, and effective day schools, but nowhere a unified program. Especially is the visitor struck with the irony of teaching the precepts of diet and sanitation to Indians in extreme poverty who can never hope to have enough to eat or a comfortable and sanitary place to live unless they learn how to make a living in a difficult environment. On the other hand, to attempt to develop economic efficiency in the presence of serious disease and under-nourishment is to start with an impossible handicap. The two efforts should supplement each other if they are to succeed.

3. Any such program should be put into effect by trained workers. The quality of the personnel is much more important than any plan of organization that can be devised, for a trained staff is capable of setting up a fairly practicable local program. On the other hand, no plan of organization, no matter how sound in principle, will work satisfactorily as interpreted by unskilled people, for no plan can be carried out mechanically to a successful end. It must be constantly subject to study and modification in the light of results.

At present the most fundamental criticism of the Indian Service has to do with personnel. In spite of many exceptions it is true that a large number of the employees would have considerable difficulty in holding similar positions outside the Service. They are par-

ticularly weak where contacts with people are involved. Many have drifted into the Service because they have failed elsewhere.

The problems of ill health and incompetence are not peculiar to the Indians but are problems of the general population. Health has been a matter of public concern in all sections for many years, and methods of controlling disease and lowering the death rate are in successful operation. Public health work is now a recognized branch of the medical and nursing professions. Universities and hospitals have for some years coöperated in offering courses of training for public health work. Organizations both public and private have for many years employed doctors and nurses for this specialized work.

Poverty has long been a matter of concern in this and other countries. Families with low standards of living have been the subjects of treatment, and methods of reducing poverty and increasing competency have been developed. Specialized workers in this field are family social case workers, home demonstration workers, and experts in the problems of agriculture and other industry. Agencies of various kinds, both urban and rural, among which are public and private relief agencies, schools, churches, industrial firms, and rural welfare organizations, have developed the specific kinds of services involved. Specialized training is offered by universities and technical schools and workers of training and experience are to be had. No one can predict how responsive the Indians might prove if their relations were to a much greater extent with the successful rather than the unsuccessful of the white race.

4. Any such program depends for its success upon financial support. Many socially minded and able superintendents have been capable of handling a comprehensive program, but have had neither employees nor funds. The Five-Year Industrial Program is a good illustration. With sufficient support this movement might be expanded so as to constitute the first demonstration in the history of the Service of what can be done with Indians on reservations.

The Indian Service is traditionally a starved service. Half way measures are the rule. Actually much money is wasted because work is half done, a bit here and a bit there. Often the essential next step cannot be taken because it involves the expenditure of a

few dollars which are not forthcoming. Permanent results, therefore, must be sacrificed.

Evidently the general public has not known the situation and has had no great interest in the Indians. Comparatively few whites have first hand knowledge of conditions, because the Indian race is scattered and is crowded back into the more remote and inaccessible parts of the country. Even the comparatively well informed in many instances discuss Indian affairs only in terms of the picturesque desert tribes of the Southwest, who though important are a minority. The Indian Office might once have assumed the function of educating the public and might have formulated a comprehensive program as a basis for requests from Congress, for it is often easier to get a large sum for a thoroughgoing undertaking than a small amount for a little project that lacks any appeal to business sense or imagination. As it is, the Indians are the victims of a nominal service which has been largely ineffective. In justice to various devoted and able officers and employees of the Indian Office it should be said that it would be difficult to improve the Service much beyond its present condition without a more nearly sufficient budget.

*Education of Women for Homemaking.* The program of education of the women on the reservations should include several things if the women are to become successful homemakers:

1. They should be given a knowledge of food values and their relation to health. This teaching should make the most of the very limited food resources of many Indians, but it should also embrace a plan for increasing and developing their resources. The care of cows, goats, and chickens should be taught, as well as the culture and preservation of fruits and vegetables, since these things are lacking in the diet of most Indians.

2. They should be taught the practical application of the principles of household sanitation, especially as relates to the care of infants and the protection of the well from infection by the sick. This would necessitate coöperation from the men in providing sanitary facilities, particularly in desert regions where water is scarce and must be brought from long distances.

3. Attention should be given to the development of all the varied household processes which contribute to the well-being of the

family, such as sewing, canning, drying, baking, and caring for beds and bedding. Under hard conditions of life it would be desirable to develop the native Indian handicrafts as a partial means to a livelihood.

4. Special attention should be given to the development of the qualities of initiative and self reliance, for, as has been said before, government practice has tended to pauperize the Indians. Government officers have too often attempted to control the spending of money rather than to educate their wards for spending and have doled out the Indians' funds to them as if they were paupers. The result has been discontent, discouragement, and the suppression of interest and initiative on the part of the Indians.

Money should be furnished to the family as a part of a financial plan worked out with them. Orders on firms should be resorted to only when it is unwise or impractical to give cash allowances. The judgment of the spender should be tested on small amounts, and larger sums given as ability to spend wisely is evidenced. The newly rich, notably the Osages, need this training fully as much as any of the tribes. Various of the more intelligent observers say that many of this tribe are eating and drinking themselves to death. The Pawhuska office is highly efficient in protecting its clients from some kinds of white aggression, but apparently the employees have not yet had a vision of the educational possibilities involved in protecting the Indians from themselves. The office might learn from some of the more progressive banks of the country<sup>14</sup> how to develop wise habits of expenditure by utilizing the service of home economics experts.

Indian women need especially a knowledge of retail markets. Traders and merchants could in many cases be enlisted to coöperate in a plan of education through shopping, and traders who exploit the Indians should not be tolerated on the reservations. One of the public health nurses sent by the American Red Cross found local merchants coöperative. In 1923 she reported:

I have got the home work pretty well lined up. I have good food for the tubercular members and have begun the scheme for getting merchants to deliver purchase orders in divided doses so that the families will not have a whole month's supply in the house for their

<sup>14</sup> The Society for Savings in Cleveland was a pioneer in this field.



dear friends and kind relatives to eat up the first week. I ought to make a study of purchase orders to get the whole story but my time for "studies" has dwindled to none at all.

Women as well as men need to be taught how to manage their property. They might be taught the elements of business law by means of a consulting service like that rendered by our Legal Aid Societies if one of the objectives of the service were educational.

Even the administration of relief might be handled in such a way as to be educational. Little can be said for relief in the form of rations. Grocery orders are better because the food can be suited to the nutritional needs of the family, and since the shopper has some power of choice there is presented an opportunity for teaching good practices in buying. But relief in the form of money is best wherever this method can be utilized, because it offers the greatest opportunity for education in the planned spending of money under normal conditions of shopping. With money instead of an order to pay for a purchase the housewife may "shop around," thus learning comparative values.

Rationing as practiced on the reservations at present is a positive interference with adult education because it obscures the fact that more fundamental forms of service to the families are needed, such as health education and medical attention, vocational advice and employment, and business advice and assistance.

*Relations with State and Private Agencies.* Any plan for releasing the Indians from federal control should include the preparation of the public as well as the Indians for future relationships. A shift of this kind cannot be made suddenly with satisfactory results. What has happened in eastern Oklahoma will happen elsewhere. The Indians will be stripped of their property and will live somewhere in the back country under distressing conditions of poverty and ill-health, neglected or entirely ignored by state, county, and private agencies. Some day of course the state of Oklahoma must face the consequences of the present exploitation and neglect; and similar problems will be created for other states if the national government does not seek state coöperation.

Some of the more progressive state departments of public welfare, especially departments of public health, are at present concerned for the Indians living within their boundaries and are seek-

ing coöperation with the national government. In Minnesota, for example, the state is supporting public health nurses who are doing good work in Indian homes. The United Charities of St. Paul sent their secretary, Mr. John R. Brown, into the Chippewa country to make expert study of the reported destitution in the summer of 1924. Mr. Brown found much poverty but condemned the annual appeals for money through the press as a bad practice. He recognized, however, that the Minnesota public has a responsibility of a different character.

A general appeal in behalf of the Indians is unnecessary. It is also demoralizing. . . . If carried out consistently it would mean the complete pauperization of the Indians—it would make initiative, resourcefulness, ambition, and production impossible. It would make the Indians a perpetually parasitic people.

This would not close the door to private gifts and benefactions, or preclude special services within certain groups. This kind of help the Indians will need for a long time to come. But it should be in connection with the agencies and institutions now at work among the Indians—Indian churches and pastors; government doctors and specialists; state health nurses; teachers in the government schools and special employees who are acquainted with the facts at first hand and know the people in their own homes. Plans for aid should be worked out in coöperation with such persons and agencies but always subject at least to their knowledge and approval.

Even where there is no legal obligation public officers both county and state, as well as private organizations, should be asked to coöperate in work with Indian families. Thus local people of responsibility would acquire a definite interest in their Indians and would gain a working knowledge of conditions existing among them. The Red Cross recognized as one of the objectives of its experiment "The education of the white people in the community to accept the Indian, giving him equal privileges," and later one of their nurses reported:

We have succeeded in convincing the South Dakota Public Health Association that it might be a good idea to accept some of our little undernourished Indian children as candidates for the summer camp. . . . I am going to send a rather model boy, his behavior may convince them that it is quite possible to accept Indian children amongst the whites.

Both state and federal work with homes would be improved if workers from the Indian Service should sit with county and state committees that deal with problems like their own, and if county and state workers should be invited into the consultations of superintendents and staff members on projects for Indian communities and homes. This is a simple educational device of great value to both parties to the arrangement.

**The Education of Girls for Homemaking.** If Indian girls are to become better homemakers than their mothers they must be taught the essentials of homemaking either in the public schools or in the federal supported day schools and boarding schools. The national government has only slight control over the character of the teaching in the public schools. Much of the specialized work with the more primitive and backward Indians must for a long time be done through the special Indian schools. It is therefore with the instruction in these schools that this section is concerned.

*Home Economics in the Schools.* For a number of years an effort has been made to give the girls in schools some training for homemaking. In 1919 Mrs. Newton wrote in an inspection report:

It is almost useless to comment upon Home Training in any of our schools. It has never assumed the importance that the Course of Study requires and most women are not able to conduct such courses. They need more training in order to do it properly. I wish to recommend that someone make an outline of a course of Home Training more detailed than that in the Course; a bibliography and very definite suggestions as to approach in the various subjects.

In the same year a superintendent of long experience reported:

I have found a number of matrons who have only a vague idea about what they are to teach along the line of home training. I am beginning to feel that our course of study is too elaborate for the class of employees that we find in the service, for I find that many of them have not had any educational advantages that would fit them to carry out the work of the new course of study.

About five years ago the position of Supervisor of Home Economics was created and the position was filled by a home economics graduate with teaching experience. She has worked for an improvement of conditions in the schools, with some very definite

results. The standards for teachers are not yet as high as is the rule in first-class high schools, but a few well prepared teachers have been secured, and throughout the service the work shows the effect of intelligent supervision.

Some good work is being done, especially in the latter years of the curriculum. This work is mostly confined to the classroom and laboratory, but a few schools have practice work in a demonstration cottage and more rarely the care of a garden and domestic animals. Where demonstration cottages have been provided juniors and seniors live there, or at least spend their days there, for a number of weeks and rotate duties. In one such school six girls manage the cottage. One takes the responsibility of the house for a week, getting the supplies and seeing that the rest of the girls do their work; one takes care of the rooms, including the bath room; one cares for the cow and chickens; one is assigned to the dining room; and two do the cooking. One of the cooks plans and cooks the meals with help from the other. The girls care for the milk, churn, make their own bread, and do most of the laundry work.

The teaching of cooking is all outlined on a meal basis, so that from the beginning the pupils may get practical experience in balanced meals along with the classroom lessons in nutritional values. Some effort is being made in a few schools to avoid the more elaborate kitchen equipment in the domestic science laboratories and to use as nearly as possible the simple things that the girls can hope to have in their own homes.

The teaching of sewing also is outlined on a practical plan. From the beginning the girls make garments and household supplies. Usually a girl is able before graduation to make her own clothing as well as children's garments and to mend and alter clothing.

The teaching differs in quality from school to school. Instances may be found in which the emphasis is on the product rather than upon the training of the pupils. One school has acquired some reputation for over elaborate demonstration meals served to guests of the school. In another the objective in hand sewing seemed to be not what would make the Indian girl's home a more attractive place but rather what would sell best at the annual fair. But on the other hand teachers in a number of schools have exercised considerable ingenuity in making the school work fit into the every-day life and interests of the girls. In one of the better schools the girls

criticized their own meals eaten at the school dining table, although the teacher admitted that the matter had to be handled diplomatically. In two schools the teachers used their own babies as laboratory equipment in teaching the lessons of infant care; but unfortunately a baby serves this purpose for only a year, so that the next year they had to depend on visiting Indian babies, a much less satisfactory arrangement. In one of the demonstration cottages a sick room was arranged to the best advantage and the various lessons in home nursing were demonstrated there. In other schools the girls have participated in redecorating and refurnishing rooms. In a Navajo school the boys made a hogan which the girls equipped ingeniously with store box furniture and simple utensils. In several schools the girls who go home to spend vacation are asked in the fall to report on some project carried out at home.

