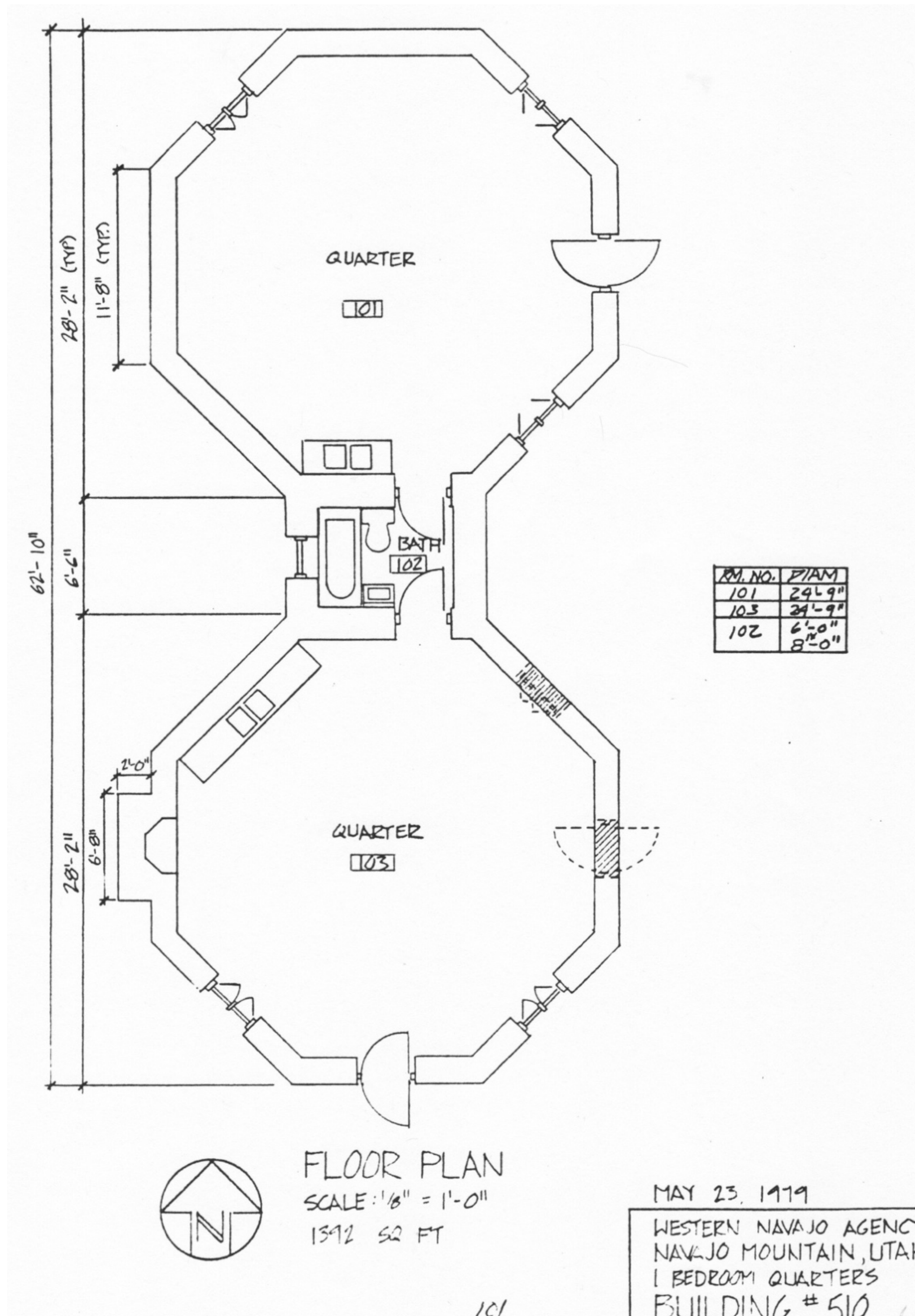

Figure 9: Floor Plan, Staff Quarters (Building #510)
Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center, Navajo Mountain, UT
Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Navajo Agency, May 23, 1979
Source: FOIA Control No. BIA-2010-00567

The building is oriented along a north-south axis measuring 62'-10". Each of the octagonal rooms was originally regarded as a separate dwelling and measures 24'-9" in diameter on the interior. The north room (labeled 101 in fig. 9) has an exterior door on the east side, a fireplace on the west side, and a pair of wooden casement windows located on the northwest, northeast, and southeast sides. An interior door on the south side connects with a hall that provides access to a bathroom (102) to the west; the bathroom has a wooden casement window on the west side. The hallway and bathroom together measure approximately 6' by 8' on the interior. A door on the south side opens into the south room, which has a door on the east side and a pair of wooden casement windows located on the southwest, southeast, and originally also on the northeast sides. The windows on the northeast side have now been walled over. A fireplace is located on the room's west side.

The building's exterior walls are constructed from coursed rubble masonry and range from 20" to 24" thick. The stone is locally-quarried native sandstone. The door and window openings all have thick wooden lintels and the exterior door in the north room appears to be original to the building. Each of the octagonal rooms formerly had a corbeled-log ceiling, but the building burned during the 1940s and the logs were replaced with wooden planks.[14] The roofs are pyramidal and were originally covered with asphalt-roll. A rectangular chimney stack adjoins each of the fireplaces.

Dormitory (Building #517)

The dormitory at the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center is L-shaped, encloses 2116 square feet, and measures 74'-4" long and 40' wide (see fig. 10).[15] The building's north section extends 56'-8" along a north-south axis and is 21'-4" wide. Within this section are the girl's dormitory (labeled 107 in fig. 11) with a bathroom (106), kitchen (101), and office/storage space (105). The girl's dormitory space is L-shaped, has six windows and measures 38'-6" by 18' on the interior; the bathroom has one window and measures 7'-4" × 6'-9"; the kitchen has two windows and measures 11' × 17'; and the office storage space has three windows and measures 26' × 6'-9".[16]

The building's south section extends 40' along an east-west axis and is 22'-8" wide. Within this section are the boy's dormitory (102) with a storage area (103) and a bathroom (104). The boy's dormitory has six windows and measures 37' × 14'-6" on the interior; the bathroom has one window and measures 6' × 6'-9"; and the storage area has one window and measures 6' × 9'.[17]

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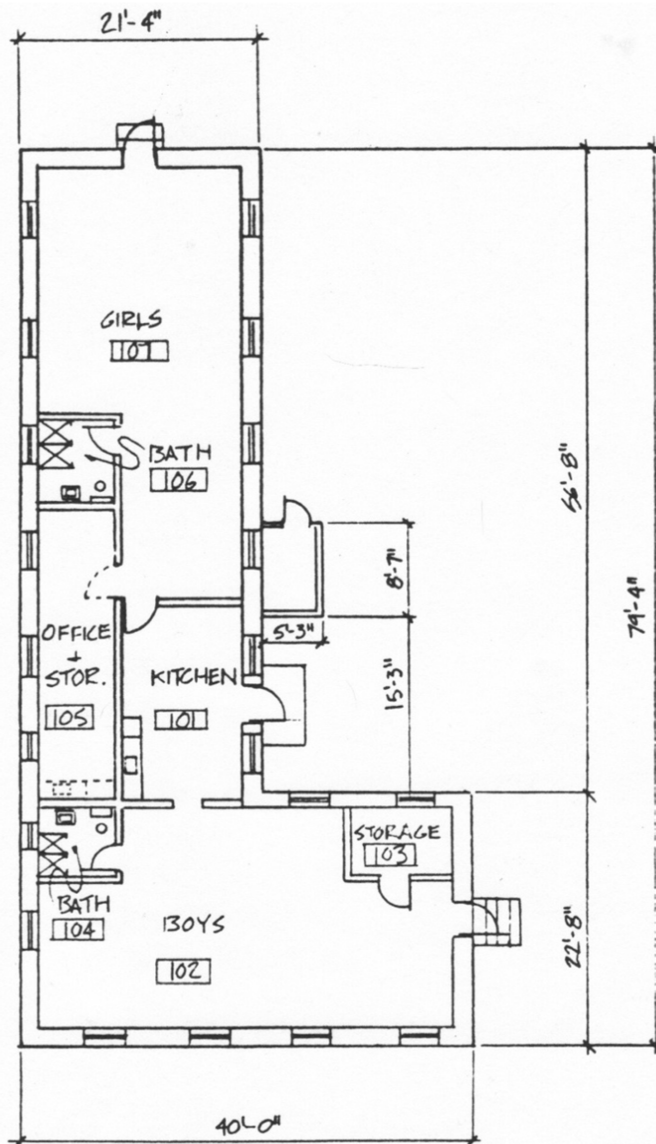
[14] Jean Dejolie, interview by author, Navajo Mountain, June 19, 2012.

[15] Square footage and structural details from American Indian Engineering, Inc., *Facilities Survey and Evaluation, Various Locations, Project No. K00-290/291* (United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, July 1978), 1ff. The building dimensions are from measured plans dated May 24, 1979. Both documents, FOIA Control No. BIA-2010-00567.

[16] Photographs taken in 1978 and located in the files of the BIA-Navajo Area Office in Gallup picture the building with wooden double-hung windows with each sash containing six panes.

[17] During the 1940s, Jerry Smallcanyon constructed another partition within the boy's dormitory to create a separate space where he lived with his wife while they served as dorm parents (interview by author, Navajo Mountain, June 19, 2012).



FLOOR PLAN

SCALE 1/16" = 1'-0"

2116 SQ FT.

RM. NO	WID.	LEN.
101	11'-0"	17'-0"
102	19'-6"	37'-0"
103	6'-0"	9'-0"
104	6'-0"	6'-9"
105	6'-9"	26'-0"
106	6'-9"	7'-4"
107	18'-0"	38'-6"

Figure 10: Floor Plan, Dormitory (Building #517)
Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center, Navajo Mountain, UT
Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Navajo Agency, May 24, 1979
Source: FOIA Control No. BIA-2010-00567

The main door to the building is on the east side and leads into the kitchen; a second door is located on the north wall of the girl's dormitory area, while a third exterior door is located on the east wall of the boy's dormitory. A room constructed from concrete blocks by the main entrance was later added. The addition, which measures 8'-7" × 5'-3", has a door on its north side and a shed roof.

In February 1949, C.J. Feldhake, a sanitary engineer with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), visited Navajo Mountain and reported that one Navajo (Diné) assistant was living in a room partitioned from the girl's dorm, the school's cook was living in a room between the girl's and boy's dorms, and another assistant, along with his wife and child, were living in two rooms partitioned from the boy's dorm and from the cook's room. There was no running water and the only sanitary facilities were available in two privies located one hundred feet south of the building.[18]

The building's exterior walls are constructed from coursed ashlar masonry and are approximately 20" thick and 10' high with a concrete cap beam. The stone is locally-quarried native sandstone. The building has 4" × 4" wood columns, double 2" × 6" girders, and plank framing. The floors are comprised of a wood 2× joist and beam system, 1" × 4" wood deck, and a suspended floor with carpet and sheet vinyl. The interior walls are of plastered fiberboard sheathing on a framework of wood studs and painted fiberboard ceilings. The roof is flat. The window openings have wood lintels and concrete sills. The doors, which have also been boarded over, are surmounted by transom windows. Pieces of turquoise-colored rock were incorporated into the walls of the dormitory for blessing purposes.[19]

Noncontributing Buildings

The historic district also includes two noncontributing buildings: a mobile home (c. late-20th century) and a small shed located in the area previously occupied by Building #507 (see figs. 1 and 2).

Setting

The Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center Historic District is located on the eastern flank of Navajo Mountain (Navajo, *Naatsis'áán*). At 10,387 feet, Naatsis'áán straddles the state line between Utah and Arizona and is the tallest point within the Navajo Reservation. From its top, vistas extend over one hundred miles in each direction across a diverse landscape set with lofty mesas, deep ravines, and sandstone hoodoos formed from polychromatic geological strata. The day school-community center was constructed on a former Anasazi site and a number of prehistoric ruins may be found on and around the mountain dating back to at

[18] C.J. Feldhake, "Report; Navajo Mountain School; Tuba City Area," February 1949. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA–Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 131.
[19] Randy Eubank, interview by author, Navajo Mountain, May 19, 2009.

least the Basketmaker II Period (1 to 600 CE).[20] These include several substantial Pueblo III Period (1150–1350 CE) sites, such as Kinlichee ("Red House"), a large masonry structure of approximately 40 rooms, located on the southeast side of the mountain.[21]

The immediate area around Naatsis'áán includes some of the most dramatic scenery in the American Southwest. Rainbow Bridge National Monument, featuring one of the largest natural bridges in the world, is located on the mountain's northwest slope and the confluence of the San Juan and the Colorado, the two great rivers of the Four Corners Region, is located ten miles north of its summit. Naatsis'áán and many sites on the surrounding Rainbow Plateau possess religious significance for members of at least five Native American groups.[22] Euro-Americans have been drawn by the area's beauty since the late 19th century and the federal government has repeatedly attempted to incorporate Naatsis'áán into the National Park system.[23]

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

[x] A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

[ ] B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

[x] C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

[ ] D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

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[20] Dee Inman, *Don't Fence Me In: Life of a Teacher in a Navajo School Hogan (*New York: Exposition Press, 1955), 78–79.

[21] See Stephen C. Jett, *Tourism in the Navajo Country: Resources and Planning* (Window Rock, AZ: Navajo Tribe, January 1967), 101. For more on the archaeology of the Navajo Mountain region, see Phil R. Geib, *Foragers and Farmers of the Northern Kayenta Region: Excavations along the Navajo Mountain Road* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011).

[22] For more about Native American sacred sites at Navajo Mountain, see Karl Luckert, *Navajo Mountain and Rainbow Bridge Religion* (Flagstaff, AZ: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977) and David Kent Sproul, *A Bridge Between Cultures: An Administrative History of Rainbow Bridge National Monument* (Denver: National Park Service, Intermountain Region, 2001).

[23] For more on these efforts, see Lillian Makeda, "Visions of a Liminal Landscape: Mythmaking on the Rainbow Plateau," *Journal of the Southwest* 58, no. 4: 639–640.

