

sary to their advancement. Curiously, in several instances the most vigorous objection to them comes not so much from native born whites as from foreign born whites, themselves recent immigrants to this country. This condition can be overcome by more effective work in improving social and economic conditions, thus improving health.

Obviously all such difficulties of an inter-racial nature become greater as long as the cultural gap is wide and the personal contacts close. It will be cheaper and easier to work to close the gap by improving the conditions of the Indians now than to do so after these degenerating contacts have had a longer time to operate.

Although the actual amount of money required to bring the Indian Service to a reasonably high state of efficiency is a large sum itself (probably not less than ten million dollars), it would still be a relatively small item in the total of national expenditures. The nation could make the appropriation without any serious strain on the taxpayers, and if the economic efficiency of the Indians could be raised, as seems entirely possible, the material returns from the investment would be high. Failure adequately to deal with this whole question with reasonable promptness can have no other result than a yearly growth of the problem to such dimensions that greater strain to meet it will be inevitable.

The history of the relationship between the whites and the Indians contains much to which the whites cannot point with pride. No attempt will be made in this report to discuss some of these darker pages in American history.<sup>10</sup> They are reasonably well known to every student of American history and nothing is to be gained by reviewing them here. They are mentioned because the nation has at present the opportunity, if it will, to write the closing chapters in the history of the treatment of the Indians by the government of the United States. To really patriotic citizens who love and admire their country and who like to view with pride its achievements, it would be something of an atonement and a worthwhile accomplishment if these closing chapters should disclose the national government giving to the Indians the highest quality of expert service to make them capable and efficient citizens of the nation, able to take care of themselves and to contribute to the nation from the best of their own original American culture.

<sup>10</sup> For history of Indian relations, see Schmeckebier, pp. 11-90.

## CHAPTER V

### ORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL INDIAN WORK

Three fundamental recommendations must be made for strengthening the organization of the Indian Service. Briefly summarized, they are:

1. The creation, in connection with the Washington office, of a professional and scientific Division of Planning and Development.
2. A material strengthening of the school and reservation forces that are in direct contact with the Indians and are responsible for developing and improving their economic and social condition through education in the broadest sense of the word.
3. The maximum practical decentralization of authority so that to the fullest possible extent initiative and responsibility may be vested in the local officers in direct contact with the Indians.

Each of the recommendations requires elaboration and each will be taken up in turn.

#### **A PROFESSIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC "DIVISION OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT"**

The functions of the recommended "Division of Planning and Development" may be outlined briefly as follows:

1. To advise the Commissioner in matters requiring technical or scientific knowledge of particular problems.
2. At the request of the Commissioner and subject to his approval to formulate programs and develop policies to be carried out by administrative officers or to assist in planning and arranging cooperative programs with state and local authorities.
3. To visit schools and agencies and to report to the Commissioner upon the effectiveness of the administration in those fields of work that are professional, technical, or scientific in character.
4. To visit schools and agencies and to advise and counsel with superintendents and other employees regarding the development and improvement of these specialized activities.
5. Upon direction of the Commissioner to investigate and hold hearings upon matters of special complaint that involve technical or scientific subjects.

No one who studies the Indian Service can fail to be impressed with the diversity of its activities. No other government agency exceeds it in the number and variety of the fields of human activity which it embraces. It must minister to all the needs of well over 200,000 Indians who are, without any possibility of legal quibble, still wards of the government, and it is deeply concerned with the entire Indian population numbering over 300,000.

In behalf of its wards the government must make provision for the promotion of health, education, economic development in agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, and a great variety of other industries, advancement in social conditions including family life and community activities, and the maintenance of law and order. It must also conserve and often manage the property of its wards, in some instances a task of great financial responsibility.<sup>1</sup> These functions must be performed, not with respect to a concentrated homogeneous population embraced in a comparatively small area, but with respect to widely scattered groups often living in almost unbelievable isolation and varying all the way from extremely primitive to those who have reached approximately the same scale of development as the prevailing white civilization of their communities. The economic and social conditions with which the Service must deal are equally varied. Many different kinds of agriculture must be known to the Service—ordinary farming with a sufficient rainfall, dry farming, farming under irrigation in a climate which will give seven cuttings of alfalfa in a year, farming under irrigation where the season is so short that maturing a crop is a problem, livestock raising whose summer and winter feed are both available, and livestock raising where the problem of wintering stock is serious. The economic resources of the wards vary all the way from those of the Osages, submerged by a flood of unearned income,<sup>2</sup> to the many Indians submerged by extreme poverty occasioned by the utter lack of agricultural or industrial resources on their lands.

Add to the administrative problems the pressure coming from the encroachments of white civilization with both its good and its bad ;

<sup>1</sup> The activities of the Service are discussed in detail in Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs*, pp. 143-269.

<sup>2</sup> For information on poverty of the Osages at one time, and present economic and social condition, see Schmeckebier, pp. 111-15.

missionaries of many different sects and denominations, some broad, tolerant, and coöperative, and others not ; whites anxious to help and protect the Indians but with an extreme divergence of views as to how it is to be done ; whites anxious to despoil the Indians of their property without conscience as to the means to be employed ; persons holding public office with views regarding Indians and their rights as widely variant as are those entertained by the different classes of whites. Scramble all these things together with many more not specifically mentioned and one gets a very much simplified picture of the job of the Indian Service, and of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

No Commissioner of Indian Affairs, however able and efficient, can possibly be master of all the fields of knowledge which must be brought to bear in the administration of the Indian Service. To a lesser extent this same statement may be made with respect to superintendents of agencies and schools. The jobs are too varied and diversified, the number of fields involved too great. It is not surprising therefore, frequently to encounter in the field intelligent and observing Indians who attribute some of their failure to advance to the frequent changes in programs and policies resulting from a change in the office of superintendent. One superintendent advocates stock raising as the economic salvation of his Indians, and his Indians attempt to follow his leadership. His successor says stock raising is no good, that the Indians must raise corn, and again they attempt to take his advice. A third superintendent follows who says the Indians cannot get anywhere with corn, they must try sheep. It is small wonder the Indians become skeptical of their Moses.

Astute observers say that what has happened on some of the reservations because of changes in officials and policies is to a considerable extent true of the Indian Service as a whole, that it has had similar reversals of policy and program ; and considerable evidence warrants such a conclusion. A previous administration rode hard the theory that the salvation of the Indian was to turn him loose from government supervision. Competency commissions went through the Indian country applying this theory wholesale, and many a poor Indian found himself a patent-in-fee Indian without the knowledge and ability to stand on his own feet, without government advice and assistance. The present administration wisely

called a halt, and is proceeding on a far more cautious and conservative policy, with less regard for a radical theory and more for practical facts. Tribal herds had their vogue. They probably went up too fast and came down too hard. They undoubtedly have their place, for on some of the reservations stock raising is the main economic possibility. The fact is, however, that the Indian Service has lacked for its different jurisdictions a well considered, well rounded program, arrived at after a full and careful consideration of the various essential factors in the situation by persons competent through training and experience to evaluate these factors and develop such a program.

Without stopping to discuss the more or less academic question of whether this failure has resulted from a lack of funds, or from a lack of vision of the necessity for such work, or a combination of the two, it may be said unqualifiedly that the Indian Service lacks expert technical advisers in most branches of its work. The duty of studying, planning, and developing has fallen on general administrative officers, whose days are already filled with myriads of administrative duties, some major and some minor. Although in some instances these employees have considerable technical knowledge and experience in some one or more special fields covered by the Indian Service, they cannot possibly be experts in them all. As administrators they must be general men, not specialists, and the work of surveying conditions and working out programs calls for specialists who can cooperate and develop a program which good general administrative men can carry out.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs needs the advice and assistance of such men in addition to that of his administrative assistants. In the matter of school curriculum, for example, he needs not only the advice and experience of those who have devoted their lives to the administration of Indian schools, but also of those who, free from the burden of administrative work, have had the training and the opportunity to specialize in the study of curricula in all kinds of schools and can bring to the Indian Service the wealth of experience gained in educational enterprises conducted under widely differing conditions. Both types are necessary; one without the other is like a single blade of a pair of shears.

Superintendents of agencies and of schools are equally in need of expert advice and assistance in the varied activities of their

administration. Numerous instances can be cited of able efficient field administrators who would be quick to profit from suggestions for improvement in lines of activity which lie outside the range of their special training and experience. Again it must be emphasized that they are not being criticized because their training and experience do not embrace every line of activity they are called upon to supervise and administer. To get administrators who had such training and experience would be humanly impossible. They must have specialists to whom they can turn for aid. As an illustration of what may be done in this direction may be cited the progress made in the Indian schools in recent years in the teaching of home economics, an improvement brought about in no small measure by the employment of a specialist in this field to advise and work with the school administrators. What the superintendents need is far more assistance of this general character, so that in each important field they can secure expert technical aid.