Some of the girls are carrying the lessons of the school into effect in their homes. The following statements are taken from the English compositions of ninth grade girls who were asked to describe a day during vacation at their homes. The first two were written by Pueblo girls, the next two by Apache and the last two by Navajos.

Also in cooking I don't cook same things over but I at least add in a vegetable every day. I do the washing almost every day whenever I see anything that needs washing. We don't have any garbage around our house for we don't like to have flies so we always carry it away. Whenever I see anything that is torn I mend them up for I know sometimes they are still useful and we don't like to waste or throw anything away that we know will still be useful as it is expensive to get things around home and we don't often get things cheap.

I took more interesting in sewing and cooking. I cooked everything what we cooked on at Domestic Science when we go to our lessons; I taught my mother what food was good for health and what wasn't, and how to safe up when things is left. I use to sew mostly any spare time I used to have. I can crochet, tat, embroider and make my own dresses, I sometimes use to sew for my cousins, that are in school at home.

The country around my home is beautiful, it is never too hot the climate is just right for any unhealthy person. There are high mountains, the country is useful for grazing, there are little valleys

where rich soil are farmed but since the Indians got sheep they let their lands go. I rather much have for my Indians to have large farms with chickens, pigs, horses, and milk cows, than sheep and tend to the lands where they might be able to grow vegetables for the family and some acres of crops to keep and sell. And on this farm I liked for them to have good large size houses with large windows for ventilation and screen windows and doors to keep out flies, instead of wandering from place to place and build one room house and live in it for a year then move again.

When I went home last summer one day I got up rather early because that evening I had planned to show my mother how to can. After I got threw cleaning I helped Mother with the breakfast, then after the dishes were washed and the kitchen all cleaned, we went out into the orchard and picked all the green apples that were on the ground, we brought them in and put them to boil, I washed them first, after they had boiled I took them out and put them threw a strainer and got all the juice out and put the juice to boil again then I put sugar in it and let it boil until it jelled then I put it in glasses and covered it paper and tied it with a string. In the afternoon Mother asked to make her a dress. I didn't know how to get started because she doesn't like dresses that are in stile. I cut it very plain, I didn't have any patern to go by so I just guess at it, when I started to sew it the needle broke, but it was because the machine was never used very much and it need to be oiled. I got the oil and oiled the machine then it was all right so I made the dress, and after all she like it the way I made it.

When I go back home, I tell them what new things I learn that they never saw or did before. Especially in cooking food getting ready for the meals. Sometimes I'll tell them to cook this and that, soon we'll be fussing over it. Not all of us fussing but my sister and I, who is married now. Sometimes I let her cook the way she wants sometimes I cook way I learned to cook in Domestic Science. When the meal is ready my father comes in everything ready wash our hands and sit down. Soon he'll say this meal is very good. Who made the meal he'll say to us. I'll answer him I did. My sister then will follow the way I cook my food. Then they all will say "Gee this way it tastes better the way Annie cooked," they'll all join in and learn my recipes.

When I was on the reservation school I used to go home every summer and help my parents in taking care of the home and children. Every summer I used to tell them about my school and what I have learn at school, and try to teach them about cleanliness in our home. We don't have a very nice home like some other Indians

but all the same I kept it clean for the good of my parents. My father always speak of me as a housekeeper of the home because every day I used to teach my little sisters about cooking and ways of caring for foods. They enjoyed it very much. When I went away to school they miss me in summer times. Since I was away for three years I find out that they have improved in homes and cleanliness of food. I went home last summer and told them more things of this school they were interested in my education that they told me to go on with my education. I have helped them in many ways of the white races, not only my own folks but also my neighbors. I did all the sewing for my folks and neighbors. I have shown them different stitches that they were delighted in seeing it.

Some of the boys are getting similar ideas. The first is from a Pima boy, the second from an Apache boy.

I want my living room to have plenty of sunshine, circulation of air, and it should be warm in winter and floors easy to clean. I want my bed room to have a circulation of air plenty of sunshine floor easy to clean and closets for my clothing. I want my kitchen to be more convenient as it is at my home now. I want to plant trees and flowers around my house to beautify my home. I want to have a lawn at my home. I want to improve my home farm by setting some citrus fruits away from the roadside where no children will destroy it or damage by other animals. I want my garden full of green vegetables and the rows will run from north to south.

When the Indians return from school they want books. In a tepee there is so much smoke and noise and women. It is impossible to think good thoughts and to work with books in a tepee under those circumstances.

Such results are excellent, but unfortunately they are comparatively infrequent. All the children writing were of the relatively small number who reach the ninth grade, and all were in one of the better schools in the Service. Many Indian children do not have the opportunity to complete eight grades. Many others, like children in the general population, are apt to become restless and leave school at adolescence. As has been stated in the chapter on schools, a large proportion of the students are over age. Many, therefore, reach adolescence in the lower grades. It is true that the number of adult primary pupils is growing smaller, but even yet many Indian girls get a late start and leave school after only two or three years of work.

In view of these facts it is clear that the plan of education at present leaves too many homes untouched. If the schooling of housewives in the homes visited by members of the survey staff may be taken as representative of general conditions, then training designed to meet the needs of all the homes must be given within the first six grades. The questions in regard to schooling were asked only of English speaking wives. They are of course a younger group than those who cannot speak English. About two-thirds of those questioned had stopped school before reaching the seventh grade, while only one in fifteen reported more than an eighth grade education.

The fact that only a small proportion of the girls are at present getting the essentials of home making is recognized by the supervisor and by some of the teachers, and various practical suggestions have been made, such as the teaching of child care to the older girls in the lower grades, thus taking them at the age when their interest is keen rather than at any given point of academic preparation. One of the better teachers says that while her former upper grade pupils are doing well, those from the lower grades come back to visit her with little dirty babies. Another suggestion is the teaching of camp cooking to girls below the seventh grade. Up to the present time the emphasis in the boarding schools has been put very properly upon the development of the home economics work in the upper grades. All lower grade schooling should, if at all possible, be carried on near the homes of the pupils, leaving only the later years of work to be taught in schools far removed from the homes.

The plan of education is at present too restricted in scope, embracing in most schools the preparation of food and clothing with some slight attention to the subjects of infant care and home nursing. Other definite objectives should be the development of skill in the spending of money, and of the practice and understanding of the principles of thrift. Payment in money for tasks done about the school might be used as a device for teaching the value of money. Girls as well as boys should become familiar with business forms and customs, particularly those relating to the care of property. A practical course in business law would be very much worth while if Indians are to be educated to protect themselves against exploitation.

Nothing in the education of Indian women is more essential than the development of skill in the use of leisure time with a view to creating initiative and industrious habits. The effect of the "industrial system" is not to develop industry in the students. On the contrary it creates a bad attitude toward work because it leaves little or no leisure time. Therefore the student gets the habit of idling at set tasks, a natural result of too much work and too little play. As a means to education the "industrial system" cannot be defended.

Adults should be employed to do much of the work now done by children. Especially should they operate all dangerous machinery. Under the present system Indian girls who have no choice but to work at mangles are occasionally the victims of mangle accidents with no redress such as the more progressive states provide for the employees of private firms.

*The Day Schools.* The education of girls for homemaking can unquestionably be made much more effective than at present. In the school the girls should learn to create for themselves those values that they are later to create for others in their homes. Judged in the light of this objective the present system of education can be much improved by utilizing the activities of girls outside the classroom, whether at home or in the boarding school. Much education for homemaking can be carried on only outside the classroom, through the experience of everyday life. This is true throughout the curriculum, but especially of the early years. These years should be devoted to establishing habits, developing aptitudes, and teaching skill.

The day school or the public school is better adapted to such teaching than the boarding school, for the home is the girl's natural environment and all education proceeds more effectively in the pupil's real setting. Family relationships are themselves important parts of the child's education. In schools where the children go home for the night, education must take a practical slant because home problems are forced upon the teachers. One of the arguments sometimes heard in the Service in favor of the boarding school is that the children escape contamination from home conditions. It is argued that children in day schools cannot possibly be kept free from impetigo and pediculosis. The facts are, of course, that under such conditions the education of the children needs to

be expanded to embrace the parents; that instruction cannot be confined to the school room but must be carried on in the homes too.

The more progressive day schools are attempting the use of the homes for laboratory and demonstration purposes, and this plan is practical among village Indians. Children are assigned tasks at home and are allowed to take home and keep useful articles made in the schools. Articles in process of making are to be seen in some of the homes, and mothers as well as daughters are found at work at things that were originally school projects.

Occasionally in the day schools community resources are being used in the teaching of the native arts. One of the schools sends the girls to the home of the best pottery maker for lessons in her art, but employs a woman to teach weaving at the school. Other schools are encouraging the utilization and development of native designs in various ways. Some of the most attractive designs are adaptations from scraps of ancient pottery that the children find near their homes.

In many of the day schools the children are given a hot lunch at noon. This noon meal might be utilized educationally much more fully than at present. It offers an excellent opportunity for increasing the children's acquaintance with a variety of foods and for developing wholesome tastes, as well as for cultivating hygienic and conventionally polite habits of eating.

On some reservations, especially among the Plains Indians, the parents of boys and girls in school follow their children and settle in camps near the school houses. This is bad economically, because as a rule crops are neglected and few domestic animals can be kept. If, however, the condition must be tolerated, the opportunity for adult education should be utilized. The mothers could be taught by means of visits to their tents and log houses, as well as at evening sessions in the school rooms.

The day schools possess other advantages over the boarding schools. They are free from the hampering industrial routine of the boarding schools and have no excuse whatever for the old-fashioned military regimen. The teachers have small numbers to deal with and close contacts with the children. Moreover, the girls in the day schools are not so likely to be taught exclusively by women, an unfortunate limitation wherever it exists, since women must learn from men and men from women all through life.

In most of the day schools the building and equipment are inadequate to any considerable expansion of their work and specialized teachers are lacking. Future support should be accorded these schools in larger measure, and their number should be increased. Much practical work in home economics could be taught if the schools were developed to include from six to nine grades and teachers with the necessary training were secured.

*The Boarding Schools.* The boarding school, though in most respects not so effective a means of education as the day school, is likely to be a necessity to a limited number of children for a long time to come. Younger children, however, should be eliminated from the boarding schools as far as possible, and for the small number of those whose homes are too isolated to permit of education in any other way small schools conducted on the cottage plan should be provided not too far from their homes.

A long standing criticism of the boarding schools is that they do not fit the students for life among their people. In the early years of the Indian school system it was the declared policy of the Office not to prepare the Indian young people for return to the reservation, but to educate them for life among the whites. In view of this policy it is not surprising that the training of the girls is in general too little related to the life they have left and to which they will return, to be of much practical value. Though the tendency is to improve it in this regard the chief difficulty lies deep and cannot be reached merely by improvements in the course of study and in the quality of the teaching force. The underlying trouble is that Indian education is a mass process, while real education is a very individual thing. The following description, written by one of the employees in a large school, fits the case of the girls as well as that of the boys:

From babyhood the Indian youngster lives quite free and independent. There is little if any restraint in the home. He eats, sleeps, plays and does pretty much as he pleases. In the day school and the public school he gets some idea of discipline and regularity of habit but outside of school hours which are comparatively few, he is still a free agent. One day he is an individual with no plan for his many leisure hours—then another day there are no leisure hours. He is lost in a maze of bugle calls, bed making, fatigue duty. He is just one small piece of raw material on its way through a hungry relentless educational mill.

*Boarding School Life Adaptable to Educational Ends.* For those of the adolescent girls who go to boarding schools instead of to the public high schools these Indian schools should be made very different from the present huge institutions with their wholesale methods of regulating the lives of the children. The proportion of teachers and matrons to the number of girls should be materially increased, and wherever feasible a field service might be established to keep the school and the homes in touch with each other. The present school plants could be utilized under such a system. If public school and day school facilities were fully utilized, the number of older children dependent upon the boarding schools would be much reduced. In small boarding schools much good training might be given to the girls in connection with their every day life if the school routine were planned with reference to its educational values. The following activities might be profitably utilized:

1. Eating: This is one of the chief means of health education if properly managed. Nothing is more important in the education of the Indians than establishing in the future wives and husbands wholesome and varied tastes in foods. But in all but a few Indian schools the food is lacking in quantity and balance, it is served unattractively, and the meals are too hurried for health requirements. In one of the schools where the time allowed at the table is fifteen minutes the students are told once a month in a health lecture to eat slowly. In many schools they are exhorted in charts and health talks to drink milk and eat vegetables in quantities which the school table never supplies.