Criteria Considerations
(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- [ ] A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- [ ] B. Removed from its original location
- [ ] C. A birthplace or grave
- [ ] D. A cemetery
- [ ] E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- [ ] F. A commemorative property
- [ ] G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions.)
Architecture
Education
Social History

Period of Significance
1934–1970

Significant Dates
1934, 1946

Significant Person
(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)
____
____
____

Cultural Affiliation
N/A

Architect/Builder
Mayers, Murray & Phillip
United States Office of Indian Affairs
Civilian Conservation Corps–Indian Department

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

Summary

The Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center Historic District, with buildings constructed between 1934 and 1946, is significant at the state level under Criterion A in the areas of Education and Social History for its role in promoting Progressive Education for Native American students in the United States. The Navajo Reservation's widely dispersed population and isolated living conditions discouraged the federal government from building traditional day schools during the early 20th-century and a boarding school education became the only option for most Navajo (Diné) students. The Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center was one of over forty day school-community centers constructed in Navajoland during the 1930s that offered a day school experience along with a variety of services characteristic of a community center. Pupils at the day school-community centers received an introduction to subjects taught in typical American schools while also learning about their own history and traditions. And the "hogan school" design ensured an educational setting that would feel familiar to young Diné children. The district is also significant under Criterion C in the area of Architecture for the innovative design of several buildings in the complex, which adapted a traditional indigenous architectural form—the Navajo hogan—to a Euro-American building type—the school. The period of significance for the historic district begins in 1934, the year when several workers funded by private Indian welfare organizations and the federal government established a tent-based community center at Navajo Mountain. The period of significance ends fifty years ago, in 1970. The school continued in operation until the early 1980s, when it was superseded by a larger facility with a reliable water supply.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

Criterion A: Significance in the Areas of Education and Social History

Summary

John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs between 1933 and 1945, worked for many years as a social worker in New York City where he created community programs intended to preserve the cultural diversity of newly-arrived immigrants. The principles of Progressive Education, which endorse a school curriculum based on the individual circumstances of each student, fulfilled this objective. After Collier became an advocate for Native American rights in the 1920s, he realized that Progressive Education could help Indian students retain their connection with tribal traditions while also familiarizing them with mainstream American culture. Central to Collier's Progressive Educational program were day schools, which allow students to live at

home while attending class. Day schools were unavailable for many Indian children living in remote areas around the U.S. and sending young children away to boarding school was a common occurrence amongst many Native American families. Collier's vision of locally-based schools employing the principles of Progressive Education included bilingual instruction and classes in indigenous arts and crafts. At the same time, he intended day schools to teach students about Euro-American approaches to health, home economics, and soil conservation, and educate children and adults alike in new, and perhaps improved living practices. Collier envisioned institutions that would not be schools in the usual sense—they would be day school-community centers which offered a variety of services and would employ architectural forms that felt familiar and comfortable to the Native American people who made use of them.

The Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center ultimately became one of seven day school-community centers on the Navajo Reservation that were involved in a special program to engage Diné participation. For a brief period lasting from 1934 to 1935, Collier, along with members of his staff moved rapidly to create the most radical Native American educational program ever devised. They envisioned schools that were taught by "returned students," or young Native American people who had attended boarding school and were left "betwixt-and-between," prepared neither for entry into mainstream American society nor for a role in the communities where they had been raised. Under Collier's direction, the curriculum at the new day school-community centers was modeled on the principles of Progressive Education and the Navajo language was promoted to a degree never before seen in federal schools. Ultimately, returned students rarely became the primary instructors at the new day school-community centers, but they were hired as assistants and were able to find a role as mediators between traditional Native American lifeways and Euro-American culture.

Schools for the Diné before 1933

The Navajo Treaty of 1868 established a reservation for the Diné that encompassed 3.5 million acres in present-day New Mexico and Arizona. The Navajo Agency, where the federal Indian agent lived and where supplies were disbursed, was located near the reservation's southern boundary at Fort Defiance, Arizona. Article III of the Navajo Treaty specified that a schoolhouse be constructed at the agency, and the first formal attempt to bring Western-style schooling to the Navajo Nation commenced in 1869 when Presbyterian missionaries successfully petitioned the federal government to fund a teacher at Fort Defiance.[24] A school for 20 students located in a small, one-room building offered classes for four years, but then closed in 1873. Efforts to provide a school for the Diné proved to be erratic until 1883 when a three-story stone-masonry building with a mansard roof was completed and opened as the Fort Defiance boarding school.[25]

[24] An excellent account of the early years of Diné education is Davida Woerner's unpublished PhD dissertation, "Education among the Navajo: An Historical Study" (Columbia University, 1941).
[25] Woerner, 23–29, 35.

The agents and missionaries who oversaw these early attempts grappled with a variety of issues that would continue to prove divisive for years to come. Should Diné students live at home with their families and attend day schools or would they be better educated at residential schools? Would it be preferable to remove students completely from their own culture and place them in off-reservation schools? And what kind of education should Diné children receive? Should they be prepared to enter Euro-American society, or should they be trained in skills that would enable them to survive on their tribal homelands?

During the late 19th century and early 20th century, Native Americans were seldom consulted and Euro-American decision-makers were almost unanimous in their resolve to integrate Indian children into mainstream American culture. Most Diné students were removed from their families and educated at reservation and off-reservation boarding schools. These institutions worked to assimilate young Native Americans by teaching English literacy and coaching students in Euro-American traditions. Harsh penalties were administered to deter students from practicing native customs and speaking their own languages, and it was common to prevent young Diné from visiting their homes until the completion of their education.[26]

The Fort Defiance boarding school was later joined by other reservation boarding schools located at Keams Canyon, Arizona (1887), Tohatchi, New Mexico (1900), Tuba City, Arizona (1901), Shiprock, New Mexico (1907), Leupp, Arizona (1909), Chinle, Arizona (1910), Crownpoint, New Mexico (1912), Toadlena, New Mexico (1913), and Fort Wingate, New Mexico (1925).[27] A number of Diné students also attended federally-funded off-reservation boarding schools for Native Americans. The first of these institutions was founded in 1879 at Carlisle, Pennsylvania and by 1900, twenty-five similar schools had opened in the U.S.[28] In 1881, a representative from Carlisle and Hampton Institute came to the Navajo Reservation to recruit Diné students and, by the following year, seventeen Diné children were attending Carlisle.[29] The students included two sons of Chief Manuelito, one of whom became ill and subsequently died.[30] Official reports record no new federal non-residential (or "day schools") on

[26] For more details, see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of the Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco: City Lights Publishers, 2004); Clifford Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).
[27] Ruth Underhill, *Here Come the Navaho!* (Lawrence, KS: Haskell Institute/United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, 1953), 227. The Keams Canyon Boarding School was known as the Moqui Boarding School for Hopis until 1925. According to Underhill, 60% of its students were Diné in 1953.
[28] Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination since 1928,* 3rd ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 9–10.
[29] Woerner, 30. Hampton Institute was a privately-funded institution founded in 1868 to educate African-Americans and which also oversaw an educational program for Native Americans.
[30] Margaret D. Jacobs, “A Battle of the Children: American Indian Child Removal in Arizona in the Era of Assimilation,” *Journal of Arizona History* 45 (2004): 47.

the Navajo Reservation until 1895, and, even then, there was only one—at Little Water (present-day Tohatchi, New Mexico)—with five more in development.[31]

There were also a number of schools on the Navajo Reservation administered by churches and humanitarian organizations. Although the first federally-funded Diné school at Fort Defiance was affiliated with the Presbyterians, the church ceased collaborating with the government after 1884.[32] Other denominations soon began to establish their own schools, beginning with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1890 at Jewett, New Mexico. Most of these institutions were boarding facilities, although there were some day schools including one founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1896.[33]

A few federal officials, including Indian Commissioner Francis E. Leupp, who served from 1904 to 1909, looked more favorably on Native American culture and supported day schools. But Leupp was the exception rather than the rule. Only nine federally-funded day schools were established in Navajoland before 1930, and they served a small percentage of the school-age children who lived there.[34]

By then, the conditions were ripe for educational reform on Indian reservations in the U.S. Native American rights groups who were advocating day schools could point to the living circumstances prevalent at Indian boarding schools where disease and malnutrition were all too common.[35] What's more, boarding schools for young Native Americans focused on training for the technical trades, making it difficult for graduates to rise above the blue-collar classes.

During the 1920s, several organizations, including the American Indian Defense Association, the Eastern Association on Indian Affairs, the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, and the Indian Welfare Division of the General Federation of Women's Clubs began a concerted effort to improve the lives of Native Americans in the United States.[36] A public relations campaign and a series of high-profile controversies involving the Indian Bureau led Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work to commission a survey of reservations across the country which culminated in the Meriam Report (1928).[37] The authors of the report were unstinting in their criticism, but their professional stature and refusal to single out specific individuals for blame helped to make the document highly influential.[38]

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[31] Woerner, 48, and *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Vol. II* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1896), 14. The report states that there was also a Navajo day school at Supai, Arizona, but that school was almost certainly on the Havasupai Reservation.
[32] Woerner, 61.
[33] Woerner, 62.
[34] Hildegard Thompson, *Navajos' Long Walk for Education: A History of Navajo Education* (Tsaile, AZ: Navajo Community College Press, 1975), 29, 47.
[35] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction,* 112–135.
[36] The Eastern Association on Indian Affairs and the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs were founded in 1922, and the American Defense Association was founded in 1923.
[37] For more on these controversies, see Randolph C. Downes, "A Crusade for Indian Reform," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 32, no. 3 (December 1945): 331–354.
[38] Lawrence C. Kelly, *The Navajo Indians and Federal Policy, 1900–1935* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press,

The Meriam Report was one of several factors that led to the resignation of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles S. Burke in March 1929. His departure signaled an important shift in federal American Indian policy and Burke's successors, Charles J. Rhoads and Henry Scattergood, began to implement the recommendations of the Meriam Report.[39] Rhoads increased the educational budget for Native Americans and addressed the criticisms lodged against the Indian boarding schools. He improved the standards for educational personnel and underlined his commitment to reform by appointing W. Carson Ryan, Jr. as the Office of Indian Affairs' Director of Indian Education in August 1930.[40] Ryan, a noted writer, scholar, and consultant on education, had supervised the sections on Indian education in the Meriam Report. In March 1931, the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) further expanded its support for Native American schools when Ryan's department became one of the five main administrative divisions within the Indian Service.

As an exponent of the Progressive Education movement, Ryan sought to adapt schooling to the specific needs of each student. One of his first actions was to overhaul the Uniform Course of Study which mandated a standardized curriculum for all Indian schools. Ryan began by eliminating classes such as English classics, ancient history, algebra, and geometry that seemed irrelevant to the particular circumstances of Indian students. In the Meriam Report, Ryan advocated a program of study that drew from indigenous cultures and as Director of Indian Education he was able to achieve his goals by creating new classes for Native American educational institutions that reinforced tribal identity. As a result, Diné boarding schools began hiring instructors in the traditional tribal arts of rug weaving and jewelry making.[41] Ryan also recommended using Indian designs in home economics classes and integrating them into paper projects, dress accessories, and home décor (including curtains, lampshades, wall hangings, hooked rugs, lampshades, bedspreads, and pillows).[42]

As historian Margaret Connell Szasz has observed, Ryan's interest in curricular reform was accompanied by a deep-seated commitment to enabling Native Americans to attend school while living at home.[43] He addressed the malnutrition, emphasis on student labor, and crowded conditions at federal boarding schools, while initiating a program to gradually close them and replace them with day schools.[44] Ryan also favored contracts between the OIA and state governments that would enable Native American students to enroll in public schools near the

1968), 139.
[39] Szasz, 27.
[40] Szasz, 28–29.
[41] By February 1932, there were Diné instructors teaching rug weaving at every Navajo boarding school and instructors in silversmithing at some of these schools. W. Carson Ryan, Jr. and Rose K. Brandt, "Indian Education Today," *Progressive Education* 9, no. 2 (February 1932): 84. And see Bulletin 61631, "New Schools for Indian Children" (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d.), St. Michael's Mission Archives, St. Michaels, Arizona.
[42] See Bulletin 55911, "The Use of Indian Designs in Government Schools" (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d.), St. Michael's Mission Archives, St. Michaels, Arizona.
[43] Szasz, 30–31.
[44] Downes: 346.

reservations. Although he viewed the immediate closure of boarding schools as unrealistic, he envisioned a time when their role in Indian education would be greatly diminished.

By the time Herbert Hoover left office in January 1933, Rhoads, Scattergood, and Ryan had made significant progress toward achieving the recommendations of the Meriam Report.[45] Their efforts set the stage for the changes in Indian policy implemented by the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration.[46] Ryan's work for the OIA continued until 1935 because Roosevelt's dynamic Indian commissioner, John Collier, retained him as Director of Indian Education. Together, they spearheaded the educational reforms of the Indian New Deal.

John Collier

In 1933, Roosevelt appointed Collier as the Commissioner for the Office of Indian Affairs, a position which he was to hold until 1945.[47] Collier was a career social reformer who found inspiration as a youth in the works of William Morris and other theorists who stressed the relationship between personal happiness and community organization. After studies in Paris and at Columbia University, he worked from 1907 to 1919 for the People's Institute in New York City and sought to better the lives of the immigrant population of Manhattan. As part of his efforts, Collier helped to establish "school community centers" that provided a place where immigrants could meet and where their children could preserve their national identity by learning dances, songs, and other cultural activities.[48] In line with sociologists like Émile Durkheim, Collier believed that industrialized societies could pose a formidable challenge to individual fulfillment. For Collier, traditional social structures held the key to remedying the anomie and other psychological disorders produced by modernity. During the winter of 1919–1920, Collier was profoundly moved by a community dance he attended at Taos Pueblo, and his experience motivated him to focus on Native American culture.

Collier subsequently took a teaching job at San Francisco State Teacher's College but left his position in 1922 to become a political activist funded by the Indian Welfare Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. He turned his attention to New Mexico and brought all his talents to bear on defeating the Bursum Bill, which jeopardized land grants to the Pueblo Indians. Collier orchestrated an extensive campaign that brought him national recognition and established him as a central figure in the Native American reform movement. In 1923, he helped found a new organization, the American Indian Defense Association (AIDA), which subsequently became the most progressive of all the major Indian rights groups active during the interwar period. Serving as the AIDA's executive secretary until 1933, Collier set a far-reaching agenda that addressed a range of Native American issues, including religious freedom and other

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[45] Szasz, 36.
[46] Szasz, 27.
[47] The Department of the Interior's Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) was renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in 1947. The OIA and the BIA administered Native American healthy policy until the creation in 1956 of the Indian Health Service which was managed by the Public Health Service and is now part of the Department of Health and Human Services.
[48] Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 15–16.

civil liberties; land rights; allotment; mineral and water rights; arts and crafts; reimbursable debts; health; and education.