These technically trained and experienced persons are also needed to investigate complaints from the field which are technical in their nature. As an instance, a group of Indians complain that they have been charged with heavy construction costs for the irrigation of their lands, a work undertaken by the government upon its own initiative, and that it is impossible for them so to use their lands that they can meet the construction charge and the operation and maintenance charge. They have the fear that the whole enterprise is a conspiracy ultimately to deprive them of their land and get it into the hands of white men. The hurried examination of this case by the present survey indicated that the Indians were probably right in their impression that under existing conditions in agriculture they could not make the land pay the charges; but it was extremely doubtful if any white people would take it over if they had to meet the same charges. The Secretary of the Interior has himself recognized the necessity for technical and scientific investigation in these fairly numerous irrigation cases and has appointed a well qualified fact finding committee to visit the various irrigation projects in the Indian Service. Similar investigations are needed in many fields and the Indian Service needs in its organization a definite provision for making them, hence the recommendation for a Division of Planning and Development.

This Division should as a general rule be kept free from regular routine administrative duties. The regular administrative duties should be left in the administrative units as at present. When called upon to do so by the Commissioner, members of the Division should study and report upon the work of the administrative units, but they should not issue orders to superintendents or attempt to assume any direct administrative authority. If orders are to be issued, they should come from the Commissioner so that there may be no confusion in lines of responsibility and authority. Heads of administrative units should, however, be free to seek the advice and suggestions of members of the Division when technical and scientific questions are involved.

**Organization and Procedure.** The Commissioner of Indian Affairs should be ex officio, the chairman or director of the Division. Routine matters of administration in the Division should be handled by an executive clerk or secretary. The members of the staff of the Division should each have a permanent or residual status of independence of other members of the Division and should report directly to the Commissioner for all assignments. Their temporary relations to each other should be established from time to time by assignments to projects made by the Commissioner. Thus an organization can be perfected for each project according to the needs of that project without undue embarrassment from previously established lines of authority and responsibility, and without undue commitment as to future lines.

To be more specific, an outstanding need for planning and development at the present moment relates to the Pima Reservation where the entire situation will be changed as the result of the building of the Coolidge Dam, and the irrigation of some 30,000 to 40,000 acres of land affecting about 4500 Indians. Here the Indian Service has a problem of the first magnitude calling for the best expert advice obtainable. It would be folly to entrust it to a single superintendent whose training and experience is that of a general administrator.

The Commissioner should be able to organize through his Division of Planning and Development a special committee to develop the entire program for the work. In this instance he might select as director of the particular project an agricultural economist or a broad gauged irrigation engineer. With them should be someone

who knows thoroughly farm demonstration work, another who can tie the schools into the program, and a third who can visualize the relation of the women to the enterprise. Some legal questions will doubtless arise, relating to water rights or to the possibilities of re-allotting certain families whose present allotments may not be within the area to be irrigated or of cancelling allotments where the present allottee cannot possibly make beneficial use of the water. A lawyer may have to be assigned to give some aid in the project, and others may prove necessary. The Commissioner should be as free to organize the project as is necessary without being hampered by previously established lines of authority and without committing himself as to what he will do in another assignment.

In such a Division of Planning and Development it may happen that a member of the staff may have simultaneously two or more assignments. In one he may be a subordinate with a minor assignment, in another he may be the responsible directing head. His position in each assignment will depend on the nature and needs of the particular project.

Although the Commissioner of Indian Affairs should be the official head of the Division, it does not by any means follow that he personally must do the detailed work of planning and organizing each project. Again to resort to a specific illustration, it is generally recognized that the present uniform standardized course of study for Indian schools has outlived its usefulness. The whole subject must be gone into again from the bottom up. The Commissioner might well consult the chief administrative man in charge of schools and the strongest specialist in his Division of Planning and Development in the field of school curriculum and ask them to prepare for him a plan for the organization of this project of radical changes to make the course of study fit the needs of the particular Indians who are being provided with schools. After consultation with them and after administrative review of their recommendations, he would issue substantially their plan for the conduct of the project.

**Positions in the Division.** The positions in the Division should be of two types, temporary and permanent. Temporary positions should provide opportunity for the retention for projects of special importance of specialists from other organizations. In some in-

stances the positions would be temporary because the Service does not have enough work in the particular field to justify the permanent retention of a specialist in it; in others, because the specialist needed is an outstanding man in the field and could only be secured temporarily for the single project. Some of these specialists would be drawn from other organizations in the national government, notably the Public Health Service, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Education, the Federal Board of Vocational Education, the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the United States Employment Service. In many instances in developing an agricultural program for a reservation, it would be desirable to retain temporarily specialists from the local state experiment stations and the state agricultural colleges, not only because of their specialized knowledge of local agriculture but also because through them effective plans of coöperative work between the national and the state governments can be perfected, thus facilitating the ultimate passage of the Indians from their status of wards of the national government to that of full fledged citizens of the state. Often specialists from colleges or universities or from private foundations or organizations will be found desirable, especially when they are representatives of organizations such as the American Red Cross, the National Tuberculosis Association, the American Child Health Association, or others like them, which may be in a position to render substantial aid on a coöperative basis in the actual execution of the plans after they have been developed. At times it will be desirable to have on these projects staff representatives of private organizations, which are particularly devoted to Indian affairs, and of missionary organizations which are at work in the field and whose intelligent understanding of the plan and effective coöperation in its prosecution are greatly to be desired even though they may not be absolutely essential. This device of having them represented in the formative stage would bring to the Indian Service the advantage of their knowledge and experience, and would at the same time tend to minimize that friction, now fairly frequently encountered, which generally has its origin in misunderstandings.

For the major activities of the Service which are continuous, the effort should be made to retain permanently highly qualified specialists who will quickly acquire a detailed knowledge of the Indian

Service and bring that knowledge to such temporary specialists as may from time to time be retained, so that the division coördinates the specialized knowledge of the Indian Service with the best knowledge gained by other organizations doing related work. The permanent specialists, if well qualified for their positions, will know and be in contact with the workers in their field in other organizations and will know what they are doing, and thus can advise the Commissioner regarding whom to retain for special projects.

To attempt at this time to say precisely what permanent positions should be created would be unwise, because time has not been available for a thorough discussion of the subject with the various officers of the Service and others whose detailed knowledge should be brought to bear on it. A valuable purpose will, however, be served by discussing briefly the needs as they have been seen by the members of the staff of the present survey.

**Health.** Promotion of health and the relief of the sick are functions of such extreme importance that they always merit first consideration. Fortunately at present the Indian Service is probably better equipped for planning and developmental work in the field of health than in any other branch of its activities. The present administration has already taken a great step in advance in enlisting the whole-hearted coöperation of the Public Health Service. The chief medical officer of the Indian Service is a commissioned officer in the Public Health Service. He is well equipped for planning and developmental work. As is set forth at length in the special report relating to health, he should be supplied with a small staff of specialists to aid him in developing and perfecting the specialized medical services which must be rendered. The position of epidemiologist at present authorized should be filled. New positions should be created for specialists representing the fields of tuberculosis, trachoma, child hygiene, venereal disease, and hospital administration. Their duties should be primarily consultive rather than administrative, and much of their time should be available for work with the Division of Planning and Development. Other needs for medical specialists can doubtless be supplied from time to time by further details from the Public Health Service in such a way that the extensive and varied resources of that strong organization will be available for the Indian Service. As has previously been

pointed out, this proposed project method of planning and development will furnish an effective means by which the aid of other organizations such as state boards of health, the American Public Health Association, the National Tuberculosis Association, the American Red Cross, the Commonwealth Fund, and the American Child Health Association can be brought in, not to do an independent unrelated thing, but to do a particular part of a carefully worked out program.

The field of public health nursing also might properly be considered under this heading of health but it seems better to take it up later under family and community life as it is so closely concerned with the education and development of women for home life.

**Education.** As will be repeated again and again throughout this report practically all activities of the Indian Service should be educational in the broad sense. All employees in the Division of Planning and Development will be primarily concerned with Indian education, whether they are specialists in health, in economic advancement, in family and community life, in legal affairs, or in the more formal education given in schools. Under the present heading of education, however, will be considered only those positions concerned more directly with schools.

In the vitally important field of the school program much planning and development is needed to meet changed conditions and to bring the Indian schools abreast of the schools in progressive white communities, to make them fit better into the general educational systems of the states in which they lie, and to bring about that greater diversity of educational practice and procedure called for by the great diversity in the advancement of the Indians in the different sections of the country and in the economic and social conditions which confront them. Fortunately in this field the national government already has in its service a considerable body of well qualified specialists in the different branches of educational activity which will be involved, notably, in the Bureau of Education and the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Much can therefore be achieved through coöperative effort. It would seem as if the wisest procedure would be at the outset to secure for the Division of Planning and Development one permanent specialist in education, selected because of his breadth of knowledge of the

general field and his contacts with the educational activities of the country. He should be able to advise with the Commissioner and with the administrative officers in charge of schools in planning projects and serve as the liaison officer to secure from other organizations, national, state, and private, the specialists needed for particular projects. Experience may demonstrate that some of these specialists brought in for temporary assignments are rendering such valuable aid that they will be retained for very considerable periods. In this connection it should be pointed out that colleges, universities, and educational systems are recognizing in an increasing degree the desirability of releasing their specialists for special service in projects of public importance. They recognize that they themselves profit in the long run from such a practice whatever may be the immediate inconvenience. Thus the Indian Service will probably find that it can enlist for its work some of the very best men and women in the country, persons who will accept temporary appointments though they would not consider a permanent position.