One of the best of the home economic teachers is training the older girls in her classes by utilizing their personal supplementary purchases of food and drink at a little store not far away. She has them keep account for a week of what they eat in this way, and then they balance the food values of pop, candy, and the like, against the food values of the quantity of milk, orange, or apple, that might have been purchased for the amount they spent. She hopes to get the merchant to cooperate with her by putting in five-cent bottles of milk and fruit in five-cent lots. In another school the underweight and overweight girls in domestic science are on special diets. They keep a record of their own weights while on these diets, and make graphs showing how their weights fluctuate with respect to the ideal weight.

Eating may be managed in such a way as to have a distinct social value. But twenty-minute periods are too short for this purpose. Moreover, there is far too little relaxation of formal discipline in most of the dining rooms. Some of the school dining rooms remind the visitor unpleasantly of the dining rooms of large penitentiaries. Too little attention is paid to eating habits. Merely keeping order does not improve personal habits at the table.

2. Sleeping: Apparently the fact that sleeping arrangements offer an opportunity for moral training is not generally recognized. Only in the occasional school does the necessary mutual confidence and trust between the matron and the girls seem to exist. For this fact the matrons are not entirely to blame. It is a rare woman who can stand in the place of a mother to one or two hundred girls. But some school superintendents and matrons recognize that the time must come when the girls will not sleep as prisoners, and these do not lock the doors to the fire escapes or nail down the windows. To lock the girls up is to refuse to meet the educational issue, for sex morality does not develop by removing the individual from all the normal conditions of living.<sup>15</sup>

3. Care of Personal Appearance: Indians as a race are fond of personal adornment and nothing is of greater interest to most adolescent girls than their own personal appearance. Through this interest habits of cleanliness and neatness might be developed as well as good taste in dress, if only school opportunities were favorable.

In some of the schools personal cleanliness must be hard to achieve. Bathing facilities are seldom adequate to the maintenance of high standards of cleanliness. Other restrictions on personal habits grow out of a crowded schedule. In one of the schools the matrons are said to require the girls to wear their gymnasium suits under their dresses while at their day's work in order to save the time of changing. Such conditions are most unfortunate, for immaculateness of person has moral as well as health values.

Uniforms are in a sense a luxury. The government is at considerable expense for materials and much of the girls' time is consumed in routine monotonous sewing in the "production room" instead of in doing something more valuable educationally. Many Indian parents could afford to furnish their daughters' clothing,

<sup>15</sup> The Indian Office has taken steps to eliminate this practice.

and other students might be given an opportunity to earn money for theirs just as white students often do. The girls dressed in varying garb might not present quite as much of a spectacle standing at attention, but no educational purpose is served by standing at attention, whereas very definite educational values lie in choosing and purchasing and making individual pieces of clothing that evidence the girls' own ideas of what clothing should be.

Some of the schools encourage the making of personally designed dresses by the more advanced students in sewing. A device worth while is a style show at the end of the year where the girls wear what dresses they can and exhibit the rest. At one such style show the girls exhibited plain woolen and gingham dresses and demonstrated how much better they looked with collars and cuffs.

The buying of clothing and toilet articles would furnish excellent training in the spending of money. With some supervision the girls could learn much about values and about the comparative advantages of various methods of buying. In 1919 Mrs. Newton wrote: "I have favored the plan of boys and girls with individual Indian money buying part of their clothing, for I think there is no better way of teaching pupils the value of money and economy in its use."

4. Care of Personal Belongings: A "property sense" may be developed by caring for personal belongings, and the habit of taking good care of her own things may later be expanded to include the girl's own dwelling. In one of the smaller schools every little girl had a chair, a shelf, and at least half of a bureau used by no one but herself. Relatively very few students, however, are so fortunate. The vast number of girls have to keep all their little personal things in a small locker. Their clothes as a rule are not all kept in one place, but are stored in various parts of the building. Most girls leave school without having had the experience of having even a small expanse of wall to decorate or a few square feet of floor to arrange. As a future homemaker each girl should have a place of her own; at least half of a room, including a closet, with a chair, a shelf or table, and some bureau drawers, together with some freedom to exercise her own judgment in the use of these things.

5. Work: All school girls should have some work to do, but it should be so suited to the child as to create habits of industry. The

task should be interesting, within her powers of accomplishment; not too closely supervised and not too fatiguing. The janitor work about some of the day schools fulfills these requirements. The children accept the responsibility and say they like the work. They attack their tasks systematically and with cheerfulness and vigor. In doing this work the girls are learning something about methods of housekeeping. But in the boarding schools most industrial processes must be performed on an institutional scale. They are fatiguing and monotonous, and as a rule are of little value to the future homemaker. A story is told of a returned student who offered her guest a meal without bread, explaining that they could not have bread because they could not afford to buy one hundred pounds of flour at a time.

So far as possible each girl should have the experience of earning money, because one way of measuring the value of money is in terms of the effort required to get it, and this experience is just as important to the development of thrift as is the valuation of money in terms of commodities purchased.

6. Supervised Recreation: Schools differ greatly in the amount of attention they give to supervised or organized recreation. In some schools the older students have bands, orchestras, glee clubs, athletic teams, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and the like. The great majority of the students are, however, merely spectators of the activities of the few, a kind of passive recreation that is relatively of little value, especially since all students must line up and march to the various events, whether or not their personal inclinations point that way. Many schools have supervised social events like dances or other parties, some of which are remarkable for the lack of spontaneity on the part of the students. In general this type of recreation loses much of its natural value because it is routine.

In respect to organized activity the older girls do not as a rule fare as well as the boys. In the few schools where they have some organized life of their own it is noteworthy that they tend to develop initiative and responsibility, qualities much to be desired in Indian housewives. Most Indian girls love singing or have an aptitude for acting. Choral work and dramatics might be organized so as to give every girl in the school at least one form of active recreation.

In most schools the little children have some games or other supervised play during school hours, but they, like the older students, spend much time lining up, marching, and standing in ranks. Such time might much more profitably be given to games and imaginative play. If play with dolls were properly utilized even the little girls could be taught a good many things about infant care and sewing.

7. Unsupervised Leisure: Unsupervised leisure is necessary to a satisfactory development of personality and the creation of a high standard of living. Without leisure there can be little development of personal tastes, little chance to experiment, and little opportunity for reflection. Out of these things develop the power to discriminate between the greater and the less important values in life and to choose wisely between satisfactions of conflicting desires. Without this development of character the foundation for a high standard of living is lacking.

Various educated Indian men and women have referred to the lack of leisure time as one of the most difficult adjustments for Indian students and one of the greatest deprivations. One says: "Students are lost because they have no leisure, no time to think, after having spent their earliest years on the reservation where there is a sense of timelessness and where the old men don't feel that everything must be done in this generation."

Teachers and others connected with the schools comment unfavorably on the endless drill and the evening study hour at the end of a long day. It has been suggested that the reason for filling up the children's day so completely is that authorities do not know what else to do with them. This seems plausible in view of the fact that so little play space is available. In good weather the little girls may play out of doors in the late afternoon; on stormy days they are restricted to their dormitories, which are seldom homelike and are almost always overcrowded. Play space is usually in a dark barren basement room, too small for the number of girls; homelike living rooms are rare; halls are usually bare and unattractive. Most of the girls sleep in great rooms or porches with many others. The crowd is always present. They work, study, eat, sleep, make their toilets, worship, and are entertained in crowds. This is one of the worst aspects of wholesale education. Every human being needs, for normal development, some solitude, some privacy.



Reports of various supervisors contain unfavorable comments on these conditions. According to a comparatively recent report:

There are two rooms necessary to every girls' building.

1. A workroom which can also be used as a kitchenette. In this room the girls can do their own mending, make doll clothes or candy.
2. A rest room, large enough for six or eight cots for day time use. It is not practicable to use the dormitories for this purpose and only the really sick are sent to the hospital.

The minimum of privacy necessary can be secured only by greatly reducing the school population of the present plants if the more desirable cottage system cannot be established.

Girls and boys should have opportunity to mingle in wholesome ways. Indian school education is neither co-educational nor the opposite. The boys and girls see each other and yet have little chance to know each other. It is no wonder that they sometimes resort to secret meetings. Since homemaking is a coöperative undertaking in which men must share with women, Indian homes would be the better for real co-education by means of which boys and girls might achieve a good basis for future understanding and sympathetic coöperation.

It has often been said that the schools would do well to encourage marriages between students because the race loses by unions between the returned students and "blanket Indians." Intertribal marriages are frowned on by Indian parents for reasons of the ancient clan laws and on account of former wars, but such marriages should be encouraged on eugenic grounds.

*Education Value of Standards Maintained by the Boarding Schools.* Since one of the primary objects of Indian education is to raise the standards of living in Indian homes, the schools themselves should represent higher standards than at present. Like most of the homes, most of the school plants are overcrowded; they are lacking in privacy; they are lacking in the comforts of life; and some are lacking in cleanliness. The school diet is more restricted than many of the pupils are accustomed to at home. The educational value of uniform clothing is slight. The whole school life is subject to routine and is devoid of most of the niceties of life. These things are bad, but even more serious are the stan-

dards of education and training represented by the personnel. In spite of many exceptions, especially among the teachers, the employees are as a rule not qualified for work in educational institutions.

*The Matrons in Boarding Schools.* All positions in Indian schools are of an educational nature. The head matron's position today is the weakest link in the school organization. No position has more of the human element in it and no position is more important. The morale of the entire school depends to a great degree on the efficiency of the incumbent in this position. The head matron has charge of the other matrons and of the women who supervise the industrial work. She usually lives in the building occupied by the larger girls. She must assume the responsibility for the physical and moral training of the girls. She should be a teacher in every sense of the word. She needs as good an education as that required for teachers in first-class high schools.

Of the 110 matrons reporting on educational qualifications to the survey staff, thirty-two had nothing more than an eighth grade education, while forty-one others had stopped short of high school graduation. Of the thirty-seven remaining, eleven had finished high school, seven had had one or two years of college, and sixteen had completed from one to four years in normal schools, while three others had had specialized schooling of some kind. There was not a college graduate among them. In other words, not one could qualify as a teacher in a first grade high school under standard requirements. The education of assistant matrons reporting was even less satisfactory.

Both head matrons and matrons in subordinate positions are difficult to hold at the present salaries.<sup>36</sup> The positions of head matrons in all but the larger non-reservation schools have been temporarily filled the greater part of the time during the last ten years. In many of the smaller schools there have been two, three, and four head matrons within a year. Many women filling these positions now should be replaced. The management of the girls is, in too many cases, merely a matter of discipline because the matron

<sup>36</sup> Head matron from \$1080 to \$1500 a year; matron \$1020 to \$1320 a year; assistant matron \$900 a year. A deduction for quarters, fuel and light is made of \$120 a year where salary is less than \$1320, and of \$180 a year where salary is \$1320 or over.

knows no way to manage girls without punishment. Her sense of refinement, in fact her whole outlook on life, is not such as would commend her as a desirable person to put over girls.

The position of head matron can seldom be filled by promotion because the matrons in subordinate positions are not suitable. Many of them are wives of employees and are appointed not because of fitness, but because they are available.

The eligibles furnished by the Civil Service roster are not desirable material. Most of them are not high school graduates, nor have they had training for such a position. Their experience is mediocre. Some have been housekeepers in their own homes, others have been housemaids or have worked in laundries or stores, while a few have held minor positions in correctional institutions or asylums. Practically none has had experience with normal girls.

The upper limit on the entrance age for matrons is too high and as a class they are too old. They are expected to act as mothers to these children, yet many of them have reached the age appropriate to grandmothers. Almost one-third reported their ages as fifty or over, as the following brief statement shows.<sup>17</sup>

Age	Number	Per cent
Under 40 .....	34	23.3
40 but under 50.....	46	44.7
50 or over.....	33	32.0

That some older women retain their sympathy with youth without developing an over indulgent attitude cannot be questioned. They are, however, the exception. Too often older women lack the real understanding necessary to the happy mean between over severity and over indulgence. Women from the late twenties to the early forties are in the suitable age class for this position. As they grow older they might well be transferred to positions involving less personal responsibility for the conduct of young people.

Efforts have been made by interested outside organizations to persuade the right kind of women to qualify as matrons, but without results. The salaries are too low, and the title of matron is forbidding. The duties involved are too varied and too numerous for one person. A supervising housekeeper should have charge of the business end of the work now done by the head matron. The

<sup>17</sup> For a fuller statement, see Table 6, page 666.

personal work with the girls is similar to that of deans of women in colleges and of the girls' advisers in high schools. Some such title should be adopted and qualifications and salaries should be raised so as to secure for these positions college graduates who have had successful experience in their personal relations with high school girls either as teachers or advisers. They should be qualified to give vocational advice.