After Collier became Indian Commissioner in April 1933, he quickly initiated a series of reforms in Native American policy. He was particularly interested in reorganizing the Native American education system and received $2.8 million for new buildings on Native American reservations, $1.5 million of which was allocated to the construction of new day schools.[49] One of the first statements issued by Collier's office regarding the appearance of the new reservation buildings was that they were to reflect local traditions.[50] By November 1933, Collier had expressed his intention to employ Native American architectural forms—and specifically, the Diné hogan—as part of the new building program.[51] During his tenure as commissioner, Collier would establish important connections with the Bureau of American Ethnology and hire anthropologists to document Native American cultures across the country. And he would move hand-in-hand with an important ally whose commitment to making education relevant to each student's circumstances overlapped with Collier's dedication to maintaining traditional cultures: the Progressive Education movement.

The Progressive Education Movement

The Progressive Education movement developed after the Civil War as a response to a series of profound shifts in American society. As historian Lawrence Cremin has documented, schools during this period came to be seen as institutions that could serve a variety of purposes, above and beyond teaching "the three Rs". Although extremely broad-based and embracing a range of viewpoints, the movement endorsed several basic ideas, including:

- The need for schools to care for the physical well-being and professional future of students, while cultivating their abilities to be successful members of their communities
- The importance of integrating the latest advances in social science research into lesson plans
- The necessity to adapt teaching to serve the diverse needs of pupils from different cultural and economic backgrounds[52]

Underlying these practical aims was the conviction that a democracy worthy of the name would give all of its citizens the opportunity to develop their potential and contribute the full expression of their selves to society.[53]

[49] "At the Close of Eight Weeks," *Indians at Work* 1, no. 3 (September 15, 1933): 3.
[50] "Letter [from David C. Trott] to Samuel M. Dodd," August 20, 1933. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Phoenix, Report of Superintendent, Box 58.
[51] "Letter from John Collier to Roy H. Bradley," November 23, 1933. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Phoenix, Report of Superintendent, Box 58.
[52] Cremin, viii–ix.
[53] Cremin, ix.

One of the key factors in the formation of the Progressive Education movement was the arrival of large numbers of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe beginning in the 1880s. The groups who entered the U.S. during this period tended to converge in cities and many ended up becoming marginalized and impoverished in ethnic ghettos. The settlement house movement was formed as a humanitarian response. The first American settlement house was established in New York City in 1886, and by 1911, there were 413 settlement houses located across the country, mostly in low-income urban areas.[54] The settlement houses were staffed by individuals who shared their education and experience to help immigrants cope with their new circumstances. Settlement house workers were also instrumental in urging public school officials across the country to fund positions for staff physicians and nurses, school lunches, kindergartens, and evening classes for adults at public educational institutions.[55]

By the first decade of the 20th century, the role of the public school was expanding, and John Collier's work to develop community centers in New York was part of this phenomenon. Collier realized that school community centers could utilize existing buildings (public schools) and offer many of the services provided by settlement houses. His Training Program for Community Workers created a corps of professionals who could serve in school community centers, settlement houses, and in neighborhood organizations—in each situation, "cultural missionaries" were to be deployed to help immigrants adapt to American society.

A number of prominent intellectuals promoted Progressive Education during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Lester Frank Ward was influential, but the author who became most closely identified with the movement was John Dewey.[56] John Dewey taught at the University of Chicago from 1894 to 1904, during which time he befriended Jane Addams and the staff at Hull House, a settlement house that would become particularly prominent. Dewey began his own experimental school in 1896 and wrote widely about education. His bestselling book, *The School and Society* (1899), advocated an instructional approach that nurtured the abilities of each individual child.

One of the most revolutionary aspects of *The School and Society* was Dewey's proposal that the school should be an instrument of social reform.[57] In 1902, he published an article called "The School as Social Center" in which he bemoaned the fact that many immigrants were losing touch with their cultural heritage and becoming "denationalized" too rapidly.[58] He continued, "What we want is to see the school, every public school, doing something of the same sort of work that is now done by a settlement [house] or two scattered at wide distances through the city."[59] The article enumerates a variety of programs that public schools could offer including classes for adults, social events, and recreational activities. It is unclear how and when Dewey and Collier

[54] Albert Joseph Kennedy and Robert Archey Woods, *Handbook of Settlements* (Philadelphia: The Russell Sage Foundation/Press of Wm. F. Fell Co., 1911), vi.
[55] Cremin, 64.
[56] See Cremin, 96–98 for more on Ward's contributions to the Progressive Education movement.
[57] Cremin, 116–118.
[58] John Dewey, "The School as Community Center," *The Elementary School Teacher* 3, no. 2 (October 1902): 78.
[59] Dewey, 84.

came to know each other, but by 1915, Dewey had agreed to lead the Educational Committee at Collier's Training School for Community Workers in New York City.

In 1919, the Progressive Education Association met for the first time in Washington, D.C. Starting with a membership of less than one hundred, the organization grew to 6,000 in its first decade.[60] In 1924, the PEA began publishing *Progressive Education,* a journal that would serve as a means to disseminate the organization's ideas.[61] The February 1932 issue was dedicated to Native American education and included articles by W. Carson Ryan and Rose K. Brandt, Oliver La Farge (the president of the National Association on Indian Affairs), and John Collier describing how Progressive Educational principles could be applied to Native American schools.

In "Indian Education Today," Ryan and Brandt argued that Progressive Education could help preserve Native American culture while offering Indian children the guidance they would need to function in American society.[62] Ryan and Brandt singled out the Southwest tribes as providing an ideal opportunity to demonstrate the efficacy of an education based on life writ large as opposed to "the three Rs." From the authors' perspective, these Indian groups maintained the integrity of their traditional cultures to a degree that made incorporating everyday life into formal education especially valid. The article presented an idea that would later become prevalent during the Roosevelt administration, namely that Native Americans can make a unique contribution to helping American society function in a more robust way.

Oliver La Farge would later play an important role in selecting the New York architectural firm of Mayers, Murray & Phillip to design buildings for Collier's Indian New Deal. His article in the February 1932 issue of *Progressive Education* was entitled, "An Experimental School for Indians." In the piece, he contended that Progressive Education would be especially effective among the Diné because they were receptive to new ideas, their culture was relatively intact, and few had received a formal education. La Farge advocated "the development of a sturdy and purposeful Indianism; that is something of the spirit and intention to better themselves and their race, while retaining its racial values…."[63] He envisioned the Diné day school-community center as a place where "improved" agricultural methods, child-rearing, food preparation, and housekeeping could be taught and then passed from the students to their families. As it turns out, this would become a key objective of the day school-community centers as they were developed on the Navajo Reservation two years later.

In his article for the issue, John Collier wrote about federal educational policy in Mexico, praising the Mexican government for creating a program which enabled each school to be "a property of the community, a flowering, an incandescence of the community, and a communal tool for improving life and its local conditions."[64] More than either Ryan, Brandt, or La Farge,

[60] Cremin, 249.
[61] Cremin, 247.
[62] Ryan and Brandt: 81.
[63] Oliver La Farge, "An Experimental School for Indians," *Progressive Education* 9, no. 2 (February 1932): 93.
[64] John Collier, "Mexico: A Challenge," *Progressive Education* 9, no. 2 (February 1932): 96.

Collier viewed "the self-activity of local groups" as pivotal to the success of an educational system. He suggested that three elements were crucial to developing self-activity, namely 1) cooperative ownership of land and other resources, 2) freedom from state control, and 3) schools that functioned as "a promotion center for a multitude of community activities."[65] Collier proposed that these three elements could be incorporated into federal Indian policy in the U.S. to great effect, and implied that they could be the fundamental ingredients of a successful Indian education program. He particularly emphasized the fact that each of the Mexican villages constructed its own school, writing,

> The local community builds the school house with its own hands. It builds the road to the school; erects the telephone poles and lays the wires; constructs the buildings of the demonstration farm; builds the clinic, the open air theatre, and teacher's cottage.[66]

The article anticipates the interest in reservation architecture Collier evinced when he became Indian commissioner and articulates the important role he expected day school-community centers to play on Native American reservations.

W. Carson Ryan reiterated these ideas in an address given to the National Conference of Social Work in May 1934. By this time, Collier had been directing the OIA for over a year, and the speech demonstrates how actively both he and Ryan had been working to put Progressive Educational theories into practice. Ryan's speech, "Social and Educational Implications of the Navajo Program," emphasized the importance of developing self-help in Navajo communities. Not only would the OIA's new day school-community centers be bilingual—they would be operated, "as far as possible," by Diné staff.[67] The schools were to offer a variety of services: "They will be large enough to have shops, a health clinic with doctor and nurse, home economics rooms, space for gardens and trees and agricultural work, a dining-room. They will be for adults as well as for children; real communities, Navajo community schools."[68] Ryan continued by outlining a curriculum that would include Diné history, literary works, and traditional arts.

Both Collier and Ryan realized that Progressive Educational principles could help preserve traditional cultures while providing a formal education. Progressive Education, by almost any definition, urges a close relationship between a school and the values of its community.[69] This interconnection means that a school embodying the principles of Progressive Education will, *ipso facto,* reinforce local customs. While both men felt that Native American cultures were

[65] Collier, "Mexico: A Challenge": 97.
[66] Collier, "Mexico: A Challenge": 98.
[67] W. Carson Ryan, "Social and Educational Implications of the Navajo Program," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work,* Sixty-first Annual Session, Kansas City, Missouri, May 20–26, 1934 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934): 561–562.
[68] Ryan, "Social and Educational Implications of the Navajo Program": 559. This section of Ryan's address quotes from Collier's speech to the Navajo Nation Council in October 1933.
[69] Szasz, 52.

intrinsically important, they also argued that these cultures possessed features that could benefit other societies. Ryan contended,

> Even more fundamentally, we have in the Navajo area one of the few opportunities remaining in Indian North America to make sure that a significant cultural survival in legend, ritual, and literature is maintained as the contribution of one group to the enrichment of their lives and unquestionably to the enrichment of the lives of all of us.[70]

Ryan was forthright about the radical nature of the new Diné schools, noting, "We are frankly experimenting at every point."[71] Collier also referred to the Navajo Reservation as "a laboratory" when writing about the new schools, but this was in keeping with the revolutionary spirit of the Progressive Education movement. Ryan emphasized that Diné schools would be distinct from any other type of school then in operation[72]—this made experimentation a necessity, rather than an exercise in frivolity.

In September 1934, the OIA began publishing *Community Center Naltsos*, a mimeographed newsletter for teachers and OIA staff at the day school-community centers across the Navajo Reservation.[73] Each installment provided advice and reported on events at the various centers. The opening issue, edited by Howard McKinley (Diné) communicated the importance of Progressive Education in the new schools:

> Formerly it was thought that education simply meant the process of children marching into a classroom under the supervision of a teacher. Today, we no longer have this belief in a formal type of education. As John Dewey a great educational philosopher says 'Education simply means the natural and gradual development of a child into adolescence and into adulthood.' In other words, education is nothing more than life itself.[74]

The Day School-Community Center Program

During the last months of the Hoover administration, the OIA opened six new day schools on the Navajo Reservation at Red Rock, Sanostee, and Crystal in New Mexico, and at Kinlichee, Klagetoh, and Teec Nos Pos in Arizona.[75] These facilities created a total of ten day schools in

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[70] Ryan, "Social and Educational Implications of the Navajo Program": 562.
[71] Ryan, "Social and Educational Implications of the Navajo Program": 559.
[72] Ryan, "Social and Educational Implications of the Navajo Program": 559.
[73] The Navajo word *naltsos* (now commonly written as *naaltsoos*) means "book" or "paper."
[74] *Community Center Naltsos* 1, no. 1 (September 1, 1934): 9, St. Michael's Mission Archives, St. Michaels, Arizona.
[75] The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1932 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1932), 62, 64, lists Cornfields and Moencopi in Arizona, and Pinedale, and Nava in New Mexico as operating day schools. Table 4 in *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1933* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1933), 149–150, lists day schools at Cornfields, Crystal, Kinlichee, Klagetoh, and Moencopi in Arizona, and

Navajoland with Moencopi (established by 1905) and Cornfields (1911) in Arizona, and Pinedale (1917) and Nava (1928) in New Mexico.[76] Through their hard work and dedication, Indian Commissioner Charles J. Rhoads, Assistant Commissioner J. Henry Scattergood, and Director of Education W. Carson Ryan had finally been able to implement the recommendation of the Meriam Report that stated,

> Except for sections where good public schools are open to Indians, the government day schools offer the best opportunity available at present to furnish schooling to Indian children and at the same time build up a needed home and community education.[77]

When John Collier became commissioner, the OIA redoubled the government's commitment to close Indian boarding schools. On August 19, 1933, Collier notified Mayers, Murray & Phillip that they had received a contract to design buildings for Native American reservations. On the same day, Ryan issued a list of general specifications for new day schools to the firm's lead designer, Hardie Phillip.[78] The specifications emphasized the community aspect of the new facilities, and began by declaring,

> The schools are to be community schools of the activity type for all members of the community, adults as well as children, [and] the buildings should be adapted to local needs rather than conform to any conventional school plans. The simplest possible construction should be used, with local materials and Indian labor….[79]

The specifications requested classroom facilities for the new schools, as well as "space for work shop, library, school lunch, washing (frequently for community washing and laundrying [sic] as well as for children's use) and other needs that will develop for both pupils and community." The function of the new schools was anticipated to be very broad, and the document continues, "A general community meeting place is to be assumed regardless of the size of the school." The

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Pinedale, Nava, Redrock, Sanostee, and Teec Nos Pos in New Mexico, for a total of ten day schools. It should be noted that the narrative text on page 74 of the report states that only five new day schools opened on the Navajo Reservation during the fiscal year 1932–33.