**Economic Development.** Possibly the outstanding need of the Indian Service lies in the general field of economic development, because here the Service is, at present, at its weakest.

Abundant evidence indicates the extreme importance of agriculture. It is by far the dominant industry among the Indians. The economic resources of most of them are predominantly agricultural. Agriculture in practically all its forms means an outdoor life. The Indian by inheritance is, of course, an outdoor man; and even if this were not the fact, the data regarding his health would indicate the necessity of directing him toward outdoor work. It follows therefore that great attention should be given the subject of agricultural development.

*Agricultural Economist.* The first need of the Service with respect to agriculture is an agricultural economist, who with other members of the Division of Planning and Development and with the administrative officers, can make a real study of the agricultural possibilities of the several jurisdictions and formulate a more or less permanent educational agricultural program which will be fitted to the resources of each jurisdiction and will not be subject to change with changing superintendents.

*Cattle and Sheep Specialists.* Since much of the Indian land is fit only for grazing and since cattle raising and sheep raising are each specialties, there is need, at least for several years, for a well qualified man in each of these two subjects. Sheep raising appears to offer exceptional opportunities.

*Agricultural Demonstrator.* Great improvement is needed in instructing Indians in agriculture and especially in furnishing them leadership and encouragement. The permanent staff should therefore include one man thoroughly posted on agricultural demonstration work, with wide acquaintanceship among the agricultural extension workers of the country, especially of the Middle West and the Far West. In this instance personality is important, for this official should be able to stimulate the local forces in the field and, more important, the Indians themselves. Several superintendents have demonstrated the possibility of rousing in the Indians pride in accomplishment. The person selected for this position should have this power to a marked degree.

Although other agricultural specialists would be needed from time to time in the temporary positions already described, it is believed that with these four positions created and ably filled, reasonably rapid progress could be expected in the formulating of well considered plans and in getting them under way. Again attention should be called to the fact that the form of organization proposed would permit of utilizing the temporary services of specialists from the United States Department of Agriculture, from state departments, and from state agricultural colleges and experiment stations.

*Vocational Guidance.* Since not all Indians wish to be agriculturists and since not all reservations offer real opportunities for agricultural development, consideration must be given to getting Indians established in other industrial pursuits. Some movement to cities is already in evidence and more rather than less lies ahead. Intelligent planning and development in this field affords a real opportunity for constructive service, which will bear fruit in two ways. First, it will aid Indians in getting placed and adjusted, something which they very much need because of their lack of contact with urban industrial conditions, their lack of knowledge of these conditions and requirements, and their natural timidity

when in direct contact with white competition. Second, the experience gained in these efforts will give real data for revising and developing the industrial training given in the Indian schools. It would hardly seem as if the Indian Service itself would have to develop an elaborate machinery for finding positions. For this branch of the work it should establish connections with existing agencies national, state, and local. It will, of course, require field employees on the reservations to make this work effective. The first need is for a thorough study and a well developed plan. The person selected should be well qualified for making contacts and preferably should have a fairly wide acquaintanceship with persons engaged in placement work.

*Native Arts and Industries.* The survey staff has been impressed by the possibilities of the development of native Indian art and its application as an enrichment to our industry. Already possibilities in this direction have been demonstrated by private organizations and activities. The whole subject is considered more at length elsewhere, both from the economic standpoint<sup>3</sup> and from the social and psychological.<sup>4</sup> It would seem that, encouraged and developed, it would not only add materially to the economic resources of the Indians, many of whom are in great need, but it would also furnish them the opportunity to make a distinctly Indian contribution to our civilization which would appeal to their very proper racial pride. The possibilities are such that the national government could well afford for several years to retain at least one competent person, who with assistance from temporary specialists could go into the matter thoroughly and determine its possibilities.

**Family and Community Life.** The second broad field in which much remains to be done is in planning and developing well rounded programs relating to family life, home conditions, and recreation. These subjects are closely interrelated with health, school, and economic efficiency. The conditions found by the survey and detailed recommendations with reference thereto are presented in detail in other sections of the report.<sup>5</sup> The purpose here is briefly

<sup>3</sup> Pages 531 to 533.

<sup>4</sup> Pages 645 to 651.

<sup>5</sup> See the chapter on Family and Community Life, especially pages 629 to 638, the chapter on Health, especially 259 to 274, and that on Education, especially, pages 348 to 351 and 399 to 402.

to point out the positions in these fields which should be provided for in the Division of Planning and Development.

*Public Health Nursing.* Under the present administration the Indian Service has recognized the need for well trained public health nurses to visit the Indian homes, both to care for the sick and to give instructions in matters relating to health. It already has on its central staff a public health nurse whose duties are to develop this highly important activity. The beneficial results of this work are already apparent, although the Service has been handicapped by lack of funds for its rapid extension. The Division of Planning and Development should include at least one specialist in this field, so that as rapidly as possible the needs of the several jurisdictions for this important service may be determined and presented to Congress for appropriations. The necessity for the rapid development of this Service is so great as to warrant the recommendation that at least one well equipped person be free to devote all her time to planning and development, relieved of all responsibilities for the routine of administration.

*Home Demonstration Work.* The Indian Service has long recognized in the field the need for what is known generally as home demonstration work, but the standards which it set for this activity, arrived at years ago when such activities were in their infancy, have been too low to be effective. It has recently made a noteworthy advance in connection with teaching domestic science and home making in the schools, through the employment for its central staff, of a person technically trained and experienced in domestic science and home making. It needs to apply the same principle in its work on the reservation. The first step in this direction should be securing for its Division of Planning and Development a person thoroughly trained and experienced in home demonstration work in rural communities, so that it may have the benefit of the great body of knowledge and experience that has been accumulated in this field.

*Social Service.* The Service apparently has never had the advantage of the great body of knowledge and experience which has been accumulated through what, for lack of a better term, is called social work and which concerns itself with aiding handicapped families or individuals in adjusting themselves to their environment. The leading colleges and universities now give courses covering these fields and several special schools of high rank have been

established to train persons in the principles involved and their application. Persons with this excellent training and with wide and successful practical experience are available. One such person should be on the central staff of the Indian Service, so that it will have the benefit of this type of knowledge and be kept in contact with the organizations that are now rendering such service in white communities, both urban and rural. The need for work of this character in the Indian Service is striking, as will be apparent from reading the section of this report regarding family life.<sup>6</sup>

**Law and Order.** The Division of Planning and Development would be incomplete without one permanent man with excellent legal training. He should have in addition a broad social background, as many of the legal matters with which he will be concerned are distinctly social in their nature, marriage and divorce, the handling of petty offenders, juvenile and adult, the provision of legal aid for the poor and ignorant in cases which are petty from a national standpoint but vital to the individual Indian who is trying to get on his feet and finds himself victimized by his sharper neighbor. The questions of whether the Indians should be subject to state laws regarding marriage and divorce and crime, for example, cannot be answered by one uniform decision, applicable to the entire Indian country; they must be answered by detailed studies of particular jurisdictions with due regard to the social and economic conditions of the Indians and their geographical location or, in other words, their isolation. These subjects are of course discussed in detail in other sections of the report.<sup>7</sup> It is believed that they demonstrate clearly the need for a permanent position to be filled by a person competent to bring to their consideration specialized knowledge and wide experience and to establish contacts with organizations having special experience in these fields.

**Classification of Positions, Salaries, Appropriations, etc.** These recommendations for permanent positions in the Division of Planning and Development would call for eleven specialists in addition to the five needed as assistants to the medical director who might administratively be attached to his office. One permanent

<sup>6</sup> Pages 547 to 661.

<sup>7</sup> Pages 743 to 811.



position should be created in each of the following fields; school education, agricultural economics, cattle raising, sheep raising, agricultural demonstration, vocational guidance and placement, development and application of native arts and industries, public health nursing, home demonstration, social work, and law in its social aspects. Again it should be emphasized that in the broad sense every one of these positions, whatever the specialty, would be primarily concerned with Indian education.

These positions should be classified as of senior professional grade (Grade 5) of the Professional and Scientific Service, as established by the Classification Act of 1923. Their duties will require them to perform advisory and research work based upon the established principles of a profession or science, and requiring professional scientific or technical training equivalent to that represented by graduation from a college or university of recognized standing, and many years of practical, successful and progressive experience in the application of these principles. They will be required to serve as consulting specialists and independently to plan, organize, and conduct investigations in original research or developmental work in their special professional, scientific, or technical fields. They should be persons of established reputation and standing. Their salaries under the Classification Act should range from \$5200 to \$6000.

In some instances it may prove practicable to fill these positions by the transfer of persons already on the professional and scientific staffs of other government offices, but in general they should be filled by open competition nationally advertised. This advertising could well embody an announcement of plans for the developing and improving the service for the Indians. Well done it would not only attract an able group of competitors but also would greatly strengthen the standing of the Indian Service with the public.

The appropriation for this Division, exclusive of the specialists to aid the medical director, should be a lump sum to be available for salaries and travelling expenses, including by all means attendance at meetings at government expense. To allow for freedom in employing temporary specialists and an adequate allowance for travelling expenses and clerical assistance an appropriation of \$250,000 is recommended.