*The Outing System.* An exclusively boarding school education, at its best, leaves the girl without experience in the economic side of home life. The outing system was originally designed to correct this defect. Students from Carlisle were placed out during vacations or for longer periods in the homes of substantial people, usually Quakers, with the understanding that they were to be treated as members of the family with school privileges if they remained during the school year, but under strict supervision from Carlisle. Opinions differ as to the success of the plan. In the years since Carlisle was closed, the past may have been idealized so that it has become a tradition to praise the golden age of the outing system. There can be no doubt, however, that in some cases the experience was worth while. Its features are described as follows by one of the women who was placed out from Carlisle:

1. It was an honor to the girl to be placed out. She must have a good record.
2. The homes were under inspection a long time before students were sent there.
3. The girls were treated as members of the family.
4. They were not paid for their work.

Osage women can be found today whose financial prosperity has not spoiled them, who are economical and industrious, and who say when the immaculate condition of the homes is commented upon: "How else could I keep house? I lived with Quakers."

But however successful the Carlisle plan may have been, the outing system today is not so much a preparation for homemaking as an apprenticeship for domestic service. Some good work is being done by the women in charge of this service. Without doubt some of the girls are better for the experience. In many families they get better food and quarters than at the boarding schools and can build up physically; and, just as important, they get freedom

from crowds, a close observation of home life, and in many instances personal affection. Through special arrangement some extend their outing throughout the year in order to attend the public school. Then, too, they have a friend to whom they can turn, in the supervising matron, with whom their relations seem in most cases to be cordial. Nevertheless, the Indian Service in effect regards the experience as an apprenticeship. The girls work for wages, mostly under city conditions; they are in demand with families whose regular maids want to go home or to do something more profitable during the summer; the work in practice often leads to a permanent job on leaving school. So far as any implicit intention can be perceived it is the fitting of Indian girls for domestic service, the one occupation where there is always a demand for labor because of the social stigma popularly attached to it.

The system is conducted under very rigid rules and in its operation suggests the parole system of a correctional institution. It is not surprising that an Indian who has seen something of the present system characterizes it as a kind of peonage which the children must undergo. "As food appropriations at the school get short they think they must turn the children out," he says.

Few efforts have been made to establish working connections between the boarding schools and the homes of the students. One of the schools has devised a plan for sending out small circulating libraries to Indian villages, each in the charge of a graduate, and has collected some very good material for this purpose. Another employs a field worker whose task it is to study home conditions in order that the school may make its instruction more suitable to the needs of the people and may hold the students in the school for a longer period. This institution plans next year to send a health wagon out into the hill communities from which the girls come. Occasionally a little Four-H club work is found in a boarding school, but this can hardly thrive without closer connections with homes than exists in most of the schools at present. It would be a definite improvement if the present outing system were superseded by another plan for keeping the students in touch with the outside world, a part of which should be a field service to the communities from which the children come.

**Community Life.** Among many tribes and in many localities a striking lack of development of community life for useful ends is apparent. Organized activities of native origin tend to disappear, while little has been borrowed from white civilization. In a healthy society changes of structure are always going on to meet changed conditions of life. But among the Indians, living as they do under a system of control imposed from the outside, the old social structure tends to die instead of undergoing adaptation to new conditions of existence.

*Forms of Community Organization Among Indians.* Forms of organized activity that are either indigenous or closely in harmony with primitive forms are clan organization, secret societies, the tribal council, and the Indian court. No less important in the lives of the people are the native ceremonies, such as celebrations, dances, games, and races. These forms of organization tend to disappear under the general influence of white culture, or to take on the form of a spectacle and become commercialized, thus losing much of their original significance in group life.

Forms of organization introduced by whites are churches and schools, clubs for women and children, and farm organizations including both men and women. These new organizations are not characteristic of all Indian communities, and, with the exception of the schools, reach a comparatively small number of the whole Indian population. A specialized activity apparently adopted from pioneer whites is the camp meeting, which still flourishes in eastern Oklahoma. Probably the camp feature is responsible for its popularity with the Five Civilized Tribes.

Other church organizations with features adapted from the whites exist in some sections. The "Shakers" of the Northwest have crosses and candles and a noisy ritual to the accompaniment of hand bells and violent motion, all of which they use in their attempts to heal the sick. They are successors to the medicine men and are no less obstructive to health work. In some parts of the south and east of the Indian country, the Peyote Church flourishes. The Indians assemble for meetings in churches, so-called, where they fall into trance-like stupor from the use of peyote. The organization is of no practical value to the community, and peyote addiction is probably harmful physically as well as socially. The Shakers and the Peyote Church are both reported to be growing.

*Recreational Activities.* Most Indians seem to cling longest to the recreational features of primitive group life and to appreciate recreational before other features of white community life. They cling to their dances and games long after they have abandoned distinctive Indian ways of dressing and living. They love celebrations and fairs and races, and in some places make Christmas, Easter, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, and other holidays of the whites occasions for going into camp and celebrating in their own way for a week or two at a time. They appreciate various forms of recreation originated by whites. A field matron reports from the southwest, of the Indians near a city:

The Indians do not lack for amusement. They attend all the "Fiestas," Carnivals, Circuses, Holiday Celebrations and Movies. Very few work Saturday afternoon, spending the half day in town, and usually having a dance in the village Saturday and Sunday evenings.

The government policy seems to have been repressive to native recreational activities. Many officers have been keenly sensible of the economic loss involved in the neglect of animals and crops while Indians gather in camp far from home. Gambling is a part of most games and contests. Dancing is often so intense and protracted as to be injurious to the health. It is often accompanied by the giving of presents. A Red Cross nurse in the Sioux country described the abuse of the custom of giving under the intense emotional strain of the dance:

I suppose that it amounted to a community rite in the old days. Now the idealism is often prostituted by those who see an opportunity for personal gain as the giving goes to individuals. Thus the clever get the money, horses, blankets, shawls, beadwork, etc., by singing a song in praise of those who have the goods. The dance goes with the song in their honor. This giving will go the limit if allowed and families return home destitute.

The same nurse describes a fair as follows:

I have dozens of ideas about the next fair but my main idea is a fond hope that there won't be one. The fair is managed by the Indians and it is Indian all right. The idea sounds well. It would seem a good educational opportunity. Being managed by the Indians it descends to feasting, dancing and roping contests with a

ball game, bucking bronchos, and poor horse racing. Accidents, acute gastritis and infant diarrhea with a funeral or two and a spring crop of illegitimate babies are the concomitants. As this is one of six of the same variety between June 1st and October 1st the educational value becomes questionable. The exhibit of work was small and creditable but little interest was developed.

Missionary influence has been for the most part directed toward the suppression of dances and similar celebrations, either because they are pagan rites or because dancing is not an approved form of amusement in some denominations, or on account of the various harmful consequences of these events.

In some cases no doubt the judgment of officers and other whites with reference to the Indians' ways of amusing themselves has been biased by race prejudice. There is a touch of complacency regarding white institutions and a lack of respect for those of the Indians. Many have not the sympathetic understanding of the Red Cross nurse, who commented further upon the dancing she saw:

All those interested in bringing the Indian into any degree of economic prosperity are bound to see the extremely deleterious effects of unbridled Indian dancing. On the other hand there is no reason why we should sacrifice in toto their idealism, their art and the good of their ancient religion to our ideas of economic prosperity. One certainly cannot hold that our dancing presents a more socially valuable idea even though not economically demoralizing. At its worst ours is as destructive to our social structure as Indian dancing, and these Indians know it. My present opinion is that it would be of more value to limit the amount of "give away" with dancing than to try to forbid the dance.

A similar attitude was apparent in the comments of a Red Cross nurse among the Cheyennes:

We went to the Indian Christmas tree together. The tent resembles a circus tent inside except for the unique arrangement of the rough logs. At the entrance is a tall pine absolutely bare at which we were a bit disappointed until we saw that each family put their gifts to another family on the tree in their turn, to the tune of the big drum in the center. Nine men were seated around it, playing it while they sang. The persons receiving the gifts entered the singing and danced in a circle around the tree. The chiefs

sat on a bench facing the tree and the singers. One of the chiefs thanked the members of the tribe who contributed for the feast the next day, appointed the cooks, sang his song of joy and departed, leaving the younger crowd to dance white dances to white music. I must say it was dull, unattractive, and clumsy after the solemn, graceful rhythm of the older Indians. Though there are many evils connected with these dances, in proportion they can be no worse than the examples they have of our own.

To take away from any people their forms of recreation without replacing them by something as good or better is generally a mistake. Certainly in the case of the Indians their pronounced bent toward group recreation might be utilized to some good ends. If many day schools could be established and made local recreation centers for the little neighborhoods they serve educationally, and if recreational features could be introduced generally along with local industrial activities, then the Indians might cease to feel so great an urge to congregate in large bands far from the responsibilities of home.

*Economic and Civic Organization.* Long excursions in search of native foods and annual migrations to hop or potato fields or to orchards during the season for harvesting these crops have harmful features similar to those connected with recreational and religious celebrations in camp. Such projects as the Five-Year Industrial Program and the Industrial and Better Homes Association which has been recently organized on a northwest reservation, are attempts to "fight fire with fire"; to make a community effort so interesting that the people will be content with the adventure of making a living at home. An excellent feature of these plans is the organization of the women into auxiliaries, thus enlisting all adults in the enterprise.

The occasional women's clubs, as well as the Four-H Clubs, are chiefly concerned with the encouragement of work in the homes, but in most communities where they exist they are isolated forms of organization and do not thrive as they might if they were part of a unified program. Indian women as a rule are somewhat backward as club members and are especially shy about assuming the duties of office, but they are easily interested in handicrafts or in games. In some places considerable family interest is manifested in the meetings, and husbands as well as children of all ages drop in as spectators.

A few day schools are developing programs of community work and in some cases give promise of becoming real community centers. In some schools the community activities are recreational and include basket ball and baseball teams or orchestras; in others the art of the people is encouraged and even put to industrial account. Various schools are attempting practical health education programs. In a few localities community bath houses and laundries have been established and are in use.

With the single exception of the Pueblo form of government, the Indian council and the Indian court represent about the only approach to civic life that the Indians have. Neither the council nor the court is to be found everywhere; many Indians have no form of organization. Neither the council nor the court is utilized to any great extent as a means of education for self government. Some superintendents regard these forms of organization half contemptuously, and in some cases seem to consider the council rather a nuisance because it serves as a forum for agitators. The superintendents who do try to use the council and the court have not sufficient help to accomplish very much. With proper assistance these organizations might be utilized in such a way as to diminish rather than to increase the superintendent's load.

*Degenerative Tendencies.* In the absence of well developed community life degenerative influences have full play. This has been the experience of white communities, and it is to be seen also among the Indians. Wherever wholesome occupational and recreational activities are lacking, ill health, shiftlessness, vice, and delinquency flourish.

Undesirable forms of commercialized recreation get the patronage of the Indians living in the vicinity of towns and cities. The field matrons who work with such Indians report disasters arising from the girls' frequenting dance halls and other cheap amusement places. In a locality where the missionary interfered with the organization of a boys' orchestra because he did not believe in dancing or dance music, the gambling houses flourish, as well as the dope peddlers, and the field matron reports:

Our police duties are oftentimes heartrending. For instance, during the past three days we have had three men stricken down by canned heat and bad liquor, two of whom died frightful deaths.

Out on the reservations, far from the amusements of urban life, the Indians find in their periodic camp life a refuge from monotony. The excesses of the dance and other diversions of camp life are undoubtedly due partly to the fact that the people have a poverty of interest in the dull round of existence in the communities where they live.

In some places the Indians seem to have lost both the form and the memory of their own native political organization. The superintendent who organized the Industrial and Better Homes Association found that those Indians had to be taught how to vote on the merits of a question. At first all voted in the affirmative. An old woman at one of the first meetings made a speech in which she explained that the young men did not know how to speak; that her tribe had lost the art because it was so long since they had had any occasion for public speaking.

In tribes that still have merely a form of organization functioning ineffectually, the agitator is influential because among his followers there is much idleness and chronic discontent instead of activity and a well developed public opinion. In a community functioning healthily some agitators would be leaders of real worth and others would have scant followings.

Standards of living tend to seek a lower level in the absence of wholesome community activity. The economic level in a community depends not only upon natural resources but also upon the degree to which economic ideals of life develop within the group. The deadly uniformity to be found in home conditions in many places exists not only because of poverty but also because the people lack economic leadership and do not know how to obtain results through cooperative effort.

*The Community the Smallest Unit for Effective Work.* Up to the present the government has attacked the Indian problem almost exclusively by the method of standardized routine treatment of individuals. Family work has been for the most part nominal. Community effort has been inadequately financed and staffed and not sufficiently inclusive of all the elements in the community and all departments of welfare to constitute more than the illustration of a promising method. The regulation of the affairs of adults has in large measure failed to develop independence of character or soundness of business judgment. The government school system

has been as disintegrating to the community as to the family. The school routine has interfered with the development of leadership and the ability to carry out cooperative enterprises, since the children have had little participation in organization for work or play. After many years of effort and the expenditure of much money the Indians still constitute a problem. The Indians themselves are more generally blamed than the method to which they have been subjected.