[76] The Moencopi Day School appears in the annual reports filed by the commissioner in *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1905; Indian Affairs, Part I* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1906), 505. The opening dates for the Cornfields, Pinedale, and Nava day schools are from a chronological list of Diné schools in Box 7; W. Carson Ryan Files; RG 75-723; National Archives Building—Washington, DC. Lukachukai, Arizona also had a day school which had closed by the end of fiscal year 1932.

[77] Lewis Meriam, et al., *The Problem of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey Made at the Request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to Him, February 28, 1928* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1928), 411.

[78] "Indian Service School Construction – Specifications," with cover note dated August 19, 1933 addressed to "Mr. Phillip" and signed "Ryan," *Native Americans and the New Deal: The Office Files of John Collier, 1933–1945* [microform edition], ed., Robert E. Lester (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994), Reel 7.

[79] "Indian Service School Construction – Specifications."

OIA additionally requested that the area around the schools be "left in such a way that planning of the gardens and landscaping can be done with help from the children and the community."[80]

John Collier was not the first person to try to establish community centers on Indian reservations. During the late 1920s and early 1930s, Superintendent John G. Hunter had tried to develop a community center program in the Southern Navajo jurisdiction. And even earlier—in 1915—the Society of American Indians had also attempted to establish a community center program on Indian reservations in the U.S.

The Society of American Indians was the first great pan-Indian movement of the 20th century. Founded in 1911, it comprised a diverse group of "progressive" Native Americans who were dedicated, "to education, to a broad legislative program affecting all Indians, and to building an organizational vehicle for the expression of common interests."[81] Although it had become a spent force by the mid-1920s, for a brief period the Society brought together some of the most famous Native Americans of the day, including Dr. Charles Eastman, Dr. Carlos Montezuma, the Reverend Sherman Coolidge, Thomas L. Sloan, Henry Roe Cloud, Angel De Cora Weitz, Arthur C. Parker, and Gertrude Simmons Bonnin.[82]

At the founding conference of the society, anthropologist Arthur C. Parker (Seneca), gave a paper on "The Philosophy of Indian Education," in which he recommended the creation of "social betterment stations" on Indian reservations.[83] According to historian Hazel Hertzberg, these institutions were "an Indian version of two important movements of the time, the urban settlement house…and the rural agricultural experiment station."[84] Parker's principal concern was that "the demoralized social conditions" on the reservations were neither preparing Indian schoolchildren to be successful nor providing a place for returned boarding school students to flourish and exercise their skills.[85] The social betterment stations would augment the work of missionaries but would be supervised by either the federal government or the states. The curriculum would include "the necessary things of hygiene and industry," although, he explained,

> The first effort of such an undertaking, I would suggest, should be the teaching of independent action, of a pride that would lead to self-help, of a sentiment that would clamor for abolition of special laws that permitted the operation of tribal

[80] "Indian Service School Construction – Specifications."
[81] Hazel Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 82
[82] Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 31–58 passim, 199. See also Henry Owl, "Some Successful Indians," *Southern Workman* 47, no. 11 (November 1918): 535–540.
[83] Arthur C. Parker, "The Philosophy of Indian Education," in *Report of the Executive Council on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians* (Washington, DC, 1912), 73.
[84] Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 61–64.
[85] Parker, "The Philosophy of Indian Education," 73.

> customs not consistent with modern progress, and of a lively desire to demonstrate the ability of the race to advance.[86]

Although the Society did not act on Parker's proposal immediately, in 1915 it opened a community center in Fort Duchesne, Utah, the agency headquarters for the Uintah and Ouray Ute Indian Reservation. The center's supervisor was Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala-Ša). Bonnin, who was born on the Yankton Sioux Reservation, was a prize-winning orator, classically-trained violinist, and published author when she moved to Fort Duchesne in 1902 with her husband Raymond.[87] At the agency, she worked as a clerk and as a teacher—she also performed home-demonstration work among Indian women and established a brass band for Indian youth.[88]

The community center that Bonnin organized at Fort Duchesne was "a nice hall" where sewing classes were held to make clothing for the indigent and where the Utes who came to fetch their weekly checks could rest and have a hot lunch. While this work served a charitable purpose, it also fulfilled the Society's mission to help returned students: the community center offered food and accommodation to visitors that the agency's Indian employees would formerly have had to provide. In this way, Bonnin's efforts saved the employees from "debt and discouragement."[89] During the following year, problems beset the community center, in part because it vied with other groups who were performing similar functions.[90] Perhaps if Bonnin had stayed at Fort Duchesne, the community center would have been able to carve out a role that was distinct from the religious and governmental entities that were already serving the reservation. But in 1916, Bonnin was elected as the Society's secretary, and, after a move to Washington, DC she became editor of the group's quarterly publication, *The American Indian*.[91] Her remarkable talents soon established her as one of the nation's preeminent voices for Indian policy reform and the Society's community center movement never expanded beyond Fort Duchesne.

John Collier's program for day school-community centers far exceeded the plans implemented by any of his predecessors in terms of both ambition and funding. In 1934, the federal government allocated $3,613,000 to construct new buildings for Native American reservations. Money was set aside for day school facilities on the Cherokee Reservation in North Carolina; the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho; the Blackfeet and Fort Belknap Reservations in Montana; the Standing Rock and Fort Totten Reservations in North Dakota; the Pine Ridge, Rosebud, and Cheyenne River Reservations in South Dakota; the Hayward-Lac de Flambeau Reservation in

[86] Parker, "The Philosophy of Indian Education," 73–74.
[87] David L. Johnson and Raymond Wilson, "Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, 1876–1938: 'Americanize the First American,'" *American Indian Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (Winter 1988): 28–29.
[88] Mary E. Young, "Gertrude Simmons Bonnin," in *Notable American Women,* vol. 1, ed. Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1971), 199.
[89] Zitkala-Ša [Gertrude Simmons Bonnin], "A Christmas Letter from Zit-kal-a-sa," *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* 3, no. 4 (period ending December 31, 1915): 322–323.
[90] Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 151.
[91] Johnson and Wilson, 30.

Wisconsin; and in Phoenix.[92] In addition, Collier made it abundantly clear that he viewed "the development of the day school as the keystone of Navajo educational progress."[93] By late January 1934, plans were being developed to build forty new day school-community centers on the Navajo Reservation.[94] Funding was also made available to expand several existing day schools and to convert the Diné boarding school at Chinle into a day school-community center.

The first of the new day schools—on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations in South Dakota—were completed by mid-September 1934 and the first Diné day school-community center at Burnhams, New Mexico was finished by March 1935.[95] By 1941, the Indian Office had constructed nearly one hundred facilities across the country—about half were on the Navajo Reservation.[96] Some of the day school-community centers designated for funding during the earliest stages of the program were never built and additional construction projects were later added. But between forty-five to fifty day school-community centers were serving Diné students by the time the U.S. entered World War II. In 1933, Ryan described the importance of building day schools for Native Americans in *Indians at Work*, the monthly periodical published by the OIA.[97] Although still in its early stages, he noted that the program was already "reestablishing the integrity of the Indian home and the wholesome atmosphere of a normal family as the bases for Indian community life, much of which had been destroyed under the system of boarding schools for young children."[98]

A 1936 OIA report described the typical Diné day school-community center as "a common kitchen, clinic, shop, countinghouse, library, sewing room, assembly hall, amusement center, and club for each and every member of the community" (figs. 11 and 12).[99]

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[92] Philp, 128, and "Press Release," n.d. but probably October 1933; Box 58; Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction; Records of the Phoenix, AZ, Area Office; RG 75; NARA—Pacific Coast Region (Riverside).
[93] Woerner, 133.
[94] Building project estimates dated January 26, 1934, attached to "Letter from R. M. Tisinger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs," [stamped] February 9, 1934; Box 1426; General Services-400; Central Classified Files 1907–1939; RG 75; National Archives Building —Washington, DC.
[95] "The First Navajo Day School is Completed," *Indians at Work* 2, no. 14 (March 1, 1935): 31–32.
[96] Szasz, 62.
[97] *Indians at Work* began publication on August 1, 1933 and was funded by the OIA and the CCC. It was edited by Mary Heaton Vorse and had a circulation of 12,000. See Philp, 122.
[98] W. Carson Ryan, Jr., "Community Day Schools for Indians," *Indians at Work* 1, no. 8 (December 1, 1933): 8.
[99] C.M. Blair and E.R. Fryer, "Navajo Service Schools: Report for School Year 1935–1936" (Window Rock: Navajo Service, 1936), 4.

Figure 11: "Sewing at day school on sewing machines furnished by the day school, at Crystal, New Mexico, 1939"
Source: National Archives and Records Administration

Figure 12: "Blacksmithing at the day school—Picture of a group of Indians who have come to the Hunter's Point School to repair a broken wagon," photographed by "U.S. Indian Service" (c. late 1930s)
Source: National Archives and Records Administration

Washing facilities were also provided and government statistics indicate that the centers were successful in drawing residents of all ages.[100] In her article, "Navajos Go to School," Lucy Wilcox Adams, Director of Education on the Navajo Reservation, could claim that 1937 "brought a quarter of a million visits to the schools," during which adults from the surrounding communities laundered their clothes, received medical attention, repaired their tools, and myriad other activities.[101] But Adams also commented that, as busy as the day school-community centers were, they failed to fulfill the role that the OIA had originally envisioned. A report filed in November 1940 remarked,

> Navajo day schools are now about six years old. During those six years the program has undergone considerable changes until there is little resemblance to the type of community center at first conceived, where the major part of the school activities was to be carried on out in the community with adults, or with children at their own homes, and where instruction in the schools was to be largely assigned to Navajos.[102]

Adams attributed these changes to the proliferation of government specialists in soil conservation, agriculture, and livestock management who dealt with many of the issues that were originally tasked to the Diné day school-community centers. She, along with a consensus of school principals from the Navajo Reservation who met in the fall of 1940, recommended a renewed effort to establish a more community-oriented role for the schools. Unfortunately, the outbreak of World War II the following year brought other issues to the fore.

Adams' report also noted several factors that made school attendance on the Navajo Reservation problematic. Willard Beatty, who succeeded W. Carson Ryan as Director of Indian Education for the OIA in 1936, would later describe the Native American day school program as successful, except among the Diné.[103] Circumstances, "peculiar to that area," made implementation difficult and included the traditional Diné settlement pattern which favored family groups (or "outfits") rather than communities.

Beatty, writing in 1951, noted that "There are not a dozen places on the reservation where 10 children can be brought together on a walk-in basis to attend a day school." Another challenge was that the Diné have historically based their livelihood on herding, making it necessary to live near seasonal livestock pastures. Because families moved from place to place during the year, children found it difficult to attend school on a consistent basis. Finally, the soil on the

[100] Blair and Fryer, "Navajo Service Schools," 15.
[101] Lucy Wilcox Adams, "Navajos Go to School," *Journal of Adult Education* 10 (April 1938): 149.
[102] Lucy Wilcox Adams, "Notes on the Principals' Meeting, Window Rock, Arizona, November 25, 1940," page 1, Box 11, Peter Iverson Collection - 1898–2002, Labriola National American Indian Data Center, Arizona State University Archives and Special Collections, Tempe, Arizona (mimeo), original located at NARA—Pacific Coast Region (Riverside).
[103] Willard Beatty, "Indian Day Schools: A Reply to Opler's Review," *American Anthropologist* 53, no. 3 (July–September 1951): 417. For more on Beatty, see Frederick J. Stefon, "Willard Beatty and Progressive Indian Education," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 33, no. 4 (2009): 91–112.

reservation, which generally has a high clay content, made roads difficult and even impassable when sufficiently wet. The funding necessary to maintain the transportation system on the Navajo Reservation was in short supply during the Depression and World War II, and, as a result, forty-one former Diné day schools were accommodating boarding students by 1951.[104]

Despite these problems, the program to build day school-community centers on reservations was unprecedented. For the first time in its history, the Indian Service promoted a system of learning that respected indigenous traditions and embodied Progressive Educational ideals. The OIA gave a measure of control to Native American communities while at the same time trusting that day school-community centers would expose Indians of all ages to Euro-American lifeways. This is not to say that longstanding paternalistic attitudes disappeared, for the OIA fully intended to alter behavioral patterns that contributed to soil erosion and health problems on the Navajo Reservation. Nevertheless, the degree of independence that Collier's educational program sought to instill into tribal-federal relations was remarkable.

Criterion C: Significance in the Area of Architecture

Summary

The Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center is also significant under Criterion C in the area of Architecture for its innovative design—the first successful effort to hybridize the Diné hogan and a Euro-American-style school. The OIA constructed four "hogan schools" on the Navajo Reservation between 1934 and 1936—at Shonto and Cove in Arizona, at Mariano Lake in New Mexico, and at Navajo Mountain. During the mid–1930s, architectural plans and renderings were reproduced in at least three national publications and the hogan school emerged as a tangible symbol of the government's commitment to honor Native American culture. Over the ensuing years, the buildings in Arizona and New Mexico were either demolished or fundamentally altered causing a loss of integrity. Today, the Navajo Reservation features many hogan-inspired school buildings that can trace their descent to the architecture of the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center, the only surviving example of a "hogan school."

Native American Architecture for Native American Schools

When John Collier proposed day school-community centers for Indian reservations, he envisioned buildings that would be pioneering in both their function and their appearance. He intended the new architecture to validate Native American culture by adapting indigenous forms. The most extraordinary examples completed by the OIA under his direction were the hogan schools designed for the Navajo Reservation.