#### **STRENGTHENING THE SCHOOL AND AGENCY FORCES IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE INDIANS**

The second fundamental step in improving the Indian Service should be to strengthen those forces that come in direct contact with the Indians.

**Superintendents' Salaries Should be Increased.** The Service is to be congratulated on the high average level it has been able to maintain in the positions of school and agency superintendents, despite the relatively low salaries paid for these positions. To no small extent this situation may be due to the fact that many of these men are now past middle age and have spent many years in the Service. Several of the outstanding ones entered during the nineties, when opportunities were few and when men of excellent general training and ability could be secured for relatively small salaries. In these later years of higher prices and high costs of living, they have stayed on, partly because of their devotion to their work and to the Indians, and partly because training and experience as superintendent of an Indian reservation or an Indian school have little market outside the government. The question of comparative salaries was forced upon the attention of the survey staff when on the way from a fairly large reservation with all its intricate problems of human relations a stop was made to visit a strip coal mine, and it was learned that the man who operated the electrical scoop shovel got more for his comparatively short day than did the superintendent of the Indian reservation who could know no hours.

The salaries of superintendents have been adjusted somewhat through the so-called reclassification of the field services of the government, but further increases are warranted. The effort should be to make effective the plan of having a fairly wide salary range for each superintendency, with the minimum in the neighborhood of the present salaries and with a maximum materially higher; as much as a third to a half higher would not be in the least unreasonable. Efficient and able superintendents with fine records and long service should be advanced to the maximum.

**Transfers of Superintendents Should be Minimized.** The range between the minimum salary and the maximum should be especially wide in the case of the smaller jurisdictions. To a certain

extent it is perhaps necessary and inevitable that they be used as training schools for the superintendents, but such use is hard on the Indians. When a superintendent has established friendly relations with his Indians, has won their confidence, and is exerting real leadership, his success may be rewarded by his transfer to another jurisdiction where the salary is higher. His own emotions may be mixed; the natural satisfaction of having a higher salary offset by regret at having to leave a job just at a time when he believed that he had steam up and was ready for real progress. Time and time again in the course of the survey it was almost pathetic to talk with superintendents whose hearts were with the Indians they had left behind, and whose overwhelming desire was to know how things were going with them, and what the survey staff thought of conditions on that reservation. It was, moreover, pathetic to talk with the Indians and to hear from them the many expressions of admiration and regard for the superintendent who had gone. Perhaps a past superintendent always looks better than a present one, but often the Indians would give concrete evidence of the real positions of leadership that the past superintendent had achieved and which so far as could be observed the successor did not promise to reach.<sup>8</sup> Every effort should be exerted to hold transfers of superintendents to a minimum and to provide for rewarding successful work on a small reservation by higher salary on that reservation. Too great emphasis can hardly be laid on the necessity for a superintendent to know his Indians and have their confidence, and that is something which cannot be done in a day.

**Retirement Ages Should be Reduced.** The age of retirement, under the present retirement law, is seventy, an age altogether too high for the Indian field service, and especially for superintendents of reservations. Only the exceptional man in the sixties, especially the late sixties, is possessed of the physical vigor demanded for

<sup>8</sup> In one striking case the home of a comparatively young Indian man was visited. A former superintendent had inspired him to real effort and he had been well on the road to success. As the Indian farmer who was our guide expressed it "He was sort of a pet of Mr. —. Mr. — would go out evenings whenever he could get a few of the boys together and he would sit round with them talking farming, and he had this boy going. The next man was more of an office man and he didn't get out much with the Indians. After Mr. — left this boy quit, and nobody has been able to get him to take any interest since."

effective work in the real Indian country. Distances are great, roads often poor, sometimes passable only after strenuous physical labor in snow, rain, or mud, bridges are often doubtful and sometimes entirely absent, and the temperature ranges are extreme. Often a trip to a distant part of the jurisdiction requires the better part of a day, driving through a country so remote that the persons in the car are almost entirely dependent on their own resources in case of any trouble. Lunch must be carried or eaten out of cans at a trader's store along the road. When night comes the superintendent is fortunate if he can put up with one of his district employees in a warm house, where he can get a meal prepared by a good cook and have a good bed in a room with the chill off. He may be where he is thankful to have a bed at all and to have a stove and firewood.

Under conditions such as these, it is not surprising to find some of the superintendents of advanced age becoming office men, spending much of their time on paper work that more vigorous superintendents delegate to their chief clerks, making their Indians come long distances to them even regarding fairly petty matters, and depending almost entirely for the necessary information as to actual conditions upon the reports of their district employees, reports the reliability of which the more vigorous superintendents check by first hand observation. The district employees find themselves left pretty much to their own devices, with only such direction and inspiration as the superintendent can give them at the agency office. The Indians, quick to observe and often to criticize, do not miss the facts. Their feeling sometimes is bitter, especially if a considerable part of the cost of administering the reservation is paid from tribal funds, or if they have previously had a superintendent whose belief was that a superintendent's main job is to be out on the reservation with his Indians, stimulating them to economic effort and to the improvement of home conditions. The best superintendents do take this view, and although they require a great deal of their district employees and place responsibility on them, they really supervise and direct their work on the spot where they can see conditions with their own eyes, and talk with the Indians involved, not in a hurried interview in the office, dependent entirely upon words exchanged through an interpreter, but right on the Indian's own land or in his own shack with the family gathered

about. One can often see more in such a visit than the district employee could possibly report, especially where it is very evident that the Indian and the district man are not getting along.

The purpose of stating this situation clearly is not to blame the men of advanced age for not doing things which physically they are unfit to do. An attempt to do them would in some cases be almost suicidal. The purpose is to show the reason for recommending that retirement in the Indian Service be made permissible at age sixty and compulsory at age sixty-five with permissive extensions in exceptional cases to seventy. The employee at sixty should have the privilege of saying "the time has come for me to quit, I am too old to do the work," and the government should have the privilege of retiring him upon its own initiative. The adoption of this provision would materially raise the average level of the superintendents in the Service.

**Retirement Allowances Should be Revised.** In this connection it should be pointed out that a mere change in the ages of retirement will not be very effective in inducing voluntary retirement unless the retirement allowances for the higher paid employees in the government service are made more nearly adequate, and have some relationship to the salary of the position occupied. The superintendent occupying a position paying \$3000 with a comfortable house, lighted and heated, is going to hesitate a long time before he voluntarily applies for retirement on \$1200 with no allowances. It is a whole lot easier to degenerate into a swivel-chair superintendent. The administration, too, will be slow to act especially if the superintendent has a long record of good service, and if the decline is gradual and not marked by any bad breaks.

**Higher Qualifications for New Employees.** Future appointments to superintendencies should be made with more consideration of the technical requirements of the positions on the particular reservations and the qualifications possessed by the available candidates. On certain reservations the economic possibilities are of an outstanding type, such as farming under natural rainfall, farming under irrigation, stock raising, or forestry. Other things being anywhere nearly equal, a person with good fundamental training and experience in these fields is likely to prove superior to someone whose chief qualifications for the work are his knowledge of the

office and of an Indian agency and his familiarity with the rules and regulations of the Service. Personality and administrative ability must of course always be given major consideration, but it should be possible in a Service as large as that dealing with the Indians to find persons possessed of these qualities in addition to the highly desirable training and experience in the lines along which lie the principal opportunities for the economic advancement of the particular Indians. One of the reasons for the recommendations which are to follow for raising the requirements for farmers, foresters, industrial and other teachers, and other professional and scientific subordinate workers, and for the establishment of the scientific and professional Division of Planning and Development, already described, is that such provisions will give the Service a far larger body of well equipped persons from whom selection may be made for promotion to superintendents. Examination of the ages of the superintendents will disclose that in the course of the next ten years the Service will have to replace a very considerable number of its veteran superintendents; and it may be questioned whether the younger timber at present in sight is as good as the old, for in the past ten or fifteen years positions in the Indian Service have not been nearly as attractive as they were when the present older superintendents entered the Service. It must be stated clearly that many of the present younger superintendents are excellent men and that there is no intention of discrediting them as a class in any way; but the Service will probably have to make more replacements in the fairly near future than it has for a good many years, and it should be giving consideration to that fact because of the vitally important place that superintendents, both school and agency, occupy in work for the advancement of the Indians.

**Raising Qualifications for Employees in Direct Contact with Indians.** The entrance standards for all positions where the employee comes in direct contact with the Indians to aid and lead them in a technical field should be placed on a reasonably high professional basis. It must be constantly borne in mind that these persons are primarily teachers; that their duties are not to do for the Indians but to teach the Indians to do for themselves and to give them encouragement and leadership. In some of the more remote parts

of the Indian country these employees furnish the chief contact which the Indians have with the government and with the white race. Some of the day schools, for example, are literally outposts of civilization, miles away from agency headquarters,<sup>9</sup> miles away from the nearest white neighbors. There is altogether too wide a variation between the best and the worst employees. A few were found surprisingly effective, but others unfortunately were pitifully weak and ineffective. All turns on the ability of the teacher and the housekeeper, usually a man and his wife, out by themselves, far beyond the possibility of any really effective supervision. High standards must be maintained for positions such as these. It is a waste of funds to have qualifications so low that persons can meet the requirements who could not satisfy those set up by many states for positions in an ordinary school where the work is done under direct supervision.