The experience of the white race is that progress is a group process rather than an individual process. Just as individuals usually fail to develop far beyond the level of their families, so family development is limited by the standards of the society in which the families live. Good homes do not flourish under subnormal community conditions, nor do many children develop initiative and responsibility in a general atmosphere of shiftlessness.

Backward communities are sick communities which need diagnosis and treatment. Each one has its own peculiar difficulties, and therefore no set program can be devised and applied mechanically like a patent medicine. Community conditions like family conditions need careful study by experts in that field. In order to change bad conditions skilled leadership from outside the community is usually necessary, but the purpose of such leaders is to develop their successors from within the community so that the group may become self sufficing.

*Experience in White Communities Applicable.* The methods worked out in dealing with backward white communities should be applied among the Indians. The community should be made the unit of attack, and every family and individual should be included in the study of community conditions and in the resulting plan of treatment. Many reservations include several distinct communities and each should have its organization. In organizing activities the Indians should have a voice. Programs should not be imposed on them, even if the start with their sanction and cooperation should prove slow. Wherever their cooperation is sought their interest in the enterprise is deeper, but still more important, they sometimes save outsiders from fatal mistakes such as that of ignoring lines of social cleavage among them.

*Utilization of Indian Activities.* What is left of the Indians' primitive community activities should be studied and utilized as far

as possible for constructive ends. Such an approach to organization is tactical as well as sound. The Indian court and the Indian council could be made powerful means for creating public opinion instead of mere forms of congregate activity tolerated by the officers.

Harmful forms of recreation should be eliminated by a process of substitution rather than by direct prohibition. Some Indian dances and games could profitably be retained. A superior feature of some of them lies in the fact that everyone participates, whereas nearly all our games and dances are limited on age or sex lines. A significant thing in the experience of the American Red Cross nurses among the Indians was the demand for recreation and the willingness to try new forms as well as to revive Indian sports. At various points in the Service games, especially of a contest nature, athletic events, circulating libraries, musical organizations, dramatics, parties of various kinds, clubs with social features, and story hours have been tried with success.

*Specific Training for Future Citizenship Among Whites.* As a specific preparation for release from tutelage Indians should be trained in health, recreational, economic, and civic activities. Group participation in these things is a definite part of the education Indians need if they are ever to have a share in the common life of the American people. Even in sparse rural populations American whites have a degree of control over their own local government and the organization of their economic interests far beyond that of most Indians. The fundamentals of group participation can be learned by the Indians more effectively in their natural environment than after they have scattered into the larger white communities where they may encounter the barriers of race prejudice.

*Economy of Organizing Communities.* As an administrative device community organization would in the long run prove economical. The Indian Office exists in order to eliminate the need for its own existence. Once the Indians can take care of themselves this branch of the government service may be discontinued. The present policy of consolidating reservations in the interests of economy, even though the Indians are thereby neglected, is not true economy. But if through organization of the Indians native leaders could be developed and community responsibility could be created, then government officers could gradually withdraw supervision without causing hardship and suffering.

Even from the point of view of the local superintendent alone sound community organization in the long run would mean economical administration. The development of native leadership in sympathy with the superintendent's aims would create many centers of influence outside the office. Many government policies could be more effectively interpreted by native leaders than by government officers, because the more backward Indians are much more sensitive to the public opinion of their own people than to that of whites. Government prestige would not suffer from native promulgation of policies. Real prestige depends upon the personal qualities of the superintendent and his assistants and is found only where real leadership exists.

*Type of Organization Desirable.* All field workers should be engaged in the organization of community forces, and all community work of a reservation should center in the office of the superintendent. Health, industry, and the schools should all be represented by community programs, each of which should be worked out with reference to the unified effort of all. In some localities a recreation program might be carried out through the schools without a specialized employee; in others where the recreational resources of the people are few and vice and delinquency thrive, a recreation worker of experience should be employed.

In the development of a recreation program under a trained leader the worker should be employed before a community house is established. Experience in white communities has shown that trained personnel is much more important to success in this field than elaborate equipment. Many community houses and much equipment have stood idle or have been used fitfully and without perceptible good results because of the absence of responsible leadership. Even the Indian Service is not without its examples of this mistake. Money spent on a community house or a recreation center in advance of a program and workers to carry it into effect is a waste of funds.

A trained worker should precede any definite program of recreation. A good working program in the field of recreation is difficult to evolve and depends upon the insight and understanding of a good leader. Like any other satisfactory program it must be preceded by a study of local needs. The competent leader in an Indian

community would of necessity be adaptable. He would find it necessary to study Indian life sympathetically and devise new methods to attain his ends. The competent leader would also work constructively, with the object of eliminating the need for his services, as well as coöperatively with every other member of the staff, keeping himself well in the background. He should be an artist at getting apparently spontaneous action.

It should not be necessary to repeat among Indians the mistakes made among whites, especially during the war period when much so-called recreation was in the hands of people entirely unqualified as leaders. Too rapid a program development with resulting superficiality and artificiality is always a danger. A sound program should avoid the over emphasis upon athletics that leads to the various evils of commercialization. Athletic games should, however, be cultivated for the excellent character effects to be derived from team play. The Indians themselves have developed some very fine games.

If a recreation program is to be more than a merely mechanical thing unsuited to the real needs of the people, it must take account of the fact that recreation is an essential part of all healthy human life. The program must therefore have certain objectives:

1. It must make some kind of recreation available to everyone in the community regardless of age, sex, or limitations such as illness creates.
2. It must not limit recreation to congregate activities but must promote it in the homes.
3. It must not separate recreation from the other activities of life but must enliven them all with its spirit. Especially do the Indians need the element of contest in their work and in the daily routine of home life. Any permanent improvement in community standards of living will come through the operation of the spirit of emulation.

**Women as Wage Earners.** Relatively few Indian women are at present gainfully employed outside their homes, for the Indian population is scattered over vast areas and the number living convenient to industrial centers is not great. Outside of domestic service Indian women and girls are most often engaged seasonably in harvesting fruits and vegetables, or in fruit, vegetable, and fish

canneries. But the tendency is apparent, especially among the younger women, to enter wage earning occupations in increasing numbers. Even among some of the primitive tribes there is a drift to the cities and a pressure upon girls as well as boys to become wage earners, for many of them live in parts of the country where the natural resources are very slender and the poverty great.

*Homemaking the Objective of School Training.* The present education of girls in the Indian schools seems intended primarily as preparation for homemaking rather than for wage earning. Preparation for homemaking is by far the most important task for the schools so far as numbers are concerned. Since nearly all girls at some time become housewives, training in homemaking is likely to be useful eventually to nearly everyone. To make this training the sole objective of the schools is, however, no longer possible if the immediate needs of all girls are to be met. Some superintendents says that the most baffling cases with which they have to deal are returned students, girls disqualified by the boarding schools for life on the reservation and qualified for no occupation off the reservation unless it be domestic service.

*Domestic Service.* The only occupation open to any large number of the girls who stop school or to those who finish the number of years of schooling offered by the average boarding school is domestic service. Even the few girls who graduate from home economics courses in the best schools in the Service have not the education necessary for teaching home economics, although they do have a good practical training for making homes of their own according to the standards current in white communities. If the schools at present prepare the rank and file of the girl students for any vocation it is domestic service. They are not fitted for life on the reservation; they are not educated for homemaking under primitive conditions, and only a few can become the wives of Indian men living in white communities; they are in many cases induced or required to spend their vacations under the outing system, which is in practice an apprenticeship for domestic service.

Many white people extol domestic service as an occupation for other people's daughters. But the women of no immigrant race that has come to America have tarried any longer in this occupation than economic necessity required. During the war when factory positions were for the first time opened to Negro women some of the



women of that race rejoiced that at last they might find work other than personal service. Domestic work though not essentially degrading carries a social stigma. This may be one reason why it is a morally hazardous occupation, as careful studies made among white wage earners have shown. Certainly among Indians a reason for the moral hazard is the social isolation imposed by the conditions of the work.

That many Indian girls have found comfortable quarters and kindness and protection in the homes where they worked is of course true. But no one wishes to spend a lifetime in domestic service, and unfortunately it is a "dead end" occupation. As a preparation for the future home life of Indian girls it is not even justified, being on the whole ineffective because the gap is too great between conditions in the homes where the girls work and any homes they are likely to have.

The impression gained by many whites is that Indians are capable of doing only unskilled work that no one else wants to do. It is difficult to understand why the government, avowedly educating its wards for a place in white civilization, should have prepared the girls almost exclusively for the least desirable of the gainful occupations open to women.

The Indian Service employs several field and outing matrons who spend part or all their time in selecting homes suitable to the girls and in looking out in various ways for their welfare. The matrons generally recognize the desirability of helping the girls to adjust themselves to city conditions in their hours off duty; although some of them open their own homes to the girls and give very generously of their time, none has sufficient free time to give the girls the oversight they need. If girls must be put out to service by the government, then the government should provide proper housing facilities and chaperonage for them. They should be housed in a comfortable building with a house mother and with facilities for entertaining their friends, so that they may have opportunities for knowing young men in wholesome ways. Since domestic service leads to no better occupation, it is the more important that it should not be allowed to interfere with opportunities for marriage.

*Training for Nursing, Teaching, and Clerical Work.* The need of preparation for more desirable occupations is recognized by the Indian Office and various courses are now being offered in some of the larger schools, notably Haskell Institute, in preparation for lines of work open to women. A few young women are now specializing in nursing, clerical work, and teaching. The latest addition to the list is physical education.

The education in these subjects, however, does not constitute a satisfactory preparation for the occupations to which they lead. The chief difficulty is early specialization with too meager a general education. No school carries the students beyond a twelve-year curriculum, and all schools have the industrial feature which strictly limits the time available for study or classroom work. The time for school work of a general nature is still further limited by specialized instruction in sewing, cooking, and the like. Even in the best schools only a very few girls in the last year or two are allowed to substitute real practice work for the routine industrial work of the institution. Since the industrial work has very little educational value and is sometimes physically exhausting, the girls may be said to have been throughout their course on a half-time school schedule. It is absurd to expect the teachers to work a miracle of education in the twelve years and to put these girls on a par in their general education with white girls in public schools who have started without a language handicap and have devoted twelve years of full time to general education.

These Indian graduates cannot compete for positions with the graduates of public high schools who have spent two or three subsequent years in special preparation for nursing, or teaching, or the various kinds of clerical work. Neither can they enter colleges and technical schools to secure more training even if they are financially able, since first class institutions require a diploma from an accredited high school as a condition of admittance. At present the general tendency of technical schools is to require more rather than less than a high school education as a qualification for specialized training. The relative situation of the graduate of the Indian school therefore grows no better, even though from time to time some improvements in the curriculum are made. Neither can many of the girls supplement their education by entering the public high

schools. The public schools are usually popular with the Indians who are familiar with them, but most of the girls who graduate from the boarding schools are from homes remote from high schools, or are from localities where race prejudice bars them out of the public schools, and, moreover, many of them are past the usual high school age at the time of their graduation from the Indian schools. For most of them there is no way out. Their schooling is finished.

The result is a very restricted market for their work. A large proportion of the teachers and clerical workers enter the Indian Service. But wherever they work they are in a pocket. They cannot hold positions outside the Service with firms or institutions whose standards of work are exacting. Little consistent attempt is made within the Service to train them or place them in better positions. They are likely to be discounted on account of race even inside the Service, where they occupy the lowest paid positions. These girl teachers and clerks are not as a rule expected to advance within the Service but are looked upon as a permanent source of low priced labor. In some jurisdictions they seem to be discriminated against socially.

The girl preparing for nursing suffers only part of these handicaps. Under the present arrangements with hospitals she has the opportunity to know something of conditions in the outside world, to measure her performance against that of white nurses in training, and to secure positions through the training school. But she suffers equally with the others from lack of accredited high school education.

*Development of Leaders.* A familiar complaint in the Indian Service concerns the backward state of the women and homes and the lack of native leadership. This condition is partly to be accounted for by the system of education. The schools have no plans for the development of leaders. Indian women doctors, nurses, teachers, and social workers with thorough professional training could do much for their people. Some young Indian women today desire to serve their race more than anything else. Some others are educated beyond the men of their acquaintance, and rather than marry men with whom they have little in common they are seeking happiness in work. Still others look forward to several years of

work before marriage. Some of these young women are trying to save money for college educations but the outlook is not hopeful.

The almost complete resourcelessness of these ambitious Indian girls is difficult to realize. Compared with white girls they are intellectually isolated. They have no general information such as white girls absorb from family and community. Their white world is little larger than the Indian Service. They seldom have personal or family friends to whom they can turn for information or service. Under such circumstances the mere acquisition of information relative to colleges where they might register with entrance conditions would require a considerable degree of initiative. The routine of the Indian school does not develop initiative.