Despite the strong assimilationist bias of the federal government, support for Native American culture began to appear in the records of the Office of Indian Affairs by the end of the 19th

[104] Beatty, "Indian Day Schools: A Reply to Opler's Review": 417.

century. In his annual report for 1897, Superintendent of Indian Education William Hailmann praised teachers who sought to learn about Native American lifeways, including, "in a measure," Indian languages.[105] Hailmann echoed Progressive Educational ideals, writing,

> The more the teacher of Indian youth can render himself familiar with whatever there may be in Indian character and Indian life that is noble and good, the more successful will he be in fostering these seeds of high character in the children intrusted [sic] to his care, in leading them to vigorous germination and development into the light of the new civilization.[106]

Hailmann promoted the study of Indian customs in the hope that that his staff would become more effective teachers and help Native American students expand upon the good qualities that they already possessed. He left the Indian Service in 1898, but his sympathy for indigenous traditions was taken up much more forcefully by Francis E. Leupp, the Commissioner for Indian Affairs from 1904 to 1909. Leupp was a career journalist with a special interest in political reform. During the 1890s, he had edited *Good Government,* the organ of the National Civil Service Reform League, and between 1895 and 1898, he served as a special agent for the Indian Rights Association. His background in Indian Affairs also included a two-year stint on the Board of Indian Commissioners from 1896 to 1898.[107] When Leupp took office as the commissioner of Indian Affairs, he advocated a series of dramatic changes in policy—indeed, Richard Van Valkenburgh, author of *A Short History of the Navajo People* (1938), would refer to him as "the man who is the father of many of the present ideas in Indian reform."[108]

An important example of how Leupp's policies prefigured Collier's was his support for day schools. Leupp reasoned that students who stayed at home were in a much better position to influence their families and disseminate the lessons they received in school. But what may appear to have been the cold calculus of assimilation also embraced a measure of sympathy. Leupp stressed that the boarding school student who returned to the reservation was "a stranger and a hybrid—neither one thing nor the other." He was willing to admit that this was "a very unhappy condition for any young child to be reared in." And under these circumstances Leupp argued that it was better the child had never left the reservation at all.[109]

Like Hailmann, Leupp subscribed to Progressive Educational ideas and he maintained that Indian schools should nurture the inherent characteristics of each pupil. For Leupp, this entailed a respect for the cultural background of Native American students. He put forward programs

[105] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 316.
[106] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1897), 329.
[107] William T. Hagan, *Theodore Roosevelt and Six Friends of the Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 29; Alexander Ewen and Jeffrey Wollock, "Leupp, Francis E," *Encyclopedia of the American Indian in the Twentieth Century* (Facts On File, 2014), accessed September 18, 2018, online.infobase.com/Auth/Index?aid=0&itemid=WE43&articleId=359266.
[108] Richard Van Valkenburgh, *A Short History of the Navajo People* (Window Rock, AZ: U.S. Department of the Interior/Navajo Service/Station KTGM, 1938), 54. This radio transcript was later issued as a booklet.
[109] Francis E. Leupp, "Back to Nature for the Indian," *Charities and Commons* 20 (June 6, 1908): 337–338.

that incorporated Native American arts, explaining, "Instead of giving these children our standards to conform to and our methods to follow, I am trying to draw out of them what is already in them, inherited with their blood."[110]

Among Leupp's most revolutionary ideas was that Native Americans should have specially-designed schools. He argued that Indian children were "little wild creatures, familiar with the voices of nature rather than the voices of men" and that they would be ill-served by an enclosed schoolhouse.[111] Leupp's design had walls that were solid "only as high as a wainscot or chair-rail in an ordinary living room." The framework above was screened with wire mesh which could be covered with rolls of "sail-cloth or tent-canvas" providing protection from the weather when necessary. He suggested that the architecture would be particularly appropriate in "parts of New Mexico, Arizona and substantially the whole of southern California." [112] By June of 1908, the buildings had acquired a nickname—"bird cages"—and the Indian Service was in the process of constructing several examples in the Southwest.[113] Leupp also proposed "portable schools" for tribes who moved seasonally in order to graze their livestock.[114] The Board of Indian Commissioners supported this idea, particularly for the Diné, along with special provisions for training in arts and crafts, "of a kind which shall help to develop the ability of the Navaho children and stimulate just pride on their part in those native industries in wool and silver for which they inherit special capacities…."[115]

Mayers, Murray & Phillip

In August 1933, John Collier dispatched his oldest son Charles to New York City to find an architect to design reservation architecture for the Office of Indian Affairs. Charles Collier, who had earned an undergraduate degree in architecture, began by consulting with Oliver La Farge. La Farge had worked with archaeologist Frans Blom in Mexico at the ancient Olmec site of La Venta in 1925–1926, research which culminated in several groundbreaking discoveries.[116] In 1929, he earned a master's degree in ethnology from Harvard and in 1930 he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in fiction for *Laughing Boy,* a novel about the challenges experienced by boarding school students returning to live on the Navajo Reservation. In 1932, La Farge became the

[110] Leupp, "Back to Nature for the Indian": 339. For more on Leupp's support for progressive education, see his book *The Indian and his Problem* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910).
[111] Leupp, "Back to Nature for the Indian": 336.
[112] Leupp, "Back to Nature for the Indian": 337.
[113] *Report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1908), 23. Leupp resigned in June 1909, and in neither 1908 nor 1909 does the *Report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs* specify the sites of the "bird cage" schools. See also David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction,* 318–319.
[114] *Report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1908), 25.
[115] *Fortieth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior, 1908* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1909), 17. I have not found any records indicating that "portable schools" were constructed.
[116] For more details, see David C. Grove, *Discovering the Olmecs: An Unconventional History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 5–16.

president of the National Association of Indian Affairs and aside from several years spent in military service during World War II, he served in that role for the rest of his life.[117]

Oliver La Farge's family background would have made him a good source of information on architectural matters: His father was noted architect Christopher Grant La Farge, one of the designers of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City.[118] His uncle Oliver Hazard Perry La Farge, and brother Christopher Grant La Farge were also professional architects. Both men collaborated with La Farge on the "Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts," an exhibit of Native American art objects which opened in 1931 in New York City and then traveled across the country.[119] La Farge and artist John Sloan edited the book *Introduction to American Indian Art* to accompany the exhibit.[120]

While in New York, Charles Collier interviewed several candidates for the OIA contract.[121] Available records only mention their last names, but it is probable that the group included Raymond Hood,[122] William J. Creighton,[123] Lawrence G. White of McKim, Mead, and White,[124] Arthur C. Holden,[125] and Clarence Stein,[126] as well as the firm of Mayers, Murray & Phillip. On August 10, Hardie Phillip of Mayers, Murray & Phillip met with John Collier in Washington.[127] Collier was impressed enough to schedule an appointment for Phillip to meet with Secretary of

[117] T.M. Pearce, *Oliver La Farge* (New York: Twayne, 1972), 45.
[118] La Farge and his partner George L. Heins designed the original version of St. John the Divine, but La Farge was replaced by Ralph Adams Cram after Heins died in 1907. Christopher Grant La Farge's father, John La Farge, was one of the greatest of American stained-glass artists.
[119] For more on the "Exhibition of Indian Tribal Arts," see chapter five of W. Jackson Rushing, "Native American Art and Culture and the New York Avant-Garde" (PhD diss., University of Texas, 1989).
[120] Pearce, *Oliver La Farge*, 44. Noted architect L. Bancel La Farge was Oliver La Farge's cousin.
[121] A memorandum from Collier to Ickes lists the architects who were interviewed by last name, and they included Hood, Creighton, White, Holden, Canderfeldt, Stein, and Hauheim. "Memorandum for Secretary Ickes from Commissioner [Collier]," September 7, 1933, *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], ed., Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1980), reel 19.
[122] Raymond Hood (1881–1934) was one of the most famous American architects of the period and was involved in the design of the Chicago Tribune Tower (1924), as well as several New York City landmarks, including the American Radiator Building (1924), the New York Daily News Building (1929), the McGraw Hill Building (1931) and Rockefeller Center (1933–1937).
[123] William J. Creighton (1892–1955) was a partner in the architectural firm of La Farge, Clark, and Creighton from 1927–1930 and was working independently in 1933.
[124] Lawrence Grant White (1887–1956) was architect Stanford White's only child and a partner in the firm of McKim, Mead, and White. Oliver La Farge's brother Christopher Grant worked for McKim, Mead, and White from 1924 to 1932. See "Christopher La Farge Dies at 58; Poet Wrote Best-Selling Novel," *New York Times,* January 6, 1958.
[125] Arthur Cort Holden (1890–1993) was an architect and author whose books included *Settlement Idea: A Vision of Social Justice* (New York: Macmillan, 1922).
[126] Early in his career Clarence Stein (1882–1975) worked as an architect in the office of Bertram Goodhue and by 1933 he was well on his way to becoming one of the most important American urban planners of the 20th century.
[127] I have been unable to obtain further information about "Canderfeldt," but "Hauheim" may refer to New York architect Melville Nauheim (1889–1971). See *American Architects Directory* (R.R. Bowker, 1956) located online at http://public.aia.org/sites/hdoaa/wiki/Wiki%20Pages/1956%20American%20Architects%20Directory.aspx and "Obituary of Melville Nauheim," *New York Times,* October 6, 1971.

the Interior Harold Ickes and, on August 19, Collier wired Mayers, Murray & Phillip with the news that their contract had been finalized.[128]

The firm of Mayers, Murray & Phillip was headed by Francis L.S. Mayers (1886–1985), Oscar Harold Murray (1882–1957), and Hardie Phillip (1888–1973). All three architects were closely associated with the office of Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue. Francis L.S. Mayers was born in Barbados and educated at McGill University in Montreal. He joined the firm of Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson in 1908 as a draftsman.[129] Oscar H. Murray was born in Gateshead, England and educated at the Municipal School of Art and Technical School in Birmingham.[130] He joined Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson at an unknown date. Hardie Phillip was born in Scone, Scotland and was educated in Edinburgh. He joined the office of architect Robert Lorimer in 1905 and rose to the level of assistant before leaving the firm in 1910. Phillip spent two years in the Federated Malay States (now part of Malaysia) and then immigrated to New York, joining Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson sometime around 1912.[131] Mayers, Murray, and Phillip all accompanied Goodhue after he left Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson to establish his own practice in 1914.

Together, Mayers, Murray, and Phillip completed the firm's projects after a fatal heart attack felled Goodhue at the height of his career in 1924. An article published in *Pencil Points* in 1922 provides a detailed profile of the members of Goodhue's office and offers some insight into the various roles that Mayers, Murray, and Phillip played. While Mayers served as Goodhue's office manager, Murray and Phillip were amongst the four draftsmen employed by the office. During a speech quoted in the article, Goodhue credited Murray with the design for the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel (1918–1928) at the University of Chicago, "a large church that is, perhaps, the most advanced and monumental piece of Gothic design that has ever come from here."[132] Goodhue also noted that Phillip had trained with Sir Robert Lorimer, "one of the four or five architects in the world who really understand Gothic." He praised Phillip's versatility and described him as "chiefly responsible" for the Church of St. Vincent Ferrer (1916–1918), an important example of the Gothic Revival style in Manhattan.[133]

After Goodhue's death, Mayers, Murray, and Phillip formed Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue Associates.[134] The firm was renamed Mayers, Murray & Phillip by early 1929 and then

[128] "Telegram from [John] Collier Commissioner to Mayers Murray & Phillip," August 19, 1933. *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], ed., Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1980), reel 19.
[129] "Francis L[aurie] S[pencer] Mayers," *American Architects Directory,* ed. George S. Koyl (New York: Bowker, 1955), 373. Also see Mayers' obituary, "Francis L. Mayers," *The Bridgeport Telegram,* May 26, 1970.
[130] "Oscar Harold Murray," *American Architects Directory,* 397. Also see Murray's obituary, "Oscar H. Murray, an Architect, 74," *New York Times,* April 26, 1957.
[131] "F. Hardie Phillip," *Dictionary of Scottish Architects,* accessed January 13, 2017. http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=206129. Also see Phillip's obituary, "Hardie Phillip, 86, Architect, Dead," *New York Times,* October 13, 1973.
[132] "Twelfth-Night in Mr. Goodhue's Office," *Pencil Points* 3, no. 2 (February 1922): 23.
[133] "Twelfth-Night in Mr. Goodhue's Office," *Pencil Points* 3, no. 2 (February 1922): 23–24.
[134] For an overview of the status of Goodhue's projects at his death, see Harry F. Cunningham, "The Ecclesiastical Work of Mayers, Murray & Phillip," *Architectural Forum* 50 (March 1929 – Part I – Architectural Design): 401–

dissolved in 1940, after which each of the architects established his own practice. The early years of the partnership must have been almost unimaginably busy as the three men endeavored to complete an astonishing roster of buildings, including the Nebraska State Capitol (1920–1932), the Los Angeles Public Library (1924–26), the Rockefeller Chapel at the University of Chicago, the Honolulu Academy of the Arts (1922–1927), Christ Church in Bronxville, New York (1924–1926), Trinity Lutheran Church in Fort Wayne, Indiana (1924–1926), and Epworth-Euclid Church in Cleveland, Ohio (1924–1928). Mayers, Murray & Phillip also continued work that had begun in 1915 at the California Institute of Technology (a project that would not end until 1938) and at Oahu College in Hawaii.[135]

Goodhue's visit to Hawaii in 1917 established connections that led to several commissions for Mayers, Murray & Phillip after his death. One of the most important was Hardie Phillip's Bank of Hawaii (1925–1927), which "began a new tradition in commercial building design in Honolulu."[136] Goodhue and Phillip together established a vocabulary of iconic elements that would come to identify a distinctive Hawaiian style. These elements included walls stuccoed with crushed stone from the islands; a hipped roof with a double-pitch covered with terracotta roof tiles; broad, overhanging eaves; wall grilles; metal railings and other types of ornamentation with locally-inspired patterns; and interior ceiling decorations based on traditional tapa (barkcloth) designs.[137]

Immediately after hiring Mayers, Murray & Phillip to design architecture for federal Indian reservations, John Collier issued a letter to the superintendents under his charge citing the importance of the firm's work on Hawaii, writing:

> The firm has done noteworthy building in many parts of the world. Most interesting from our Indian standpoint are the Hawaiian buildings which were planned and supervised on the ground by Mr. Phillip. These buildings practically established an indigenous architecture for modern uses in the Islands. Native labor and native materials were used and native traditions were built on.[138]

Although native Hawaiian buildings and Navajo hogans are fundamentally dissimilar, Collier viewed Phillip's success in creating "an indigenous architecture for modern uses" as excellent

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416.

[135] This list originates from Richard Oliver, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation/Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1983), 288. Buildings by Goodhue and Mayers, Murray & Phillip in Hawaii are discussed in Daina Julia Penkiunas, "American Regional Architecture in Hawaii: Honolulu, 1915–1935" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1990). Mayers, Murray & Phillip completed Dillingham Hall at Oahu College in 1929, a project which Goodhue began in 1920 (see 142–145).