**Agricultural Demonstration Agents.** In the section on general economics,<sup>10</sup> are discussed at length the present qualifications and duties of the so-called farmers. With the salaries and the entrance qualifications as they have been the surprising fact is that there are actually some really good ones. One would really like to know why a former teacher, a graduate of a normal school, and a student of agriculture, with a wife and seven children to support, is content to work for a hundred dollars a month and his house in a fairly isolated station; how he maintains his contacts with and secures coöperation from the state experiment station and the county demonstration agents; how he has actually succeeded in stimulating his Indians to go into that combination of turkeys, Rhode Island Red chickens, and milk cows, with some crop-raising on the side; how he succeeds in coöperating effectively with the missionaries and the day school teacher; how in general he has done things in such a way that one leaves the jurisdiction with the feeling that here is a demonstration of what can be done. The explanation doubtless is that he is a born teacher, fairly well trained, with a passion for agricultural development and without much thought for the tangible rewards of effort. Suppose since the passage of the Dawes

<sup>9</sup> The distances between field headquarters and sub-units are given in the outline of organization of the Indian Service in Schmeckebier, pp. 334-92.

<sup>10</sup> Pages 540 to 541.

act, the farmers of the Indian Service as a class had been the equals of this man, what would have been the status of the Indian today? At the other extreme are the farmers who as agriculturists appeal, unwittingly, only to the Indian's sense of humor. One farmer frankly admitted that he could not teach the Indians anything; he did not even raise a garden for himself or keep a cow, he couldn't raise anything in this country; but the Indians were doing it and had been for years, despite the difficulties. That was the only way they had to live.

The qualifications for farmers should be raised to the level required for agricultural demonstration agents and the salaries correspondingly increased.

A word should be said here against using farmers and other employees who should be teachers and leaders as law enforcement officers. On one of the reservations visited by the survey staff, four men of the group were taken to visit homes by the farmer. The Indians called upon were so thoroughly frightened and ill at ease that practically nothing could be learned that could not be seen. Later in talking with the farmer it developed that his real joy in life was in being sent to catch an Indian wanted for some offense. He described his technique, which was in brief to surprise the Indians in their homes or camps just before daybreak. Although such work may be necessary, it should not be done by the person who is supposedly trying to teach them agriculture. In this particular instance the Indians are already farming, but according to the local county agricultural agent, they need instruction and aid in renovating their soil, now rapidly approaching depletion through constant planting of corn. He hoped himself to be able to do something for them, because he believed their condition would be serious in a few years if it were not done, as yields have already become low. The government farmer made no report of this condition, which is basic to the economic welfare of these Indians. As he had himself never gone beyond the first year of high school and had no scientific training in agriculture, it is extremely doubtful if he had the technical knowledge to determine the needs of that particular soil condition and to work out the rotation of crops and other treatment that are required if these Indian farmers are to be rewarded for their labor.

**Workers Aiding Families.** In other sections of this report are discussed in detail the needs for several different types of work with Indian families to improve their living conditions and their health and to aid them in making the adjustments required by the pressure of highly organized white civilization.<sup>21</sup> These types of service are public health instructive nursing; actual care of the sick; the constructive administration of poor relief; instruction in home making and management, including particularly diet and cooking, home sanitation, the intelligent use of the family income, and methods of supplementing that income through activities which will strengthen rather than weaken family life; aid in overcoming those conditions which are at present resulting in broken homes, irregular relations between the sexes, irregular or no school attendance, and delinquency; encouragement in the development of recreation and community activities using both the Indians' own native games, sports, and gatherings, and those of the whites which the Indians enjoy, as an indirect attack upon the use of alcohol and peyote and other drugs and as a means of gradually eliminating such features of Indian dances, games, and celebrations as are actually detrimental to health and economic well being.

In the discussion of the proposed Division of Planning and Development it has been recommended that the central office secure for the laying out of programs and for aiding and advising superintendents and other field workers, technically trained specialists in each of these broad branches, either as permanent or temporary employees, and that it secure the coöperation of national organizations devoted to them. To have in each local jurisdiction a separate trained professional worker for each function is of course utterly out of the question. Many of the jurisdictions are altogether too small to warrant it. Several are so small that reliance must be placed on one or two persons to perform all these varied functions with such aid and assistance as can be secured from the superintendent and other local employees, and from the specialists in the central office and the contacts made through them. Several of the jurisdictions are large enough to warrant three or more workers. Some, notably the Osages, are wealthy enough to have several if the Indians can be convinced that such workers will render them a service of inestimable value.

<sup>21</sup> See pages 189 to 345, 547 to 661.

Exactly what positions should be provided in a given jurisdiction and how the different duties should be distributed between them should be worked out by the specialists in the Division of Planning and Development after a careful study of local conditions. Some jurisdictions with a large number of Indians have such magnificent distances and such poor roads, that the practical solution will doubtless be to divide the territory into districts with one general worker in each district, and possibly one or two with special ability in fields particularly important in that jurisdiction located at the agency headquarters and working out from there. In other larger jurisdictions where the Indians are easily reached, it will doubtless prove more satisfactory to have the work divided on a functional basis with trained workers in the several branches with headquarters at the central agency office. Nothing uniform and standardized can be recommended offhand for application in all jurisdictions, because the needs of the jurisdictions are so different and the physical conditions so diverse. Study and planning are necessary to arrive at a sound plan.

An illustration of the necessity for planning on the basis of local conditions may be worthwhile. The employment of a trained specialist in recreation and community activities for the nomad Navajo would at this time be almost ludicrous. With the Osages, on the other hand, the employment of such a worker, the very best that can be obtained, appears to be a fundamentally important first step in an effort to combat the bad social conditions which threaten to engulf the whole tribe. The Navajos have little leisure and they rarely get together; they are too busy attending to their sheep. The Osages have little but leisure; their problem is what to do with it. They love to get together, hence the Peyote Church and the feast incidental to it, and the elaborate buildings constructed at the expense of individual Indians for community gatherings. Here is a force that is going to find an outlet. The question is can it be turned into channels that will strengthen these people or is it inevitable that they be submerged by it? The program here, it would seem, must begin with recreation. If recreation succeeds, contacts will have been established through which they may be aided in other directions, which to some persons may seem more important.

**The Establishment of District Centers Within Reservations.** In those jurisdictions where distances and road conditions make administration from a central agency office difficult, the policy of dividing the territory into districts should be generally followed, and large authority and responsibility should be vested in the district officers. This policy is already successfully applied in several jurisdictions. Indians should not have to make long trips to the central office of the agency and thus be kept sitting or standing around in idleness waiting to see the superintendent regarding minor matters of routine. The policy of having certain days on which scores of Indians flock to have audiences with the superintendent and other officers at the central agency,<sup>12</sup> and then wait around in crowds until decisions have been reached and action taken, is demoralizing to the Indians and is open to some of the objections which are advanced against Indian ceremonies, notably, taking the Indians away from their homes and farms. Coming to the agency with the whole family to camp for a few days, even if to see the superintendent, means just as much of a break in routine as does any other camping trip.

The superintendent of such a large agency should keep himself free for general supervision and leadership and should not permit a large part of his time to be taken up with routine requests relating to small matters. Several of the superintendents have abundantly demonstrated the practicability of such an organization, and they are as a rule the ones that are making the most substantial progress with their Indians.

The local or district men and women, if properly trained and equipped, will be working on a carefully planned, well considered program with respect to each of the families within their jurisdictions. This plan should be worked out by them in consultation with the superintendent, and after he has approved it they should be free to go ahead with it, including all such routine as is incident to the program, subject of course to general supervision from the superintendent.

<sup>12</sup> This should not be construed as a recommendation against the establishment of definite days and hours when the superintendent or other officers may be found at the office by Indians who really want to see him, or have matters of major importance to transact, or whose cases have been referred to him by the district officers.

Insofar as practicable the local units or districts in an agency should be developed so that they can render well rounded service for the Indians of the district. They should become social centers to which the Indians will naturally come, and from which they may be effectively reached. The superintendents should, as a rule, work through these units and not directly with the individual Indian. The success of such a program will depend in no small measure on the capacity of the district or local people, notably the agricultural demonstration or other economic leader, the field public health nurse and home demonstration worker, the local teachers, and others who are stationed there.