The financial problems involved in getting a higher education are in most cases beyond their power to solve. Most of them come from families too poor to send them to college. Their education has prepared them only for low salaried positions where savings are too slight to make possible the accumulation of funds for college. They know of no loan funds or scholarships.

At least two of the larger schools have done an excellent thing in furnishing quarters to two or three young women graduates who have gone back and forth from the school to a nearby college. This help and encouragement has brought a higher education within reach of girls who could hardly have managed to achieve it alone.

If the Indian schools could give the accredited high school education, other arrangements might be made for financing the higher education of outstanding girl graduates from private funds. The following are some of the possibilities:

1. With an accredited high school education they could compete for university scholarships and loans as white students do.
2. Various private agencies, like women's clubs and college sororities, might be willing to create special scholarships for Indian girls.
3. Individuals and organizations interested in special lines of work might welcome the opportunity to establish scholarships for Indian girls interested in these specialties. Business firms and art schools might profitably cooperate in developing the abilities of girls with special aptitude in native design.

4. A few Indians might wish to use some of their surplus wealth for the higher education of Indian girls.

*Desirable Changes in the Plan of Education.* The Indian students as undergraduates seldom know their real situation. It is not strange that later a few of them manifest some bitterness, not so much because their education was substandard as because they were kept in ignorance of the fact. The schools are badly in need of vocational advising and an employment service. The girls graduate without knowing: (1) The relative merits of the occupations they have chosen as compared with other occupations; (2) conditions affecting these occupations in the larger world; (3) how far they are able at graduation to compete for positions under these conditions; (4) where to look for positions outside the Service; or (5) how to supplement their education or to make other plans for success in the fields of their choice. This specialized work in the schools should be in charge of persons with professional qualifications at least as high as those of the teachers. They should have had experience with first class schools or other organizations prior to their appointment.

Vocational guidance and an employment service should be an integral part of the system, but these things alone do not reach the fundamental trouble. To give Indian girls a real preparation for earning their living would involve an overhauling of the present school system. Schools should be put on a full-time basis and the boarding schools should become accredited high schools. If the girls were educated through high school, it ought not to be necessary for the Indian Office to maintain technical schools. It would be more economical to offer a generous number of competitive scholarships for graduates who might want specialized training. Advanced education in schools of recognized standing in association with white students would be an excellent preparation for future work, especially since it would enlarge the girls' knowledge of the work of whites during their student life and would enlist the interest of these higher institutions in placing them in positions.

The present system of education not only fails to prepare girls for earning but also tends to disqualify them because it interferes with the development of traits of character essential to success. Institutionalized children of any race are likely to be wanting in habits of industry, initiative, and good judgment with regard to

work and general conduct. Success cannot be expected of children who are deprived of the atmosphere of parental love, brought up in a formal and even militaristic manner, and taught right and wrong by means of precepts instead of being allowed volition in their conduct. If the girls of the boarding schools are to develop strong moral fiber several changes in the school system should be made:

1. The children should be kept in public or day school or, where that is impossible, in small boarding schools not too far from home until they are ready for high school.

2. The proportion of teachers and counselors to girls in non-reservation schools should be relatively much larger than at present.

3. Women with the qualifications of teachers in accredited high schools should take the place of the present matrons.

4. Unadjusted or problem children should not be educated in the same schools as the other children.

*Employment Service for Women.* Women and girls not in school should be included in a general employment service for Indians. The graduates of the Indian schools especially need an extension service of vocational guidance for some years, because many of them face difficult industrial and social adjustments. Young women in domestic service in cities have no less need than "outing" girls for good residence quarters and wholesome recreation outside of working hours.

The general employment service should include a woman who is expert in personnel and employment work. Her duties should include: (1) The study of occupational opportunities in all parts of the country; (2) the exercise of general supervision over the work of local employees dealing with women; and (3) coöperation with the schools in their vocational and employment work.

**Handicrafts.** The Indians as a race, and particularly the Indian women, show a great fondness and aptitude for handicrafts. In every tribe some form of hand manufacture is followed. In many tribes with long-continued white contacts one or more of the arts of the frontier whites have been taken over and are popular, though not significant commercially. Occasionally, as for example, among the Chippewas, a native art and a borrowed art flourished side by side. In other cases, notably among the Five Civilized Tribes,

native handicrafts seem to have disappeared almost completely, and the examples that remain might be classified as "antiques" in the popular acceptance of the term.

*Varieties of Native Handicrafts in Homes.* Various native arts are still widely popular. Some of the most important of the handicrafts practiced in the homes of one or more tribes are: Pottery making; bead work, both embroidery and loom work; basket making from a wide variety of materials; the weaving of rush or grass mats; the weaving of corn husk bags; blanket and other textile weaving, mostly in wool; the tanning of leather and making of leather garments and other articles; and the hand manufacture of silver and turquoise jewelry. Of these arts the work with beads and the making of baskets are the most nearly universal, while the making of pottery and baskets and the weaving of rugs and blankets among the desert dwellers of the Southwest are the most flourishing.

*Tendencies to Disappear or Degenerate.* The general tendency is for the native arts to disappear. In various localities this has already occurred. To some slight extent borrowed arts or the "fancy work" taught in some of the government and mission schools takes their place, but for the most part nothing is substituted. The process of disappearing is a shift with the generations. The fine old craftsmen die without having taught anyone to do the work as they did it. A typical instance is that of a Mission Indian woman, no longer young, whose baskets are much admired for workmanship and beauty and therefore bring high prices. Although her younger neighbors value her work, no one seeks to learn from her and when she is gone she will leave no successor. Across the street from her home is a neat little house with a wonderful display of old baskets, many of which were made by the deceased grandmother of the family, whose descendants are proud of the evidences of her skill but cannot practice her art.

The reason for this tendency toward the disappearance of the native crafts are several. Government employees say that many of the young people look upon the work of their elders as old fashioned, and some employees are inclined to attribute this attitude to the influence of the schools. A more fundamental reason is the impact of modern life upon Indian society. Indians like whites

prefer riding about in automobiles, if they have them, instead of sitting quietly at home and working. Moreover, as the ancient religious and ceremonial customs loosen their hold, the arts connected with this department of life tend also to lapse. The old handicrafts are most flourishing where the native religious beliefs are still powerful.

Then, too, the practice of some of the handicrafts is strictly limited by availability of the necessary materials. These primitive crafts are largely dependent upon native vegetable and animal life. Even beadwork, though beads are a commercial product, requires skins and sinew. Skins in particular are difficult to secure, especially since the sale of deerskin in some parts of the Indian country is severely regulated by law. Beads of good quality are very difficult and often impossible for Indians to find in any market they frequent.

In many tribes the arts tend to degenerate. Some baskets weavers and many textile weavers now resort to the convenient use of the vivid commercial dyes instead of the more lasting and beautiful vegetable dyes of former times. Marked degeneration is noticeable in the beadwork of many localities. This degeneration is not all the Indians' fault, for beads of desirable size, shape, and color are often hard to find, and much superior workmanship is wasted on the garish beads the traders sell. In some places, however, the present practice is to work with the larger beads and thus produce for sale quickly, and to resort to poor designs or even to a hit-and-miss type of beading, very ugly and uninteresting. The designs used in much of the bead work are no longer native or distinctive. The corn husk bags of the Northwestern Indians are likewise deteriorating in finish, design, and color, though as a rule they are still of fine workmanship. Much of the pottery of the Pueblo dwelling Indians is made merely to sell and shows the carelessness incident upon quantity production. In the aggregate a vast amount of labor, most of it painstaking and much of it superior, is expended upon the making of Indian things; but far too large a part of this labor is unproductive because the Indians use poor materials, loud colors, or inferior designs.

*Tendencies to Develop.* At least one instance may be cited of a recently developed handicraft which is apparently an Indian invention. The Paiutes of a single locality cover small smoothly woven

split osier baskets entirely with beads. The designs are characteristically Indian, the color combinations fairly good, and the ingenuity and workmanship remarkable, especially in the adaptation of the woven design to spherical surfaces.

Individuals and private organizations have for years been actively interested in fostering and developing or restoring native Indian arts. Some achievements are the introduction of old designs and improved methods in the making of pottery in some of the Rio Grande Pueblos; the revival and encouragement of woolen embroidery among the women of some of the Pueblos; the increase in quality and output of silver work in a colony of Navajos by the application of business enterprise combined with high standards of excellence; and the improvement of bead work in several tribes by furnishing beads and other materials of good quality, the best of native designs or general specifications, and a steady market for the product.

*Government Attitude Toward Native Arts.* The government has made a little effort of late years to foster the native arts by introducing some instruction into the schools. This effort is largely confined to a few of the day schools and boarding schools of the Southwest, where rug weaving, pottery making, and the drawing and painting of typical Indian designs are encouraged. This kind of instruction, however, has not been introduced as a matter of general policy, but has developed only where individuals or organizations have been specially interested in its promotion.

No systematic effort has been made to encourage or develop the Indian handicrafts on the reservations. The general policy has been to make a white man of the Indian rather than to encourage things native. As a rule field matrons and teachers have not made much effort as individuals to stimulate activity in the native industries. Many of them appreciate the products enough to acquire specimens, but field workers as a rule feel the pressure of more immediate tasks, and many of them know little better than the Indians how to secure materials or how to find good markets for the finished work. Neither have they the time, or in some instances the taste or the skill, to control the quality of the work done, and the difficulty of disposing of low grade products has proved the chief obstacle to the development of markets where the effort has been made. In a few instances Indian women have been encouraged to

forsake Indian handicrafts and to compete with whites by making for sale such things as household linens or children's clothing. Such efforts usually fail for lack of a market.

*The Marketing of Products of Native Art.* The Indians cannot develop their own markets because they are remote from their potential customers and because they have little business experience. Usually they sell or trade their wares directly to local dealers who dispose of them to tourists or to large dealers. But some of these Indians who live in the line of tourist travel sell directly to the tourists, especially if they come to the homes of the Indians.

Under such circumstances there can be little standardization of price. Prices are determined by individual bargaining and have little relation to intrinsic value or to the cost of production. Traders among the Navajos say that families carry their rugs to several different stores before they will sell. The Hopis, too, are keen in getting the best market possible. But the Indians of many tribes have little ability to set values. Consequently prices are often too low, especially if the necessity of the vender is great, and they are often too high, especially if the sale is made directly to the tourist. It adds to the confusion of values that the transaction between the traders and the Indians is often an exchange of commodities. Some Indians are said by traders to refuse payment in cash, preferring to barter instead. In a few localities there is a considerable exchange of handiwork and produce between Indians of different tribes.

*Relation of Handicrafts to Income.* Since the sale of hand-made articles takes place independently of the reservation office, superintendents can make only very rough estimates of the amount of income derived from this source. Probably such sales do not form in the aggregate a large proportion of the income on many reservations; but they constitute a supplementary income much needed by most of the producing families and essential to the existence of some, and are therefore of considerable importance on reservations. Among Pueblo dwellers such income is fairly steady and dependable and is no small factor in a comparatively high standard of living. In many localities the production and sale of articles is resorted to seasonally when supplies of food are exhausted and funds are low. This is said by some observers to be the chief reason for the production of Navajo rugs. Among Indians gener-

ally the sale of handiwork constitutes a financial resource in emergencies such as crop failures. The Indians of various tribes do not like to sell their best work, and only do so as a last resort under extreme necessity.

Some of the handicrafts, such as the making of baskets and rugs, are somewhat seasonal by reason of the nature of the raw materials. But most of them afford work when there is nothing else to do, and thus idle time is turned into money. Although this utilization of spare time is as a rule a good thing, still there is danger that with an increase in the demand for these products the main support of the families might tend to fall upon the women rather than the men. One of the field matrons believes that this is now true in many Hopi families. Some observers say the same thing of the Navajos, among whom the women do practically everything connected with the rugs. They take care of the lambs, they and the children herd the sheep, they even do the shearing in some cases, and from that stage on they do all the work. Navajo children in describing their home life tell of their mothers' rising early and staying up late at night to work at their rugs. The men attend to the horses and cattle, but raise few crops.

*Social Value of Handicrafts.* Much of the traditional religious and social significance has been removed from Indian arts. Formerly when a woman made moccasins for her husband or father or son she sat in religious reverie and embroidered them with religious symbols; she made them strong because they must not fail their wearer in the hunt or the fight, but must fulfill an economic purpose for the family and the clan; she made them beautiful because they were for those she loved. Now the men go to the traders and buy heavy boots or shoes, while the women make the moccasins to sell to the traders. The economic motive has changed and become less personal.

The recreational and artistic aspects of these pursuits might, however, be much developed even under present conditions. The expression of individuality through creative art is one of the highest forms of happiness. It constitutes a refuge from monotony and a resource for leisure of great value to women who have only the primitive social life of the more conservative Indian communities, particularly in some of the Pueblos where the restrictions on returned students are severe. It makes possible a goal for women

ambitious to achieve something noteworthy. Already individuals from several tribes have gained reputations as artists in the making of pottery, baskets, and rugs. They are known by name in the markets of the whites and some of the potters are now able to enhance the value of their products by their signatures.