[136] Penkiunas, 172.

[137] Penkiunas, 181–182.

[138] "To Superintendents from Commissioner [Collier]," August 24, 1933, *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], ed., Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1980), reel 19.

preparation for designing an idiom that would accommodate new functions while reflecting the tribal identity of American Indians.

New Architecture for the Indian New Deal

Like his predecessor Francis E. Leupp, John Collier directed the Indian Office to sponsor the construction of distinctive architecture for Native Americans. But Collier's vision was more ambitious. Rather than preserving one aspect of Native American culture in the Southwest—open-air living—he endeavored to adapt specific forms of Native American architecture *in toto* to schools and other public buildings.

Collier's correspondence from 1933 indicates that his ideas about architecture for Indian reservations evolved over the course of several months. Shortly after signing the contract with Mayers, Murray & Phillip in August, he announced that the new reservation buildings were to reflect regional architectural traditions.[139] In the September 15, 1933 issue of *Indians at Work,* Collier declared his support for an architectural design project "which will strive to embody the spirit of the Indians in these Indian buildings."[140] By November, Collier had specifically expressed his intention to employ the Diné hogan as part of the new building program.[141] The term hogan can refer to a wide variety of constructions, ranging from open-sided shade structures (Navajo, *chaha'oh*) to enclosed buildings that may be four-sided, polygonal, or round. Vernacular Diné architecture in fact embraces a wide variety of types—unifying characteristics include an eastern entrance and the ritual associations that are brought to bear by a traditional house blessing.

The design of the school hogans on the Navajo Reservation was intended to mimic a type of polygonally-shaped horizontally-laid-log hogan known as the *tsin bee hooghan.* The architects retained the form's traditional timbered domical roof but specified stone masonry walls along with details drawn from Western building traditions. The masonry at the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center was locally-quarried sandstone. The foundations were laid in a cementitious mortar (either Portland or masonry cement) below grade and up to 18 inches above grade. Where the joints were visible, the cement was kept back two inches from the face of the wall and filled in with adobe mortar. Above the foundation, the masonry was laid in adobe.[142] The windows were made from billet steel and door openings included screen doors. The roofs were corbelled timbers overlain with earth. Inside, the floors of the hogan schools were

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[139] "Letter [from David C. Trott] to Samuel M. Dodd," August 20, 1933; Box 58; Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction; Records of the Phoenix, AZ, Area Office; RG 75; NARA—Pacific Coast Region (Riverside).
[140] "At the Close of Eight Weeks," *Indians at Work* 1, no. 3 (September 15, 1933): 3.
[141] "Letter from John Collier to Roy H. Bradley," November 23, 1933; Box 58; Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction; Records of the Phoenix, AZ, Area Office; RG 75; NARA—Pacific Coast Region (Riverside).
[142] *Specifications of Labor and Materials to be used in the Construction of Day School Plant located at Navajo Mountain, Arizona, Western Navajo Agency*, Project No. 290 (May 15, 1934), Sheets 5-6. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931-43, Box 57.

originally intended to be adobe, although Navajo Mountain ultimately became the only new day school-community center to possess flagstone floors.[143] Collier specifically requested that the new Diné schools include no blackboards, although the order was later rescinded.[144]

Collier was passionately interested in Native American culture, and his enthusiasm undoubtedly played a part in the decision to engage Indian artisans to create rugs, paintings, pots, baskets, and woodcarvings for the new buildings on Southwest Indian reservations. Mayers, Murray & Phillip provided a list of various craft objects for their architectural designs by the end of 1933. Their scheme for the day school-community center at Shonto—which was virtually identical to the design for Navajo Mountain—included two 8' by 10' rugs, four pieces of pottery, and eight baskets.[145] Nina Perera Collier, Charles Collier's wife, was central to the organization of this project.[146] During 1934, plans were also in the offing to decorate the day school-community centers with paintings. The Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center was slated for a large work, measuring 4' by 8', but it is unclear whether it was ever completed or mounted.[147]

There were several different sources that may have contributed to the concept of a school made up of hogans. Elizabeth Compton Hegemann, who owned and operated the Shonto Trading Post during the 1930s, suggested in her memoirs that Collier's hogan schools were inspired by Shonto's guest hogans.[148] Shonto, which is located in northern Arizona, played host to tourists, archaeologists, ethnologists, geologists, and various government employees during the years before World War II, and, in order to provide accommodations, Hegemann and her husband

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[143] Collier instructed Mayers, Murray & Phillip to include adobe floors in the hogan schools in "Letter from John Collier to Hardie Phillip," March 19, 1934. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Phoenix Area Office, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction, Box 58. By early 1935, Collier had reversed his decision to include adobe floors in the day schools and specified that they be concrete. See "Telegram from [John] Collier to [Roy] Bradley," January 3, 1935. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Phoenix Area Office, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction, Box 59. But flagstone floors were ultimately constructed at Navajo Mountain. See "Memorandum to Mr. Stenz from David R. Etter," March 7, 1941. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 128.

[144] "Letter from John Collier to Hardie Phillip," March 19, 1934. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Phoenix Area Office, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction, Box 58. By 1935, Collier agreed to having portable blackboards in the day schools. See "Letter from John Collier to Sally Lucas Jean," May 25, 1935. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Phoenix Area Office, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction, Box 60.

[145] "Letter from Nina P. Collier to Jesse Nusbaum," December 21, 1933. Laboratory of Anthropology Archives—Santa Fe, 89LA3.089.2. The Navajo Mountain Day School is included in the list that is attached to this letter, but its interior decoration scheme had not yet been designed.

[146] Nina Perera Collier later became involved in marketing Indian arts and crafts across the country and was instrumental in persuading Macy's Department Store in New York City to retail these items with a surcharge that was used to set up a trust fund for furthering Native American arts and crafts. See Kenneth Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920–1954* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 184-185.

[147] "U.S. Indian Service School Buildings, Arizona and New Mexico, List of Paintings." Laboratory of Anthropology Archives—Santa Fe, 89LA3.089.2.

[148] Elizabeth Compton Hegemann, *Navajo Trading Days* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963), 379.

Harry Rorick constructed four hogans for tourists which were lined up in a row along the southwest side of the post.[149]

Sometime during 1933, an OIA employee who was researching potential school sites came to stay at Shonto and slept in one of the guest hogans. Soon after, Nina Perera Collier arrived to stay at the post. Collier was an architecture student who would receive her B.Arch. from MIT in 1934.[150] According to Hegemann, Nina Collier came to Shonto to make sketches and discuss the details of the proposed hogan schools, which were planned for six different sites on the reservation at the time of the visit. When the hogan school at Shonto was constructed it 1935, it was located in close proximity to the trading post's guest hogans (see fig. 14).

[149] Hegemann, 292.
[150] For more on Nina Perera Collier's role in the federal government during the Indian New Deal see Susan L. Meyn, *More than Curiosities: A Grassroots History of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and its Precursors, 1920–1942* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001), 73–74.

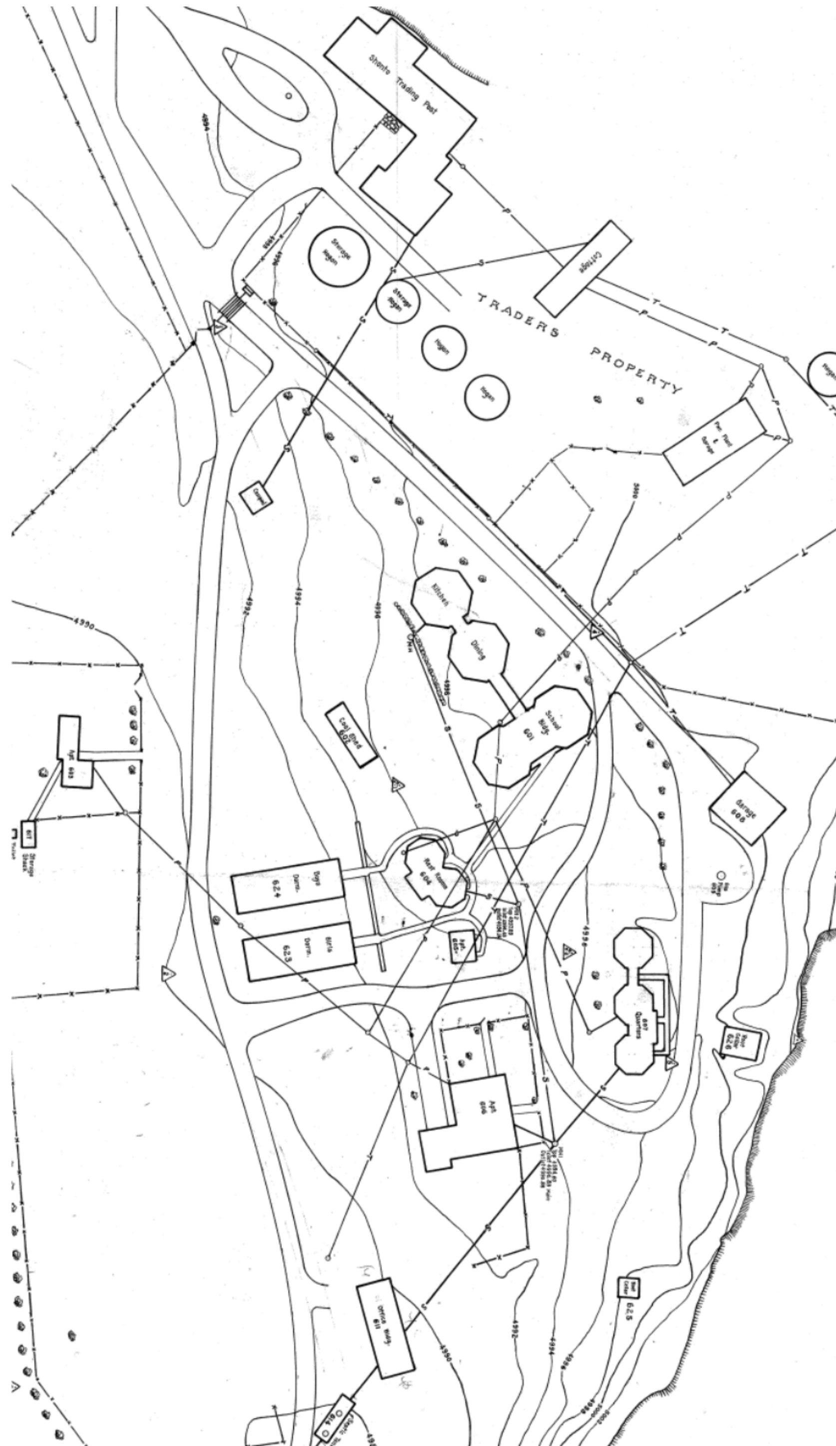

Figure 13: Shonto Trading Post and Shonto Day School and Community Center (now demolished)
Detail of Topographic Map, Drawing No. U-35-50, Revised May 1, 1954
Bureau of Indian Affairs-Navajo Regional Office, Gallup, New Mexico
North is up

During the same period, Nina Collier was working with Mayers, Murray & Phillip on her bachelor's thesis, "A Community Center, Day-School, and Clinic for Old Laguna, New Mexico."[151] Like the new buildings that Mayers, Murray & Phillip designed for most of the Southwest Indian reservations, Collier's project for Laguna Pueblo employed "native construction methods" with stone walls laid up in adobe, locally-harvested vigas, and a flat roof.[152]

The architecture that Mayers, Murray & Phillip designed for the OIA displayed a variety of idioms, but in the Southwest, most of the new buildings were executed in a simplified Pueblo-Spanish Revival style. The firm's particular "take" on Pueblo-Spanish Revival architecture followed the approach Bertram Goodhue had taken to other regional styles. Ornamentation (in this case, protruding roof beams known as *vigas*) was sparingly used and an emphasis was placed on the accretive massing and horizontality that distinguish traditional Pueblo buildings. Pueblos are generally expanded sequentially over time and in a region where large trees are unusual, each room is typically roofed with a separate set of beams. Rather than coming together into a monolithic whole, individual rooms tend to appear conspicuous within a larger architectural composition. In Mayers, Murray & Phillip's rendition of Pueblo-Spanish Revival architecture, elements such as thick wooden lintels and sandstone ashlar blocks allude to regional traditions but remain secondary to each building's overall massing.

Although most of the new schools on reservations in the Southwest were Pueblo-Spanish Revival in style, Collier seems to have been particularly pleased with Mayers, Murray & Phillip's concept for a school based on Diné architecture. He submitted a picture of the firm's hogan school with an article about the OIA's new policies to *Good Housekeeping* magazine in January 1934.[153] The design for the new hogan schools was also featured in the February 15, 1934 issue of *Indians at Work,* the bimonthly magazine published by the Indian Office and an article about the government's new Native American-inspired architecture was illustrated by Mayers, Murray & Phillip's rendering of a hogan school (fig. 15).

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[151] On page 24 of the thesis, Collier acknowledged Mayers, Murray & Phillip for their "assistance in supplying material, their cooperation and advice." She also acknowledged the OIA's Construction and Education Departments. It is unclear how important Nina Collier's role was in the educational program on the Navajo Reservation, but her profile was high enough to attract a query about how she was being compensated in April 1934, and she was among a select few who attended a special conference on the Diné educational program at Keams Canyon, Arizona in July 1934. See "Memorandum for Assistant Secretary Chapman," April 14, 1934, *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], ed., Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1980), reel 27, and "Transcript of a Special Conference held by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Keams Canyon, Arizona," July 13, 1934, *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], ed., Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1980), reel 16.

[152] Nina Perera Collier, "A Community Center, Day-School, and Clinic for Old Laguna, New Mexico" (Bachelor's Thesis, MIT, 1934), 17–20.

[153] The submission to *Good Housekeeping* is mentioned in "Letter from John Collier to Messrs. Mayers, Murray, and Phillip," January 20, 1934, *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], ed., Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1980), reel 19. Vera Connolly published "The End of a Long, Long Trail," an article on Collier's work, in the April 1934 issue of *Good Housekeeping* (see pp. 50–51, 249–252).