The missionary boards or other officials of missionary projects who are responsible for the activities of their local representatives should exercise greater supervision over them, and should visit them more frequently. They should be especially prompt to make first hand investigations in the field upon receipt of complaints from their local people regarding the misconduct of government employees, and their failure to cooperate. The governing boards should bear in mind the old adage that it takes two to make a quarrel, and that the chances are perhaps even that the missionaries are themselves as much responsible for the situation as are the government employees. Such friction where it develops seriously handicaps both the government and the missionaries. Rarely are both sides broad enough and wise enough to keep their difficulties to themselves. It is much more human for one or the other and generally both, to talk to the Indians, who frequently take sides. If the missionaries are of one faith or sect and the officers are of another, and if the Indians are adherents of different denominations, it is possible, if action is not promptly taken, for most regrettable factionalism to arise. Constructive work may be laid aside for the sake of the fight. In isolated communities with few contacts with the outside, the difficulties may reach an intensity which seems almost psychopathic. The missionary boards should first calmly and dispassionately make sure of the rightness of their own representative, preferably by a first hand visit, and should not back him to the limit on his *ex parte* statements. They may discover that the difficulty had its origin in the fact that the missionary does not approve of the prevailing fashion in women's dress and thinks that the superintendent should prescribe the styles

for the women employees of the government on the reservation, or that the missionary thinks dancing is sinful and takes vigorous exception to the superintendent's permitting the government employees to hold on Friday or Saturday nights, or holidays, what appear to the outsider as innocuous little community dances. On the other hand, the missionary may have a really substantial case which the organization responsible for the presence of the missionary should promptly bring to the attention of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for correction in that jurisdiction. The national boards should recognize this great responsibility and should appreciate the natural reticence of the government officers in lodging complaints against missionaries, especially when the difficulty has its origin in the fact that the missionary is vigorously insisting on a literal and strict observance of a rule of church discipline toward which ministers in larger, more sophisticated communities, often take a more tolerant, more charitable attitude. In these local units of the Indian Service it is of the utmost importance that the missionaries and the government employees should work in the closest harmony, and that there should be united effort of all in the furtherance of a well considered plan—economic, social, and spiritual.

#### THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE DECENTRALIZATION OF AUTHORITY

The Indian Service, until the recent establishment of district superintendencies, was highly centralized. Perhaps the most striking single illustration of this fact is the uniform course of study prescribed from Washington for all Indian schools, carried to the extreme of having all important examination papers sent out from Washington. Another is the great mass of uniform rules and regulations prescribing in great detail uniform practice and procedure. Yet what strikes the careful observer in visiting the Indian jurisdictions is not their uniformity, but their diversity, a diversity affecting practically every phase of activity.<sup>13</sup> One might say that the only common fact is that all deal with Indians but even so the

<sup>13</sup> Even in such a special subject as forestry and forest protection uniformity does not exist. The forest problems radically differ, for example in Quinalt, Klamath, and Menominee. A uniform plan of protection from fires may meet the needs on many reservations but may be found on careful detailed investigation to be unnecessary and a waste of funds in a broken country like Pine Ridge.

Indians are of many different tribes, of many linguistic stocks, and of many different native cultures. Some are predominantly full-bloods, some predominantly mixed-bloods. From the standpoint of practical administration affecting social and economic conditions the term "Indian" seems to be of importance chiefly from the standpoint of law.

**The Need for Decentralization.** Because of this diversity, it seems imperative to recommend that a distinctive program and policy be adopted for each jurisdiction, especially fitted to its needs. Certain broad principles and policies will be common to many if not all, yet their application in individual cases may differ materially. To make such a general procedure effective local superintendents must be left with wide authority within the scope of the approved program as they cannot well be controlled by minute uniform rules and regulations applicable to the entire Service.

A step apparently in the direction of decentralization has recently been taken in the division of the Indian country into nine districts, each in the charge of a district superintendent.<sup>14</sup> Several of these district superintendents are also superintendents of particular reservations or agencies. With respect to their broad districts, their duties are primarily inspectional and advisory, not administrative. They are not in the direct line between the reservation or school superintendent and the Washington office. They do not pass on all transactions between the superintendents and the office. The organization thus remains highly centralized.

The difficulties resulting from high centralization have been touched upon at different points in the present chapter, but a brief summary of them here may be helpful. The Indians are widely scattered, in isolated sections, many of them at a great distance from Washington. Because of the distances and the isolation, delays in securing administrative action in a highly centralized system are inevitable even if prompt action can be taken by the central office. The diversity of the conditions on the different reservations makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the personnel in Washington, especially the subordinate personnel, to have an intimate detailed knowledge of local conditions. A tendency toward uniformity of treatment almost inevitably results.

<sup>14</sup> For districts and superintendencies under them, see Schmeckebier, pp. 272-73, 347-92.

What has been found good for one is assumed to be good for all. Because certain features of certain Indian dances are found to be injurious to the health of the Indians and to interfere with their economic development, it is easy to take a general position against all Indian dances. Because favorable reports are received regarding the success of a certain practice in treating trachoma in a given area, it seems simple to issue a general circular suggesting its use to the entire service affected. Because so excellent a device as the five-year program is producing good results where economic possibilities exist, pressure may be brought to bear on superintendents to adopt it in places where grave doubt exists as to whether the economic resources are sufficient to warrant making a distinctive feature of it. Reports, letters, and other paper work are greatly increased. The local superintendent and his assistants have to make the effort to put into words and figures what sometimes must be actually seen to be appreciated. Sometimes the matters involved are really of first importance and the superintendent's time is well spent. At times they are of much less importance, and the superintendent must devote energies much needed in other directions to showing why something good on other reservations is not applicable on his own. These things tend to diminish his authority and his responsibility. He can often say truthfully, in matters requiring prompt action, that he cannot act without specific authority from Washington, or in matters which seem open to criticism that a certain course was taken in accordance with general instruction from Washington, and that he personally thinks it a mistake. Occasionally a superintendent will be encountered who has the reputation of being so desirous of playing absolutely safe that he puts almost everything up to the Washington office, despite the fact that a prompt exchange of letters takes ten days to two weeks. In exceptional cases a superintendent is painfully embarrassed, if not discredited either with the Indians or with his employees, because his recommendations are reversed without what he regards as consideration of all the facts, or because although sustained, the action comes so late as to be ineffective or harsh.

**Two Possible Steps.** Although no form of organization or procedure will entirely overcome such difficulties, yet it is believed that

a determined effort should be made toward further decentralization. Two different possible courses have been given careful consideration by the survey staff, which may be briefly stated as follows:

1. To develop district offices under district superintendents, and to place these district offices in the administrative line between school and agency superintendents and the Washington office. This course is not recommended.

2. To increase the authority and responsibility of agency and school superintendents, and to control them not through minute rules and regulations but through the establishment of definite programs for their jurisdictions, and through periodical visits and reports from specialists in the several lines of activity involved. This course seems wise.

**Objections to the District System.** The field work of the survey tended to bring out the objections that lie against the establishment of district offices.

Although distances would thus be lessened, the factor of distances and the absence of district superintendents from their headquarters would still be important causes of delay.

Unless the districts were to be fairly small and hence numerous, they would have to embrace jurisdictions with widely different social and economic conditions, thus rendering the position of district superintendent an extremely difficult one to fill adequately because of the diversity of the requirements.

District offices would radically complicate the relationship between the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the superintendents of large or difficult agencies or schools where big or serious problems are being attacked. The Commissioner would be under obligation to deal with these reservation or school superintendents through the district superintendents instead of directly, or else run the risk of undermining the whole district system.

Friction might easily develop between district superintendents and local superintendents leading to situations difficult of solution without transferring one or the other. The more resourceful, able, and vigorous the local superintendent the greater chance for conflict unless the district superintendent was either himself big and able or was content to let his local superintendents run their own affairs. In several instances the reservation superintendent would of neces-



sity have to be more of an expert in certain lines than the district superintendent himself, as for example, at such reservations as Pima, Klamath, and Yakima.

The existence of such district superintendents in the direct administrative line would tend to decrease the authority and responsibility of reservation superintendents, thereby making the positions less attractive to men of real ability, whereas one of the main problems of the Service is to make them more attractive. These reservation superintendents, in direct contact with the Indians, have to be the real leaders.

Placing district superintendents in direct line over school and agency men would in all probability tend to hold down or depress the salaries for the local superintendent in direct contact with the Indians. The view is commonly taken in governmental work that the salary for the position higher in the line of administrative authority must have superior pay. Since the reservation superintendent is subordinate to the district superintendent, it will be agreed, he should not get as much salary; yet actually salaries for real leaders on large important reservations should be as high as, or even higher than, for district superintendents only indirectly in contact with the Indians.

If the districts should be made sufficiently small to have substantial unity of problems and reasonably ready communication, and if each district office should be staffed with the necessary clerks and specialists, a very considerable sum would have to be spent for an overhead district organization not in direct contact with the Indians. Unless the district offices should have some specialists the local superintendents would be supervised by another general man, like themselves, but higher in authority. The outstanding need is not closer general supervision of superintendents but more aid and advice from persons who can help in those fields in which the superintendents necessarily must be weak in training and experience. Additional appropriation according to this view should be spent in developing a strong staff of specialists to work from the Washington office to give to the whole Service the benefit of this professional aid and advice, and to strengthen the local staffs dealing directly with the Indians, thereby eventually diminishing the necessity for close supervision. Expenditures in these two direc-

tions would, it is believed, remedy the situation without a material increase in the overhead for purely general administration.

One further reason for the recommendation against really administrative district offices should be cited. Their establishment would involve radical changes in the organization and procedure of the Service and could not easily be made effective by a gradual transition. It would be a radical operation.