The making of articles of value proves a means to the social amenities. In some tribes of the Northwest the interchange of handsome gifts made expressly for that purpose is so settled a custom that it is difficult to buy their blankets and bags outright. Handicrafts also offer a good basis for wholesome group activity. Indian women seem to enjoy working together and talking while they work just as much as do their white sisters. This probably explains the popularity of quilt making in some of the women's clubs.

The fostering and development of the native arts is a wholesome thing in inter-racial relations. It is good for both Indians and whites to realize that Indians have a distinctive contribution to make to the world. Through the Junior Red Cross, Indian and white school children have in some instances developed acquaintance by correspondence. In one such school where the Indian children have made drawings and designs illustrative of their ceremonies and arts and have explained the meaning of their drawings in their letters, the teacher says that this project has contributed more to stimulate the children's education than anything else in their school life.

*Suggestions for Government Supervision.* The Indian Office should include in its program the development of Indian handicrafts. This program would involve on the one hand the securing of marketable goods and on the other the organization of a market. The quality of products should be standardized and their genuineness guaranteed. Articles should be: (1) Characteristically Indian, (2) of good materials, (3) of good workmanship, (4) of good color and design, (5) usable unless intended merely for display, (6) unique or original so far as compatible with the other requisites, (7) tagged with the government's guarantee of genuineness and quality, and (8) priced fairly. To achieve these things it would be necessary to exercise some supervision over the workers in their homes. Employees should see that the workers avoid mistakes that

would make articles unsalable and that they be enabled to secure the best materials to be had. It would be necessary also to stimulate originality of design, to encourage regularity of production, and to require as far as possible good working conditions in the homes, especially with respect to cleanliness and light. This work would of course be slow, and spectacular results could not be expected.

If the experience in private ventures is significant the organization of a market would not be difficult. The typical experience is a demand for really good products, far beyond the available supply. Probably little advertising would be necessary except the issuing of simple catalogs. With two persons in advisory or supervisory positions, one with the necessary business qualifications and the other technically trained in arts of this nature and appreciative of primitive types of work, a good beginning could be made without employing specialized people locally. Much could be accomplished through the day schools and the boarding schools. At present most of the work done under government auspices is in the hands of the teachers.

The development of handicrafts should be a means to an end; namely, the improvement of the economic and social conditions of life. The success of the enterprise should therefore be measured not merely by financial results but more particularly by social consequences. The work should not be developed at the expense of family life. To aim too directly at business success might result in a system of "sweating," or might shift the burden of support unduly upon the wives. To aim at an exclusive form of art might eliminate workers who could do a good standard grade of work with profit to themselves and their customers.

The development of this work should have a place in community plans. In some cases community houses and school buildings might profitably have light comfortable rooms and workshops for the use of individuals or clubs. In all communities work in clubs and classes should be encouraged for its social value.

**Personnel.** No standardized plan for organization and personnel can be set up for mechanical application to all Indian reservations. Although the social problems of ill health, low standards of living, family disintegration, undeveloped community life, and lack of occupational adjustment are to be found everywhere, each agency

has its own peculiar conditions. The size of reservations, density and distribution of population, character of the country, economic and social relation to the outside world, tribal peculiarities, historical background especially with relation to past government policies, present government policies and personnel, and cleavages among the Indians, all combine to make the development of wholesome conditions of life and work a distinctly individual task for each superintendent.

*Expert Service to the Reservation.* No superintendent, no matter how able, can develop a satisfactory program for his reservation without outside help. He needs the service of experts who are familiar with the various problems confronting him and with the methods used in handling these problems in the general population, and who have knowledge of the experience of the various reservations with reference to the peculiar character of the problems and methods of treatment assumed among Indians. These experts should be available from the Washington office. They should cooperate with superintendents in making local surveys and setting up programs. Their advice or supervision should be available from time to time as the program is put into execution. No local program should be set up without their assistance, for they would have specialized knowledge in their own fields, they would be free from local factional bias, and a joint program would have more prestige with the Indians than one set up by the superintendent alone.

Under some circumstances it would be both desirable and possible to utilize also expert help from state, county, and private agencies in planning for Indians who must eventually become charges upon such agencies unless educated for release from federal control.

*Trained Service on the Reservation.* As a condition for putting the local program into execution each superintendent should be provided with a staff of permanent workers who have had their previous training and experience in social work with first class organizations. The superintendent, even if the reservation is small, cannot be expected to administer it as a business and do much of the personal contact work. He should have the assistance of employees who are able to perform the function of education in their respective lines of field work, besides interpreting government policies successfully to the Indians and furnishing him with such

data concerning the welfare of the Indians as he should have for administrative purposes. These field employees should also be able to establish outside contacts with whites whenever this would serve the interests of the Indians.

Except the recent beginnings in developing field nursing, the concerted attempts to improve the quality of the work with the women in the homes have been confined almost entirely to the promulgation of rules and regulations and statements of general objectives and to the requiring of routine reports to Washington. These are only makeshifts. Three things are necessary to effective local service:

1. Training for the duties of the position. Persons with the necessary qualifications may be secured through Civil Service examination.

2. Definite objectives of work, involving a selection of the more fundamental and the more pressing needs to be met on the reservation. These objectives should be supplied by the formulation of a local program.

3. Supervision and counsel. Supervision of a general administrative character is the function of the superintendent, that of a technical professional character should be available from the expert staff in Washington.

**Types of Service to Homes.** If existing conditions are to be much changed for the better five<sup>19</sup> distinctive types of service must be rendered to the homes by the local staff. All these services are concerned with the same problem of subnormal standards, though occupied immediately with different aspects of the problem. All, therefore, have a common duty of mutual aid not specified under the duties of each separately. Each of the five includes also the duty of record keeping. Full and accurate records are essential to continuity of work whenever there are changes of personnel. But even if there are no shifts of workers, records are essential to good work. They are as necessary to the social case worker as is the medical case record to the doctor, and for the same reasons.

<sup>19</sup>Services specially treated under other sections of this report, such as the medical and those parts of the industrial concerned primarily with the activities of the men, are omitted from this list.

It is impossible to do intelligent case work of any kind without careful and complete case records.

1. Health Promotion: The chief duties of the public health service to the homes are:

- (a) Teaching the underlying principles of health, such as household sanitation, food values in their relation to health, and the protection of the well from the sick. This involves attention to prenatal hygiene as well as to the care of infants and small children.

- (b) Cultivating healthful habits of living in both adults and children, especially with reference to eating and sleeping. This work can be carried on through the schools, the clubs of the Junior Red Cross, and other clubs, as well as through visits to the homes.

- (c) Stimulating families and communities to self help in matters of concern to health, such as the provision of household and community sanitary conveniences and desirable food supplies.

- (d) Teaching hygiene and the care of the sick in the homes and securing family coöperation with the physician and with the clinic, sanatorium, or hospital, wherever such treatment is found desirable.

- (e) Working with state and private agencies wherever possible, in order to stimulate active interest in the health of Indians and coöperation in its improvement.

2. Adult Education for Homemaking: The duties of this service to homes involve work chiefly with women, but to some extent with men. The principal duties are:

- (a) Teaching the housewife how to make the most of available resources. This teaching includes training in the fullest utilization of the food supply; the care and remodeling of clothing; the making and care of simple furniture, bedding, and the like; and the making of some utensils. It may involve organizing clubs.

- (b) Teaching the family how to enlarge their resources by the keeping of domestic animals and the cultivation and preservation of vegetables, fruits, or other food supply. This may involve club work.

- (c) Enlisting or helping to enlist the coöperation of the men and children of the family in improving the condition of the home and surroundings.

- (d) Teaching the household arts to girls' clubs, such as the Four-H clubs, in coöperation with the schools.



(e) Teaching the women how to do retail buying, extending this instruction to the men and children also if they do any considerable part of the buying for the household.

(f) Enlisting the help of local merchants and traders and of state and county home demonstration workers in this program of education.

3. Promotion of Economic Efficiency: Promotion of economic efficiency is a part of a general industrial program. The service to women and homes includes:

(a) Vocational guidance of women who find it necessary to support the family or to add to the income, and of school girls who wish to enter wage earning occupations.

(b) Occupational training of women and girls who must add to the family income or who must be self supporting. On many reservations this training would consist largely of stimulating and developing the native handicrafts. In some localities agricultural pursuits such as the raising of chickens, turkeys, or rabbits, the keeping of bees, or the preservation of foods for the market should be developed, while in others arrangements should be made to secure training for urban occupations.

(c) Representing the interests of the women in the employment service of the agency.

(d) Coöperating with the agricultural agent or other industrial worker in developing family and community agricultural and industrial plans.

(e) Working coöperatively with state and private organizations in order to keep in touch with occupational developments and to stimulate interest in the economic problems of the Indians.

4. Treatment of Personal Maladjustments: The duties involved in the treatment of the personal maladjustments embrace:

(a) The diagnosis and treatment of the personal difficulties involved in failure to make a living, such as feeble-mindedness, insanity, physical handicaps, and occupational maladjustments, as well as lack of harmony between members of the family, and bad habits where no abnormalities are indicated.

(b) Administering relief and providing for the care of dependents, such as orphans and the aged.

(c) The prevention, as far as possible, of divorce or separation, of irregular sex relations, through the effecting of harmonious adjustments within the family and the community.

(d) The prevention of juvenile and adult delinquency by securing the treatment of physical and mental difficulties as well as by improvements in environmental conditions, both family and community. This prevention involves work with pre-delinquents and the exercise of the probationary function in connection with courts handling domestic relations and delinquency.

(e) Enlisting family coöperation in plans for clinical or institutional treatment of members whenever such treatment is desirable.

(f) Enlisting the help of state and local agencies concerned with the above problems, especially for clinical service, and for police or other community control of commercialized vice and harmful forms of recreation.

5. Community Recreation: Community recreation involves the service to homes through the development of wholesome community interests and activities of a recreational nature, and includes:

(a) The fostering of the better forms of native recreation, eliminating or controlling so far as possible any bad features; the development of local interests in order to set up competition with camp life.

(b) Encouragement of the recreational features of the native handicrafts, particularly as a relief from the monotony of chronic illness.

(c) The study and improvement of the recreational features of home life, especially the encouragement of forms of short period entertaining to take the place of the protracted visiting now prevalent.

(d) The developing of the recreational programs of community centers, usually in coöperation with the schools. The work includes the providing of play facilities for children of school age or younger; the developing of libraries and story hours, and the organizing of groups in the community for musical, athletic, and dramatic activities.

(e) Coöperation with missionaries and other private agencies in planning comprehensive programs of recreation.

(f) In mixed Indian and white communities the encouragement of community forms of recreation to promote inter-racial acquaintance and understanding.

6. Specialized Types of Social Case Work: In some parts of the Service certain special conditions may be so acute in form or so common that some of the more specialized kinds of social work will be necessary. Of these specialized forms of case work the following are examples:

(a) Medical social work, which "is based upon a medical need and is so integrated with the hospital organization and the practice of medicine that it cannot exist of itself as a separate entity. Its method is similar to that of family case work but it must utilize a particular content of medical and social knowledge and it is on a consideration of the medical problems that the social plan is initiated."<sup>39</sup> The medical social worker acts as interpreter between doctor, patient, the patient's family, and the different social agencies of the community, initiating and helping to put into effect a plan whereby the patient is enabled to carry out the recommendations of the physician. Such service is peculiarly needed among the Indians in view of the prevalence of tuberculosis, a disease which usually necessitates temporary, and frequently permanent, economic adjustments.

(b) The re-education of the adult blind either in their homes or in classes with a view to making them self supporting and useful members of the community. This involves an equipment of social case work training combined with technical training in the teaching of the blind. It is partly vocational, partly recreational, and may involve a variety of social adjustments in the family group and the community.

(c) Occupational therapy in tuberculosis sanatoria. It supplies training in a variety of handicrafts as well as an understanding of the symptoms of the disease and the mental states accompanying it. The objects to be attained by such work among Indian patients would be to lessen their discontent under sanatorium existence, thus prolonging their stay and promoting a cure; and to develop for chronic cases a means to full or partial self support.

<sup>39</sup> From a bulletin of the American Association of Social Workers: "Vocational aspects of medical social work."

(d) The placement of orphan or otherwise homeless children in foster homes where they may have the advantage of wholesome family life. Child placing involves an expert type of investigative work and supervision of the homes and the children. It is only one of several specialized lines of social case work with dependent or neglected children.