Figure 14: Hogan School Rendering by Mayers, Murray & Phillip
Published in the February 15, 1934 issue of *Indians at Work* and in the May 1935 issue of *Architectural Record*

The text praised the Diné hogan as "one of the most functional of Indian structures," and discussed the rendering, declaring,

> This group of buildings is not a slavish copy of the old type of hogan, with its one doorway and its one aperture in the center of the roof, nor is it a "tricked up" hogan constructed with imported materials. The architects have frankly expanded the designs to fit the needs of a school, added windows to the octagonal sides to admit light and air, put chimneys where fireplaces were wanted, attached a covered walk to connect the classrooms with the dining room and kitchen units in the rear. Yet the spirit of the hogan has been adhered to, and the buildings are an integral part of the Navajo landscape.[154]

In May 1935, the hogan school rendering in figure 14 appeared in *Architectural Record,* one of the top architecture magazines in the country.[155] Later on, in 1937, Collier wrote about the reservation buildings designed by Mayers, Murray & Phillip in an article for *American Arts and*

[154] "Indian Architecture and the New Indian Day Schools," *Indians at Work* 1, no. 13 (February 15, 1934): 31–33.
[155] "Portfolio of Public Works," *Architectural Record* 77 (May 1935): 331–333. This article also featured a log school that Mayers, Murray & Phillip designed for the Diné at Sawmill, Arizona.

Architecture and the article's illustrations included drawings and photographs of the hogan school at Shonto.[156] Of the hundreds of buildings that the OIA constructed during the New Deal, none featured more prominently in the public eye than the hogan schools designed for the Navajo Reservation.

There were a number of reasons why Collier and his staff at the OIA had high expectations for hogan-inspired architecture on the Navajo Reservation. Some believed that hogan schools would persuade the Diné to be more invested in educational activities. Anthropologist Gladys Reichard gave classes on written Navajo to tribal members in a hogan at Fort Wingate, New Mexico during the summer of 1934. Reichard later reported that the choice of a hogan for her school was intentional, because "In such an environment and in such an [sic] one only, could we expect the interest and cooperation of the 'long hairs.' "[157] Allan Hulsizer, Supervisor of Secondary Education on the Navajo Reservation compared the hogan schools to the Rosenwald Schools that African-Americans had built as log-cabins in the South and argued that familiar architectural forms could help unify the day school-community centers with the people they were meant to serve.[158]

Some proponents of the hogan school design felt that the architecture would inspire the Diné to construct more schools. In July 1934, Walter Woehlke, a field representative on Collier's staff, claimed, "Build the hogan type of centers and gradually they would take over the direction of these centers — they would grow in momentum."[159] Other arguments for the hogan schools were of a more practical nature. Collier himself envisioned economic benefits because the design was cheaper to construct.[160] Using local building techniques and materials meant that the Diné could erect the schools and then maintain them with stone, wood, or adobe on hand. And architect Hardie Phillip, writing in the *Gallup* [NM] *Independent,* cited the ease with which the hogan schools could be expanded by attaching additional hogans to existing buildings.[161] But some observers of the new day school-community center program, such as Morris Burge of the National Association of Indian Affairs, disagreed—Burge argued that "the hogahn type" was

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[156] John Collier, "Indian Reservation Buildings in the Southwest" *American Architect and Architecture,* June 1937: 34–40.
[157] Gladys Reichard, "Report on Hogan School, June 1–August 31, 1934," September 29, 1934, mimeo located in Box 2, Donald Lee Parman Papers, 1883–1994, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, original located in the Berard Haile Papers, 1893–1961, Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Arizona.
[158] "Letter from Allan Hulsizer to W. Carson Ryan," June 16, 1934, mimeo located in Box 2, Donald L. Parman Papers, 1883–1994, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, original located in the National Archives.
[159] Walter Woehlke, quoted in the transcript of "A Special Conference held by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Keams Canyon, Arizona, July 13, 1934, *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], ed., Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1980), reel 16.
[160] "Letter from John Collier to Oliver La Farge," February 1, 1934, *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], ed., Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1980), reel 19.
[161] Hardie Phillip, "Architect Plans Schools for The Diné as Center of Indians Community Life," *Gallup* [NM] *Independent,* August 28, 1934.

"more wasteful and not a logical one for anything as large as a school."[162] He added that the hogan schools were built at such a high standard that the Diné would feel discouraged to imitate them. Furthermore, he interpreted the hogan schools as a laudable if misguided attempt to encourage members of the tribe to relinquish their transhumant lifestyle and settle down permanently.[163]

By the end of January 1934, eight hogan schools were in the planning stages at the OIA.[164] These included facilities at Beclabito, Cove, Pine Springs, and Two Wells, in Arizona; at Pueblo Alto, Puertocito, and Torreon in New Mexico; and at Navajo Mountain. However, ultimately only four examples were ever built. The two units at Cove and Navajo Mountain were completed as planned, while two more hogan schools were constructed at Shonto, Arizona and at Mariano Lake, New Mexico (figs. 13, 15, and 16).[165]

The architecture designed by Mayers, Murray & Phillip was distinctive and combined octagonal stone hogans into combinations of two- and three-hogan units. The main building at each of the hogan schools was T-shaped and comprised four hogans divided into two double-hogans. One of the double-hogans housed two classrooms, while the other, connected by a covered walkway, contained the dining room and kitchen. At Mariano Lake, New Mexico, the largest of the hogan schools, the T-shaped main building included a craft shop and sewing room connected to the two classrooms, while the kitchen and dining room were located in a free-standing double-hogan.[166] All four of the hogan schools also had a triple-hogan teacherage. Single and double-hogans accommodated washrooms and residences for the staff. The hogan schools manipulated vernacular forms and then ordered them into strict geometries. Each individual hogan consisted of a perfect octagon and, in the conjoined structures, the units were precisely aligned. The masonry walls were rubble-coursed, and the roofs were plastered over with adobe to form a seamless dome. The architecture of the hogan schools served to regularize and streamline the more rustic Diné hogan forms generally in use.

Judging from the buildings that remain at Navajo Mountain, all of the hogans at the four hogan schools had corbeled-log roofs. The corbeling was modified by the architects, perhaps to conserve timber and accommodate the size of the hogans. The classroom hogans at Navajo

[162] Morris Burge, "Community Schools on the Navajo Reservation, July 8–July 17," signed July 29, 1935, 3, mimeo located in Box 2, Donald L. Parman Papers, 1883–1994, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, original located in the National Archives.
[163] Burge, "Community Schools on the Navajo Reservation, July 8–July 17," 6.
[164] Tabulated from a set of records dated January 26, 1934 and attached to "Letter from R.M. Tisinger to W. Carson Ryan"; Box 70; Central Classified Files c. 1926–1939; Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office; RG 75; NARA—Pacific Coast Region (Riverside).
[165] The final construction costs for the schools at Cove, Navajo Mountain, Shonto, and Mariano Lake were $34,960, $32,302, $34,555, and $31,755. See *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States,* Part 34, 17921.
[166] Morris Burge, "Community Schools on the Navajo Reservation, July 8–July 17," July 29, 1935, 5. Donald L. Parman Papers, 1883–1994, Box 2, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque (mimeo), original located at the National Archives.

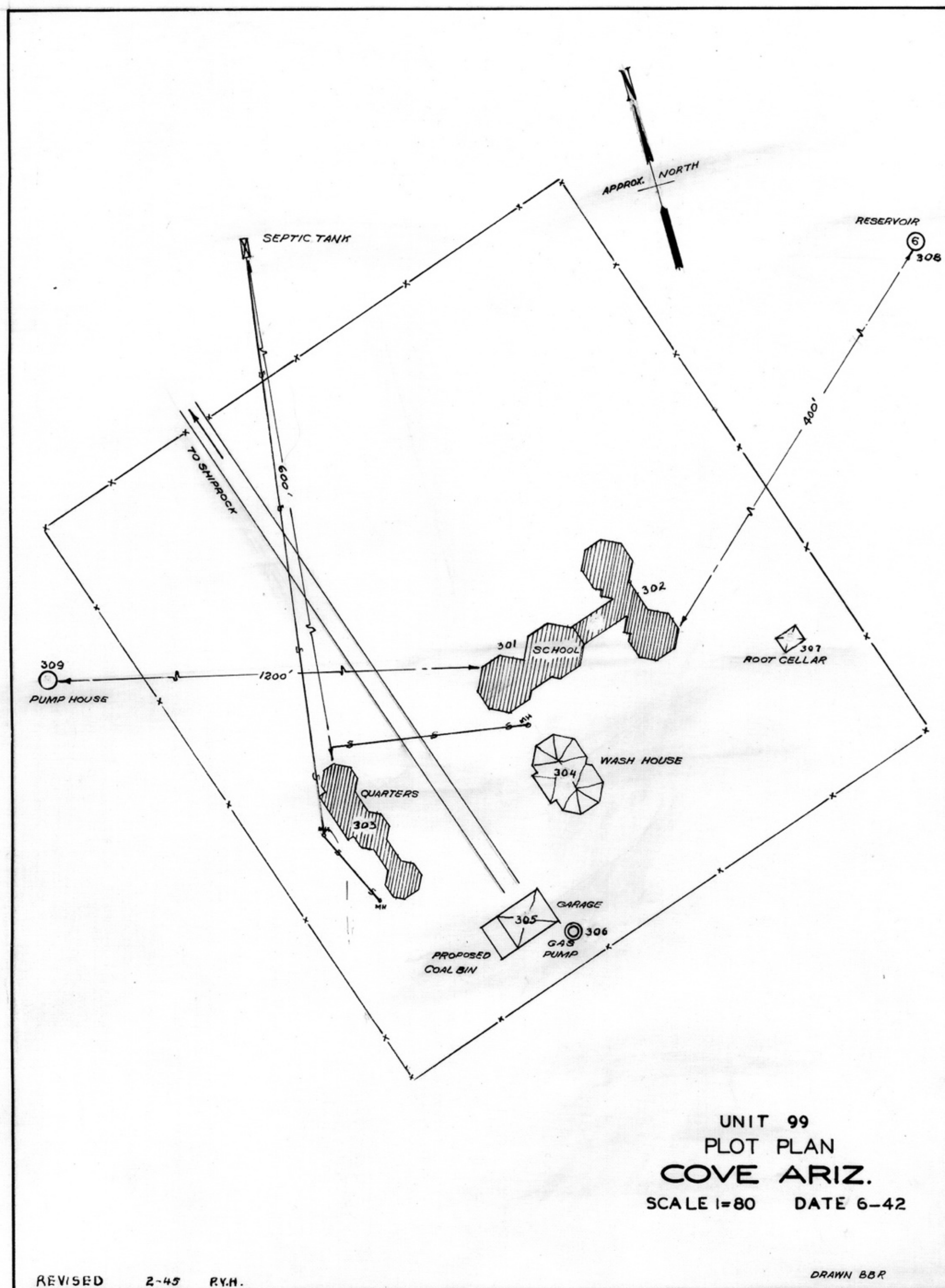

Figure 15: Plot Plan of Cove, Arizona
February 1945 (revised version)
U.S. Office of Indian Affairs
Bureau of Indian Affairs-Navajo Regional Office, Gallup, New Mexico

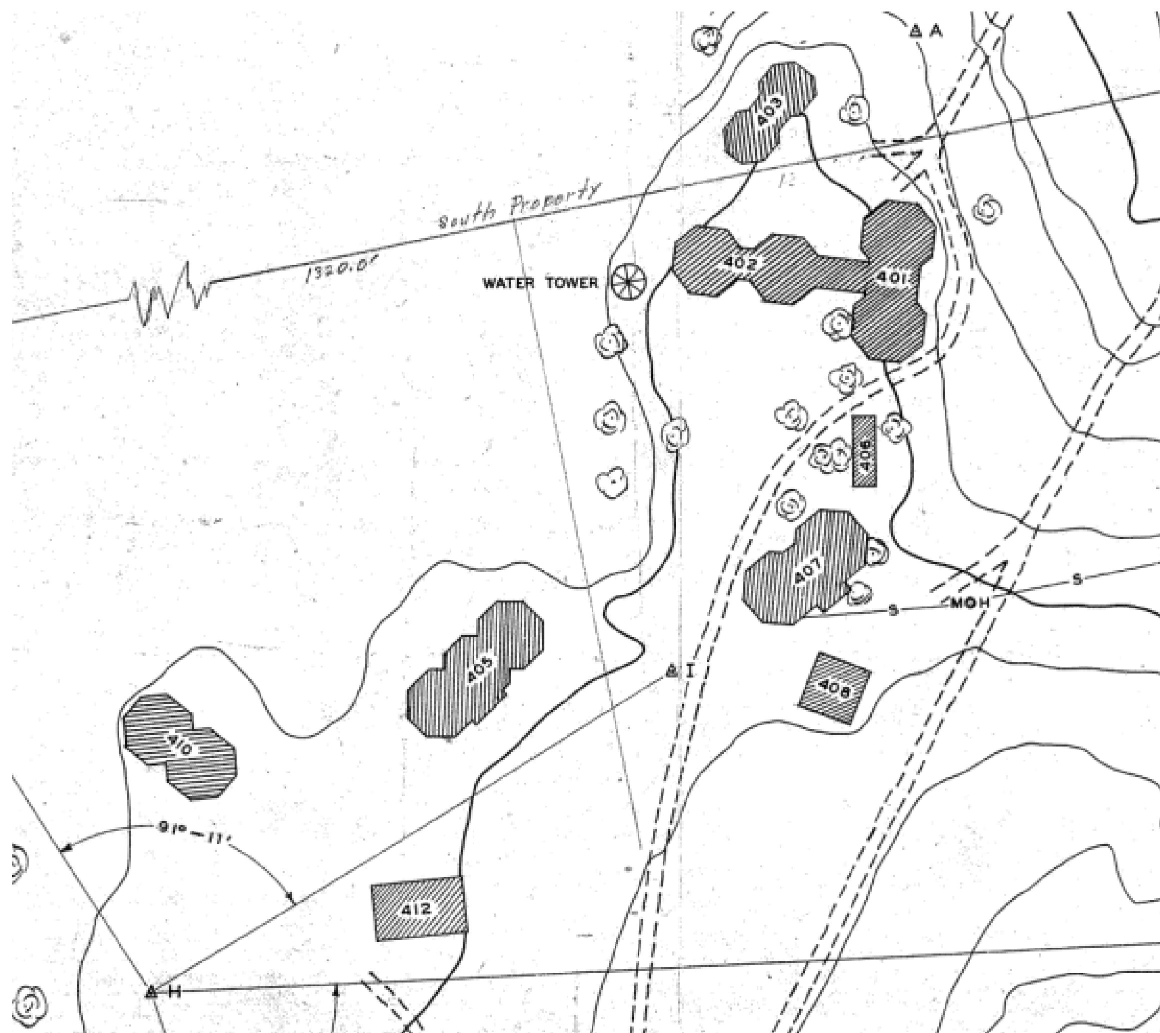

Figure 16: Mariano Lake Day School
Detail of Topographic Map, October 6, 1950, drawn by A.T. Begaii
Bureau of Indian Affairs-Navajo Regional Office, Gallup, New Mexico
North is up

Mountain have a diameter of 27 feet, which is significantly larger than traditional Diné residential hogans.[167]

The platforms made up of small logs that Mayers, Murray & Phillip inserted into the corbeling helped to lighten the roofs and eliminated the need for large areas of chinking (see fig. 17).