The changes here recommended would not require radical revision of present lines of authority and responsibility. The administrative lines would remain much as they are. The advancement would come through the gradual transition resulting from the advice and cooperation of the central technical staff and from the strengthening of local officers aiding the Indians in improving their social and economic condition.

**Advantages of Increased Authority for Local Superintendents.** The advantage of increasing the administrative authority of the local superintendents, with contact through inspections and reports from specialists in several branches, may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. It would result in prompt and effective administration, overcoming to the maximum possible extent the tremendous handicap of distance and isolation.

2. Through cooperation between the superintendent and his local force and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and his Division of Planning and Development, it would permit of providing for each jurisdiction a service particularly adapted to local conditions, uncomplicated by a strong tendency toward uniformity, although, through the Division of Planning and Development, the Commissioner and the local superintendents would have the benefit of the experience of the entire Indian Service and of organizations doing similar work for other groups.

3. It would increase the responsibility of local superintendents, justifying the payment of higher salaries and the raising of the general level of requirements.

4. It would bring to the aid of the superintendent not the cooperation of another general man like himself, higher in the official hierarchy, but instead that of several different specialists in distinct lines and possessed of training and experience to make them successful.

5. It would provide for investigation of complaints by technically competent persons not in the administrative line and not directly involved in administration.

6. It would be more economical even with the necessary higher salaries than the establishment of a new set of fully equipped district offices.

7. It would be a simpler and more direct system from the standpoint of the Commissioner in dealing with important problems affecting individual jurisdictions.

8. Transition can be made smoothly from the present system through the establishment of the Division of Planning and Development, the strengthening of the local staff, and a revision of the rules and regulations, progressive and experimental.

A possible objection to this plan lies in the fact that by increasing the authority and responsibility of local superintendents, they would be rendered more directly subject to attack from disgruntled Indians, disgruntled whites, and politicians catering to powerful groups of local whites desirous of getting possession of Indian property or property rights, such, for instance, as water for irrigation. The local superintendent could not so easily shift the responsibility to the Washington office or to minute rules and regulations. This difficulty, however, seems by no means insurmountable.

Broad rules and regulations would still be in existence gradually supplanting the present detailed ones, and they would be drawn with this situation particularly in mind. The superintendent, too, could refer matters obviously ticklish to the Washington office for advice or instructions.

More important would be prompt investigation by the Washington office of matters of controversy. Much good would result from open public hearings of complaints against superintendents, with opportunity for both sides to be heard, especially the persons who are making complaints and finding fault, supervisory administrative officers both from the field and from Washington, and representatives of public spirited organizations interested in the advancement of the Indians. Although such open hearings take time and involve some formalities, they have a curative value that justifies the cost and effort. More or less secret inspections often leave the situation much as it was, because people who believe they have evidence have no recognized established way of presenting it.

It is not at all uncommon to encounter Indians and whites, too, who say in effect "The inspectors were here, but they did not see us, they talked with the superintendent and a few of his followers and left before we had any chance to tell them our side." Investigators of this type have earned for inspectors among the Sioux the expressive but not altogether desirable title of "The Big Cat."<sup>15</sup> Much good would result if the proceedings could be more judicial in character, and leave all concerned with the feeling that full and complete opportunity had been afforded them to have their evidence considered. Doubtless many a statement made with vigor and possibly with elaboration in a more or less private interview would be materially modified if the speaker were on the witness stand in a public hearing.

In this connection it should perhaps be said that prompt dismissal from the Service or retirement should follow a finding that the superintendent or other local officer has been negligent, incompetent, or arbitrary, or has failed to afford full and complete protection of the Indians' rights and interests. In a criminal case the accused is, of course, entitled to the benefit of all reasonable doubts, but to apply this rule to the right to hold an office such as that of superintendent of an Indian reservation is likely to defeat the very purposes which the government has in maintaining the position. The question is whether the superintendent has so far lost the confidence and respect of the Indians that he cannot render effective leadership. If the evidence shows absence of any moral delinquency or of any defect in character or personality, the fact that he has lost the confidence of the Indians and cannot get along with them should not necessarily result in his dismissal. Transfer to another jurisdiction might in certain cases be the appropriate remedy, but transfers should not be made if there has been moral delinquency or if the transfer has resulted from some real defect in character or personality.<sup>16</sup> A superintendent or any other local officer who has no faith in Indians and who cannot treat them with the respect and courtesy he would show a white man in ordinary business relations,

<sup>15</sup> Members of the survey staff did not particularly relish having this title used for them, especially when it was applied to the woman specialist on family life in the feminine form "The Big She Cat."

<sup>16</sup> For comments on practice regarding transfers, see Schmeckebier, pp. 72, 298.

has lost a fundamental qualification for his work. A superintendent who has perhaps unwittingly permitted himself to be actively drawn into the social and business life of those elements of the white community which are believed by the Indians to be preying upon them may not in all cases merit dismissal, but he has gone a long way toward destroying his usefulness in that jurisdiction if not to the Service as a whole. In business affairs, if not in social affairs, the superintendent should keep himself above suspicion. It might even be wise for the Service to have rules prohibiting its local employees and their families from participating in local business enterprises either as stock holders or directors.<sup>37</sup> The fact that the superintendent is a director in a bank may have nothing whatsoever to do with the fact that a claim of the bank gets priority to the claim of an Indian for a given property, but it is hard to make the Indians believe it. To the impartial observer it looks at least as if the superintendent has done something inconsistent with the requirements of his position.

The immediate steps recommended with respect to organization and procedure are therefore the establishment of the Division of Planning and Development, and the strengthening of the local forces in immediate contact with responsibility of local superintendents.

**Recommended Revision of Rules and Regulations.** In connection with this third recommendation, a specific recommendation should be made for an early revision of the rules and regulations. For this purpose it would seem desirable to have a committee and sub-committee patterned after those which have been so successfully developed under the Chief Coördinator of the Budget Bureau. This committee should contain representatives of the Indian Office

<sup>37</sup> The law and the regulations already prohibit employees from dealing in Indian land; and the Supreme Court of the United States had held that the titles secured through transactions in violation of this law are void, and that neither the statute of limitations nor tactics ran in favor of the purchasers. The general effect would be wholesome if proceedings should be instituted to restore to the Indians lands which were taken from them in some of those unfortunate cases where field officers have been guilty of violating this law and have been dismissed from the Service because of their offenses. These titles are very probably void even in the hands of innocent purchasers. All such cases should be cleared up at the earliest possible day, as, unsettled, they leave grave doubt as to the validity of many of the deeds in the jurisdiction affected. Innocent third persons may be the victims.

at Washington, and of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, outstandingly able representatives of the field forces, representatives of the Bureau of the Budget and of the Comptroller General, and possibly representatives of responsible and constructive private organizations interested in the advancement of the Indians.

Emphasis must be placed on the desirability of representatives of the Bureau of the Budget and the General Accounting Office, because these two organizations have certain regulations and controlling powers over the Indian Service and the Department of the Interior. It is imperative that these powers be exercised with real knowledge and understanding of the conditions under which work in the Indian Service must be done. A ruling of an office familiar chiefly with conditions in other services may work a real hardship on conscientious field employees in the Indian Service, and may lead to evasion by others not so conscientious. These evasions may be more costly than the practice against which the rule is directed.

A specific instance is the ruling that an employee who leaves his post after 8 A. M. and returns before 6 P. M. is not in traveling status and therefore is not entitled to reimbursement for his expenses. Under this rule a superintendent or other employee, who ordinarily eats his noon meal at home with his family, cannot be reimbursed for his expenditures for a meal when his work takes him to a remote part of his reservation unless his absence exceeds the limits thus set up. Although he ordinarily eats with his family and does not pay commercial rates for his meals, he is obliged by his official duties to make this special expenditure from his own pocket, unless his absence exceeds the prescribed limits. Salaries in the Indian Service are so low that the aggregate of those petty expenditures constitutes a considerable item for an employee who may from time to time be required several times a week to spend the best part of the day away from headquarters. The means of evasion are obvious. Be absent more than the minimum limit, even if that involves two meals instead of one and possibly a night's lodging. The government which balks at the smaller item will pay the larger one without serious question. The rule puts a premium on a leisurely program, a penalty on a crowded or full day.

**Purchasing.** In the field of purchasing it is particularly necessary that the controlling bodies have a clear understanding of the special

problems confronting the Indian Service. The fact is recognized that in several instances the rules and regulations promulgated by the Indian Service and the controlling agencies are made necessary by acts of Congress, some of them passed years ago when conditions were fundamentally different. The committee in studying purchasing should proceed on the assumption that Congress will be prepared to adopt such new legislation as is necessary to modernize the purchasing system, and it should draft such amendments and new legislation as it believes necessary. If the committee can present to Congress a well considered plan acceptable to the Indian Service, the Budget Bureau and the General Accounting Office, it seems entirely reasonable to assume that the approval of Congress for a more economical plan will be readily secured.