*Positions Necessary to Performance of Services.* A class of positions for each one of the four major types of service should be created in order that specially qualified persons may be available for communities with outstanding problems of a specialized character. It is hardly likely, however, that an employee of each class would prove the best local arrangement, even in a large and backward community covering large territory. In many jurisdictions the duties of adult education and the promotion of economic efficiency could be combined under a single employee, while on small reservations these duties could be shared by the public health nurse and the family case worker, in addition to their own specialized forms of work. In a small locality with flourishing day schools, recreational activities for adults as well as children might be centered in the schools if the teaching staff were able to assume the extra duties involved. Two women workers to any given area should be considered a minimum, for no one person can have the wide variety of training and experience necessary for the proper performance of all the essential services to women and homes.

The qualifications for these positions should be:

For the public health nurse: (1) Graduation from a training school of recognized standing; (2) one year's course in public health; (3) at least one year's successful experience under supervision in a regularly organized public health nursing association.

For the home demonstration worker, the vocational adviser, the general family case worker, and the recreation leader: (1) The equivalent of a B. A. or B. S. degree; (2) at least one year's technical training for social administration; (3) two years of successful experience with an organization of recognized standing.

The positions of family case worker and recreation leader should be open to both men and women.

*Duties and Qualifications of the Girls' Matrons in Boarding Schools.* In either a reservation or a non-reservation boarding

school each matron should be responsible for not over twenty-five girls if she is to perform the following duties satisfactorily:

1. Creating as far as possible a family atmosphere with unobtrusive protection and chaperonage.
2. Supervising or helping to supervise the spending of money and otherwise encouraging the formation of habits of value to future homemakers.
3. Counselling with girls on personal problems of all kinds. This includes vocational guidance.
4. Coöperating with teachers in the study of girls whose school work is poor or who present other personality difficulties.
5. Coöperating with teachers and others in supplying the recreational needs of girls and boys.
6. Encouraging contacts between the girls and their homes.
7. Interpreting the ways of white people to the girls and creating useful points of contact between them and whites.
8. Serving as a local representative of the central employment service for girls. Girls' matrons might constitute a local committee on placement headed by the superintendent of the school.

The educational qualifications for girls' matrons should be the same as for teachers in a school system having a recognized guidance program, and in addition: (1) A least one year's successful experience as vocational adviser in an accredited high school; or (2) at least one year's successful experience as a teacher in an accredited Indian high school; or (3) at least one year's successful experience in some form of personnel work or recreational work with young women or adolescent girls.

*Salaries and Conditions of Work.* Higher standards for salaries and working conditions must be set up and maintained if the Indian Service is to secure and retain competent workers on reservations. Employees who value their own efficiency will not tarry long in the Service under conditions that tend to impair their ability as workers.

Salaries should be equivalent to those paid for similar services by the best state and private organizations. If deductions for living quarters must be made they should be proportionate to the values received, and no discrimination should be made against Indian employees in the assignment of quarters. On many reservations

more and better living accommodations for employees are much needed.

Either closed cars should be furnished for field workers or they should be allowed to provide their own cars and be paid mileage sufficient to cover the full expense of operation.

The recreational life of employees should be provided for, at least by supplying comfortable club rooms equipped with radios, magazines, and books. First class work cannot be done by persons suffering under the ill effects of long continued isolation from the outside world. Employees should have at least one day in seven entirely free from the duties of the Indian Service. As a rule evenings should be left free from routine duties unless equivalent time is allowed during the day. Employees should be allowed their full annual leave.

Incompetence of employees should be a cause for dismissal rather than for a long series of transfers. Transfers should be infrequent, especially since tribal customs and attitudes and other local conditions vary so widely that an employee is a considerable time in reaching the maximum of usefulness in a given situation. The employee who fails to do good work after two or three trials at the most has usually demonstrated sufficiently that he does not belong in the Indian Service. Under the conditions of isolation typical of the Service, the incompetence of one is almost sure to lower the morale of the local group. The dislike of Indians or a lack of sympathetic understanding of the race should be considered incompetence.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1.—Number of homes studied by five members of the survey staff,<sup>a</sup> by reservation or locality

Reservation or tribe	Total	Number of homes visited by	
		One person	Two or more persons
Total .....	519	363	156
Blackfeet .....	19	9	10
Cass Lake .....	23	16	7
Cheyenne River .....	16	16	...
Consolidated Ute .....	4	4	...
Crow .....	6	6	...
Five Civilized Tribes.....	88	33	55
Flathead .....	7	7	...
Ft. Belknap .....	12	9	3
Ft. Berthold .....	10	10	...
Ft. Hall .....	16	16	...
Ft. Peck .....	9	...	9
Hopi .....	10	9	1
Hualapai .....	9	9	...
Jicarilla .....	7	7	...
Keshena .....	9	9	...
Kiowa .....	28	17	11
Klamath .....	8	8	...
Laguna .....	3	3	...
Leupp .....	5	5	...
Mission .....	13	8	5
Osage .....	16	9	7
Ponca .....	5	4	1
Potawatomi .....	5	5	...
Nevada Industrial Colonies.....	9	8	1
Rocky Boy's .....	10	10	...
Rosebud .....	17	10	7
Sacaton .....	4	4	...
San Carlos .....	8	8	...
Schurz .....	30	11	19
Shawnee .....	5	5	...
Sisseton .....	4	2	2
Skokomish .....	2	2	...
Tomah .....	7	7	...
Tongue River .....	13	13	...
Tulalip .....	22	12	10
Umatilla .....	4	4	...
Warm Springs .....	7	7	...
Western Navajo .....	3	3	...
Winnebago .....	10	7	3
Yakima .....	11	11	...
Zuni .....	5	5	...
Scattered families .....	20	15	5

<sup>a</sup> This table includes only family visits made by Mr. Cloud, Dr. Dale, Dr. Edwards, Miss Mark, and Mr. Meriam which are recorded in their field notes in some detail. Many other homes were visited where it was impracticable to get much information because of absence of members of the family, language difficulties, reticence of the Indians, or limitations of time. The practice was not to attempt to get information from Indians who appeared really ill at ease.

It does not include the farms and homes visited by Dr. Spillman in his study of agriculture or the homes visited by Miss Duke in studying the migrated Indians. Dr. Ryan and Dr. McKenzie also visited homes as an incident to their work but these visits are not included here.

TABLE 2.—Number of homes of various sizes, classified according to the number of occupants<sup>a</sup>

Number of persons in household	Total	Number of rooms in dwelling <sup>b</sup>							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more
Total..	366	97	98	83	40	19	14	8	7
I .....	13	5	5	1	1	1	..	..	..
2 .....	49	13	13	10	7	..	2	3	1
3 .....	49	9	19	10	4	2	2	1	2
4 .....	57	14	15	10	10	3	3	1	1
5 .....	56	16	15	12	7	4	2	..	..
6 .....	48	12	12	18	4	1	1	..	..
7 .....	36	10	5	10	4	4	3	..	..
8 .....	17	7	4	2	1	..	..	1	2
9 .....	17	6	4	3	1	1	..	1	1
10 .....	13	3	3	4	1	..	1	1	..
11 or more.	11	2	3	3	..	3	..	..	..

<sup>a</sup> Only homes visited for which both number of rooms and number of members of the household were secured are included in this table.

<sup>b</sup> A household occupying two wickiups is enumerated as having two rooms. A tent or tepee alongside a house is counted an extra room if occupied by the household. Arbors are not considered rooms.

TABLE 3.—Number of homes of each size

Number of rooms	Homes	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Total .....	366	100.0
1 .....	97	26.5
2 .....	98	26.8
3 .....	83	22.6
4 .....	40	10.9
5 .....	19	5.2
6 .....	14	3.8
7 .....	8	2.2
8 .....	3	0.8
9 .....	1	0.3
10 .....	1	0.3
11 .....	1	0.3
12 .....	1	0.3

TABLE 4.—Number of households of each size

Number of persons	Households	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Total .....	366	100.0
1 .....	13	3.6
2 .....	49	13.4
3 .....	49	13.4
4 .....	57	15.6
5 .....	56	15.3
6 .....	48	13.1
7 .....	36	9.8
8 .....	17	4.6
9 .....	17	4.6
10 .....	13	3.6
11 .....	7	2.0
12 .....	2	0.5
13 .....	2	0.5

TABLE 5.—Amounts spent for different classes of foods by Apache and Pima families with no other source of food supply but the trader's store <sup>a</sup>

Tribe and family number	Amount spent for						Per cent spent for					
	Vegetables and fruits	Milk and cheese	Meat, fish, and eggs	Bread and cereals	Fat, sugar, and food adjuncts	Total	Vegetables and fruits <sup>b</sup>	Milk and cheese <sup>b</sup>	Meat, fish, and eggs	Bread and cereals	Fat, sugar, and food adjuncts	Total
San Carlos Apache												
1 .....	\$2.20	.....	\$8.00	\$8.55	\$6.15	\$24.90	8.8	.....	32.1	34.3	24.7	100.0
2 .....	5.90	\$ .55	8.35	8.90	8.95	32.65	18.1	1.7	25.6	27.3	27.4	100.0
3 .....	.65	.....	2.45	6.00	5.45	14.55	4.5	.....	16.8	41.2	37.5	100.0
4 .....	1.65	.15	9.20	4.50	3.65	19.15	8.6	.8	48.9	23.5	19.1	100.0
5 .....	2.55	.....	14.55	7.05	7.30	31.45	8.1	.....	46.3	22.4	23.2	100.0
6 .....	7.45	.25	10.95	7.10	8.55	34.30	21.7	.7	31.9	20.7	24.9	100.0
Sacaton Pima												
1 .....	2.11	.97	6.10	4.35	9.02	22.55	9.4	4.3	27.1	19.3	40.0	100.0
2 .....	6.08	1.75	8.43	9.30	7.55	34.01	20.5	5.1	24.8	27.3	22.2	100.0
3 .....	5.89	1.00	8.99	5.32	12.88	34.08	17.3	2.9	26.4	15.6	37.8	100.0
4 .....	9.20	1.55	6.50	6.82	11.50	35.57	25.9	4.4	18.3	19.2	32.3	100.0
Gillette percentage distribution <sup>c</sup> .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17.0 to 22.0	20.0 to 30.0	20.0 to 30.0	17.0 to 27.0	12.0 to 15.0	.....

<sup>a</sup> Store accounts were obtained from several merchants in order to get some definite idea of the food consumption of Apaches and Pimas. Each trader was asked to furnish at least one month's account for families who bought only from him and only on credit. This, of course, involves a selection, for some families are too unreliable to be allowed credit, and their buying habits are likely to be poorer than those of the families with accounts. None of these families had gardens or domestic animals. Each trader furnished the account of one family with good living conditions and one with poor conditions, choosing no family in which either husband or wife was lacking. Preferably families consisting of father, mother, and children were selected. Each account covers approximately a month in the fall of 1926.

<sup>b</sup> Professor Sherman of Columbia University gives the following rules of safety governing expenditures for food: "(1) At least as much should be spent for milk (including cream and cheese, if used) as for meats, poultry and fish, and (2) at least as much should be spent for fruits and vegetables as for meats, poultry, and fish."

<sup>c</sup> The distribution based upon the experience of Miss Lucy Gillette in her work upon family nutrition problems for the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

TABLE 6.—Age of matrons in boarding schools<sup>a</sup>

	Age	Number
Total		110
Less than 25		4
25 but less than 30		1
30 " " "	35	10
35 " " "	40	9
40 " " "	45	29
45 " " "	50	17
50 " " "	55	12
55 " " "	60	14
60 " " "	65	6
65 and over		1
Not reported		7

<sup>a</sup> This information is from questionnaires filled out by employees reporting as "Matrons," "Head Matrons," and "Girls' Matrons."

## CHAPTER XII

## THE MIGRATED INDIANS

General social and economic forces will inevitably operate to accelerate the migration of Indians from the reservations to industrial communities. For two major reasons the Indian Service should keep well informed regarding the conditions confronted by these migrated Indians. The first reason is that the evidence thus secured will furnish the basis for the modification and development of educational resources, such as schools and the other activities maintained by the government, to fit Indians to meet life in the face of white civilization. The second reason is that the Indian Service can render an invaluable service to migrated Indians in aiding them to become established in and adjusted to their new environment. In the case of reservations possessed of meagre economic resources and opportunities, it may even prove advisable for the government deliberately to adopt a policy looking toward expediting this movement to such industrial communities as afford fullest opportunities for labor and development.

The nature of the activities which the government itself will undertake in aiding the migrated Indians should be determined upon the basis of a thorough study of the facts in each particular situation, because as the present brief survey discloses, conditions are far from uniform. A policy and program applicable to one set of conditions would be entirely inapplicable to a different situation.

The Indians living in camps on the outskirts of Needles, Kingman, Globe, and Miami are obviously just reservation Indians, more or less temporarily industrially employed in these communities. Their needs with respect to the promotion of health and the raising of social and economic conditions are virtually the same as those of their fellows still on the reservation, though the problem of rendering these services is somewhat complicated by their immediate proximity to the white towns. It is eminently desirable that insofar as possible they should participate in the normal life