The present survey has not had time to make a detailed study of the purchasing system and the laws and regulations governing it, but it has repeatedly encountered evidence that the present system is defective. For example, at some boarding schools no dried fruit was available from the opening of school in September to late in the winter or early in the spring, and then the entire supply for the school year was received. At one school which is entirely dependent on irrigation for its farming and at which the main ditch from the river had not been kept in a reasonable condition of efficiency, the children were being fed mainly on meat, beans and potatoes, and poor bread. The poor quality of the bread the officers attributed to the ovens, surplus army or navy property. To difficulties incident to purchasing was attributed the failure to secure promptly a supply of vegetables necessary to balance the diet. Here the dairy herd had also run down so that the milk supply was extremely deficient. To lack of available appropriations was attributed the failure to secure dried or canned milk. All this was on a reservation where the tuberculosis rate is high and where the officers commented on the fact that, for some reason to them unknown, girls and boys who had previously seemed well suddenly declined rapidly from tuberculosis at adolescence.

On one reservation where stock raising is the dominant industry, the superintendent and the chief livestock man, both capable and energetic, asked the survey staff how to draw written specifications for the purchase of breeding bulls in such a way that the contract could safely be let to the lowest bidder. They did not want the

scrub bulls from a registered herd unloaded on the government. The owner of these bulls was naturally willing to sell them at a lower price than would any of his competitors who had stock of the quality necessary to maintain and develop the herd. Here some device for a local purchasing committee of experience, judgment, and integrity must be substituted for open competitive bidding on the basis of written specifications, when the price is the standard governing acceptance.

Ways must be found to shorten the period between the advertising for bids and the actual letting of the contract, especially in the purchase of commodities with a fluctuating market price. The allegation was frequently made that local dealers in the vicinity would not compete because of the delays and uncertainties involved. Under such circumstances the chances are that those who do bid set a price high enough to insure themselves against loss from market changes. Here the remedy apparently lies in materially raising the limit under which the superintendent can act without first referring his recommendation to the Washington office, and without going through all the formalities incident to a major government contract for future delivery. Such a change would result not only in more prompt deliveries, something worth a good deal in itself, but also it is believed in more competitors and a better price.

**Automobiles.** The purchase of automobiles and automobile supplies should receive special attention. The tendency has been to purchase the car of the lowest initial cost, generally a touring car or a roadster of one of the cheapest makes. Not enough attention has been given to the type of service which will be required of the car and what its upkeep will be. Doctors, field nurses, matrons, and superintendents ought to go out in any kind of weather. They should have closed cars, equipped, where the temperature gets low, with heaters. The cars should be maintained in first-class condition. It is the exceptional person who will, left almost entirely to his own direction as these field persons must be, work himself to the limit in extreme weather in an open car with tattered curtains, bad tires, uncertain brakes, and a doubtful engine, especially where the country is mountainous. It is far simpler and more human to find some work in the hospital, the office, or the home that really demands attention in bad weather, despite the fact that in such

weather the needs of the Indians out in their shacks are frequently the greatest.

Little economy is effected by securing tires and tubes in advance and keeping them in stock in the warehouse for long periods before they are used. It is not surprising that tires kept all summer in a galvanized iron building on the Arizona desert failed after a few thousand miles, nor that a considerable part of the time spent in the field with an exceptionally able superintendent should have gone in changing, patching, and pumping. It would be cheaper to require that each car have all tires in good condition and two spares and to give the superintendent authority to purchase new ones from the nearest dealer who has a sufficient business to keep a fresh stock and who will offer a reasonable discount from list prices. Resort might be had to the mail order houses.

Serious consideration should be given to an entire change of policy with respect to cars for individual employees. It is believed that the plan of having each employee who requires a car own and maintain his own, paying him a reasonably liberal mileage for its use on government business would be a real economy. This plan is used by some branches of the federal government, by some state and local governments, and by some private corporations. It would necessitate regular reports on the number of miles traveled and the purpose of the travel and some clerical work, but these reports would give the superintendent a good idea of the work done, and with his knowledge of the country he could check their substantial accuracy. At times the government would doubtless pay for some miles actually traveled on private business, but under the present system official cars are likewise sometimes used in that way. The great advantage would be that the employee would have an incentive to take care of his own car; that he could not attribute his own shortcomings to the type of condition of the cars furnished by the government; that it would help him to keep a car for his own and his family's personal use, thus relieving them somewhat from the isolation of their life and from the temptation to use the government car personally; and it would relieve the government from the great amount of detailed work involved in keeping records of cars and equipment, and passing upon requests for new ones, and the purchase of new ones and equipment, and checking up repair.

Many of the employees already have personal cars and several of the superintendents and other employees use them extensively for government business, although the government supplies only the gas and oil used on official business. The employees at present personally stand for the tire costs, the depreciation, and the interest. The survey staff had many illustrations of the increased efficiency that came from traveling in the personal car of the superintendent or some other employee. These cars were bought for the country where they were to be used and were in condition. Government cars unquestionably do not receive the care and attention which employees give their own cars. Lack of careful attention added to the use of certain makes in a country to which they are poorly adapted apparently results in relatively high operation and maintenance costs and low efficiency.

**Form of Appropriations.** The proposed committee on revision of the rules and regulations, containing representatives of the Bureau of the Budget and the General Accounting Office should likewise give attention to the form of appropriations<sup>18</sup> for the Indian Service and the other laws governing expenditures. Here again time has not permitted of a detailed study by the survey staff, but enough has been seen to suggest the possibility of material improvement through the use of more general and fewer specific appropriations in order to give opportunity for freer administrative action controlled by reports and accounts upon the Budget Bureau and the General Accounting Office.

In expenditures for boarding school maintenance, for example, the Indian Bureau and the Budget Bureau are now specifically controlled by an act of Congress which fixes \$270 per pupil as the maximum for schools of 200 or over and \$300 for schools under 200. The amount to be appropriated is determined more or less mechanically by multiplying the number of pupils in each school by the per capita agreed upon for the year and adding the products to get the total for the appropriation. The per capita must not exceed the legal limit. The results of such a mechanical method are at once evident to anyone who observes carefully a number of Indian boarding schools. An instance was recently cited of a boarding school with an irrigation system which had run down, a

<sup>18</sup> The appropriation act for the fiscal year 1928 is given in full in Schmeckebier, pp. 488-506.

resultingly poor farm, and a poor dairy herd. Here the per capita was woefully inadequate and its inadequacy handicapped the efforts of the superintendent and the principal to bring the plant back to efficiency. A boarding school on a neighboring reservation in the same state had an excellent irrigation plant, a remarkable farm, and an outstanding dairyman. The children had an abundance of milk, plenty of butter, loads of fresh vegetables, good home grown meat, and almost a gallon of honey per pupil per year. Sales from the farm added to its income. It was a pleasure to see these Indian children eat, effectively refuting the argument that Indian children will not drink milk and eat butter and that you can't get them to like vegetables. Each of the two schools, however, had substantially the same per capita. Either Congress itself should give more consideration to the needs of each individual school or it should delegate this authority to the Indian Office subject to suitable accounting control.

**Conferences of Employees.** This recommendation for a committee on rules, regulations, and procedure should be accompanied by one for the wider use and fuller development of local conferences for superintendents, other agency employees, supervisory officers from the Washington office, and members of the suggested Division of Planning and Development. The annual conference of the superintendents of the Navajo jurisdictions indicates the possibilities in this direction. It is beneficial for the superintendents and other employees to get together to discuss their problems and for the Washington officers to participate with them. Provisions should be made so that persons not in the Indian Service, specially qualified to discuss the problems the superintendents face, may attend these conferences, speak, and participate in the discussions. The superintendents and the other field employees should not be asked to keep their noses always to the grindstone; they need now and then to get and possibly to give a new vision of their work. Such labor in itself affords in a way a little rest and relaxation and is a legitimate government expense. On rare occasions a national convention of Indian workers might return many times its cost, especially if it were divided into sections for the discussion of concrete problems and if the missionary bodies and other interested organizations would cooperate fully, as there is every reason to believe they would.

## CHAPTER VI

## PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

In few if any of the larger organizations of the national government is the problem of personnel more difficult or more important than in the Indian Service.

The inherent difficulties lie in the diversity of the positions to be filled; the remoteness and isolation of many of the stations, not only rendering them unattractive to persons desiring normal social contacts but also resulting in the existence of many positions which cannot be closely supervised or directed; the unusual importance of those two factors so hard to measure in civil service procedure, character, and personality; and the obstacles in working with a more or less primitive people of another race having different culture and speaking a different language. These are handicaps enough without adding to them administratively.

**A Low Salary Scale.** The overwhelming administrative difficulty has arisen from the effort to operate the Service upon an exceptionally low salary scale. In order to fill positions, when the salary scale is low, resort is almost invariably taken to the device of low entrance qualifications. The law of supply and demand operates in hiring employees as it does in any other economic field. If one is not willing to pay the prevailing market rates for goods of standard quality, one must, as a rule, take seconds or an inferior grade. By lowering specifications and standards it is generally possible to get goods at a low price. Not infrequently more competition can be secured for supplying sub-standard articles than for furnishing goods of standard quality. This condition exists in the market for services. By lowering standards, the number of eligibles can ordinarily be greatly increased. To this device the Indian Service has had to resort in order to operate on its existing salary scale.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some improvement in the Indian Service was brought about by the so-called reclassification and salary standardization of the field services of the government made in the fiscal year 1925; but apparently the conditions were