[167] American Indian Engineering, Inc., *Facilities Survey and Evaluation, Various Locations, Project No. K00-290/291* (United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, July 1978), 1ff. The building dimensions are from measured plans dated May 24, 1979. FOIA Control No. BIA-2010-00567.

Figure 17: Section and plan of corbeled roofs for hogans at Diné day school-community centers, designed by Mayers, Murray & Phillip
Source: John Collier, "Indian Reservation Buildings in the Southwest," *American Architect and Architecture,* June 1937.

Simple corbeled roofs would have been more hemispherical, but decidedly more massive. Auxiliary buildings for storage and maintenance at the hogan schools were constructed in the Pueblo-Spanish Revival style.

Each of the four campuses was planned so that the main building was aligned towards the east. At Cove and at Navajo Mountain, the main axis of each of the buildings was oriented along either an E-W or N-S direction, while the plans for the other schools were freer in composition. This may have been because of the hillier topography at Mariano Lake and the limited space in Shonto Canyon. As far as was possible, the individual buildings were also situated so that each entrance faced towards the east.

The "Experimental" Community Centers

The hogan schools at Navajo Mountain, Cove, and Mariano Lake were part of a select group of seven "experimental" educational facilities on the Navajo Reservation.[168] The OIA's experimental educational program appears to have begun in the spring of 1934 and was directed by R.M. Tisinger, supervisor of Indian Education for Arizona, and Allan Hulsizer, an educator

[168] The other four were Hunter's Point, Rough Rock, Pine Springs, and Dennehotso, all in Arizona. See "Letter from R.M. Tisinger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 4, 1934" mimeo located in Box 2, Donald L. Parman Papers, 1883–1994, Box 2, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, original located at the National Archives.

with teaching experience in Haiti and a wide-ranging knowledge of community-oriented learning.[169] The program was formally presented and discussed at a meeting held in Gallup on April 16, 1934.

Hulsizer envisioned a curriculum which drew heavily from the principles of Progressive Education and which was firmly rooted in the local conditions of each community. English and mathematics classes were to incorporate lessons in health and sanitation. He recommended the "use of the hogan for dramatizations or lessons developed by teacher and nurse and housekeeper together" to reinforce classes in home economics. Hulsizer proposed that the experimental centers should work closely with local groups such as the Navajo Chapters and that teaching should be in both Navajo and English.[170,171] He also supported training the Diné to take on leadership positions at the new day school-community centers. Hulsizer was one amongst many who were concerned about the fate of the "returned students" who went off to boarding schools and were unable to find a role in their communities after graduation. In earlier years, Francis E. Leupp had supported day schools as a solution to the plight of the returned students. The recognition received by Oliver La Farge's *Laughing Boy* in 1930 indicates that the issue was still a matter of public awareness, if not concern.

Originally, the experimental program was to have included at least twenty different day school-community centers. But by June 1934, Hulsizer had encountered obstacles that were so serious he had put forth a request for a transfer to another branch of the OIA. According to Hulsizer, the crux of the problem was the inertia created by an entrenched bureaucracy. The far-reaching changes envisioned by Collier, W. Carson Ryan, Hulsizer, and allies such as Sally Lucas Jean, the OIA's Coordinator on Community Centers, were being thwarted by "the crushing demand of a large and inevitably standardized program."[172] Tisinger and the OIA's Acting Administrator William H. Zeh were proving to be particularly unsympathetic.[173]

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[169] Donald L. Parman, *The Navajos and the New Deal,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 195. Hulsizer did not enter the Indian Service until early March 1934 and he arrived on the Navajo Reservation on March 13, 1934. See Allan Hulsizer, *Region and Culture in the Curriculum of the Navaho and the Dakota* (Federalsburg, MD: J.W. Stowell, Co., 1940), xiii.

[170] The Navajo Chapter system is a form of local government with elected officers who meet at a chapter house. Until 2011, each of the reservation's 110 chapters also elected a delegate to serve on the Navajo Nation Council. The system was introduced during the early 1920s by Superintendent John Hunter at the Leupp Agency and spread when Hunter was appointed as superintendent of the Southern Navajo Agency in 1924. The Navajo Reservation was divided into five agencies at the time, and the chapter system was instituted at each superintendent's discretion, so that by 1933, there were 100 chapters representing most of the Navajo Reservation. For more on the Chapter system, see Parman, *The Navajos and the New Deal,* 14–15.

[171] Allan Hulsizer, "Confidential Preparatory Report to Dr. Ryan on the Navajo Community Centers, to the meeting in Gallup, New Mexico," April 16, 1934, mimeo located in Box 2, Donald L. Parman Papers, 1883–1994, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, original located at the National Archives.

[172] "Letter from Allan Hulsizer to W. Carson Ryan," June 16, 1934, mimeo located in Box 2, Donald L. Parman Papers, 1883–1994, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, original located at the National Archives.

[173] Zeh was appointed "Acting Administrator" on May 24, 1934 while also heading up the OIA's forestry branch in the Southwest. See Parman, *The Navajos and the New Deal,* 59, 196.

Hulsizer especially valued the connection between school architecture and community education. He admired the success of the Rosenwald Foundation's log-cabin schools. These buildings—employing a local vernacular style and constructed by the African-Americans who were to use them—represented the type of community-based school he was endeavoring to establish on the Navajo Reservation. He bemoaned "buildings which further sever the school-room from the community and make its equipment as academic as some of its books." [174] It was no coincidence that three of the four "hogan schools" were selected to become experimental centers as part of Hulsizer's program.

By August 1934, only seven experimental centers were being funded by the OIA. Hulsizer and Vesta Sturges oversaw the programs at Cove, Mariano Lake, and Navajo Mountain as well as at Dennehotso, Hunter's Point, Pine Springs, and Rough Rock in Arizona.[175] The OIA provided a budget to staff the centers before they opened so that employees could begin building relationships and reaching out to members of the community.[176]

To train the new Diné employees, a special "Community Work Institute" for "Navajo Candidates in Community Centers" was held at a camp near the Cove day school-community center from October 15 to October 27, 1934.[177] Fifty-three Diné attended classes in soil erosion, range management, forestry, agriculture, reading, arithmetic, home economics, and shop, among other subjects. Field trips enabled the students to view first-hand the types of projects that they would be expected to lead or assist with at the day school-community centers.[178]

Nevertheless, the effort to appoint Navajos to direct the new centers faced overwhelming opposition in which racism almost certainly played a part.[179] Complicating matters, there was also a shortage of young candidates with the requisite language and leadership skills.[180] Although Collier, Hulsizer, and Jean had intended to employ "returned students" as teachers and head community workers at the new day school-community centers, only a few Diné, including Howard McKinley at Hunter's Point, John Charles at Mariano Lake, John Watchman at Rough

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[174] "Letter from Allan Hulsizer to W. Carson Ryan," June 16, 1934.
[175] "Letter from R.W. Tisinger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs," December 1, 1934, *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, *Central Classified Files, 1907–1939,* Series D, Part 1 [microform edition], ed., Robert Lester and Ariel W. Simmons (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1995), reel 6.
[176] "Memo from [W. Carson] Ryan to P.L.F [probably Paul L. Fickinger]," September 3, 1934, *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, *Central Classified Files, 1907–1939,* Series D, Part 1 [microform edition], ed., Robert Lester and Ariel W. Simmons (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1995), reel 6.
[177] *The Community Center Naltsos* 1, no. 2, Special Edition (October 15, 1934): 3, St. Michael's Mission Archives, St. Michaels, Arizona. This issue includes the anticipated program for the institute at Cove.
[178] For a report on the institute, see *The Community Center Naltsos* 1, no. 3, Special Edition (December 15, 1934), St. Michael's Mission Archives, St. Michaels, Arizona.
[179] Written documents that specifically address racism towards the Diné among federal employees are uncommon in the archives I have researched, but a letter from Sally Lucas Jean to Collier dated March 23, 1935, reported that William Zeh, the acting administrator on the Navajo reservation, "does not approve Navajos being placed in positions of authority in the schools." *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], ed., Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff (Sanford, NC: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1980), reel 14.
[180] Parman, *The Navajos and the New Deal*, 198.

Rock, and Paul Williams at Steamboat Canyon were appointed to supervisory positions.[181] In lieu of appointing Native Americans to oversee the new facilities, W. Carson Ryan devised "a new type [of] position for Indian education—that of the day school assistant who, it was determined early in the planning, must be an English-speaking Navajo."[182] Consequently, the OIA hired former boarding school students to serve as cooks, matrons, nurse's aides, bus drivers, and as instructors in shop and home economics. These individuals, however, almost always worked for Euro-American teachers at the day school-community centers on the Navajo Reservation.[183]

A Political Controversy

By January 1934, plans for the hogan schools were well-advanced. Nevertheless, Commissioner Collier seems have experienced some uncertainty about the design and he contacted Tom Dodge, chairman of the Navajo Nation Council, about the advisability of adapting hogans for government architecture. Dodge subsequently replied, "Hogan style architecture should be used sparingly in building day schools as Navajo have little or no respect for white people who use or imitate their attire, homes, or customs."[184] Then on February 1, Collier contacted Oliver La Farge about building hogans, writing

> I wired Dodge asking whether the Navajos would take offense and he replied that they did not like imitations of their own architecture. What I meant to ask him was whether there might be some esoteric reason against [it]. I should like your quick advice on this question. There are strong advantages to using the hogan type if there are not compelling reasons to the contrary.[185]

La Farge responded the next day,

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[181] McKinley, who was partially blind, earned a B.S. in Education at the University of New Mexico and then became "the first appointment in the Navajo Day school program." The OIA sent him to the annual conference of the Progressive Education Association before he took up his duties at Hunter's Point in Arizona. See "Blind Navajo Wins First School Post–Howard McKinley Conquers Sight Obstacle to Guide First Community Day School," *Gallup Independent,* February 2, 1935, and Moris Burge, "Community Schools on the Navajo Reservation, July 8–July 17 [1935]," 10, mimeo located in Box 2, Donald Lee Parman Papers, 1883–1994, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, original located in the National Archives.

[182] Willard Beatty, "History of Navajo Education," *América Indígena,* 21, no. 1 (January 1961): 9.

[183] For more on the Native American assistants at Diné day school-community centers see Lucy Adams, "Navajos Go to School," *Journal of Adult Education* 10 (April 1938): 149–153; Willard W. Beatty, "Uncle Sam Develops a new Kind of Rural School," *The Elementary School Journal* 41, no. 3 (November 1940): 189; and Faith Hill, "Education for Navajos: Problems Involved in Working Out a Plan of Education for the Navajo Indians" (MA Thesis, Whittier College, 1942), 29.

[184] "Telegram from Thomas H. Dodge to John Collier," January 20, 1934. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931–43, Box 56.

[185] "Letter from John Collier to Oliver La Farge," February 1, 1934. *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], edited by Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff, reel 15.

> I believe that I can safely say definitely that there is no esoteric reason why Navajo hogahn-type buildings should not be used. Care must be taken to have doors face east, and particularly to avoid doors, and have a minimum of windows to the north…. Some community and chapter houses put up by the Navajo and U.S. cooperation are semi-hogahn in construction, apparently by Navajo preference. Mrs. Rorick [here La Farge inserted a question mark apparently because he was unsure of the spelling] at Shanto [sic] has had a number of guest-houses built for her by Navajos in the form of hogahns. No one of the conservative district seems to have minded.[186]

Evidence recording instances of Diné opposition to the schools is often anecdotal. In the October 1935 edition of *Indian Truth*, the newspaper of the conservative Indian Rights Association, Matthew Sniffen wrote, "It was thought that the 'hogan' type would appeal to the Navajos, but not so. They say 'Hogan type all right for Navajo to live in, but we want real schools, just like the white man has.'"[187] In 1939, Flora Warren Seymour, another conservative reformer, wrote "The hogan schools, with their low ceilings and dirt floors, the Navaho viewed with alternate amusement and disgust. So obvious was Diné disapproval that but four or five of these were perpetrated."[188]

There were also at least two Diné leaders who publicly protested the hogan schools. In July 1934, Becenti Bega, a Navajo Nation Council member, registered a complaint about the schools during a council meeting in Keams Canyon, Arizona.[189] But perhaps the best illustration of resistance to the hogan schools was the Congressional testimony given by Jacob C. Morgan in February 1935. Morgan was a Christian missionary who attended the Hampton Institute, one of the first and arguably finest of all the Indian boarding schools. Morgan returned from his experience with a deep distrust of Diné traditional religion and during his testimony provided a vivid description of Diné hogans, asserting, "The condition of one of these huts is indescribable."[190] Historian Donald Parman has referred to Morgan as the "Navajo Apostle of Assimilation" and there is little doubt that Morgan saw mainstream Euro-American culture as providing the only sustainable future for Native Americans.[191] Morgan based his testimony on a picture of a hogan school, and admitted, "the type of building that is being designed is distinctly Indian." But he added:

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[186] "Letter from Oliver La Farge to John Collier," February 2, 1934. *The John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* [microform edition], edited by Andrew M. Patterson and Maureen Brodoff, reel 15.
[187] Matthew K. Sniffen, "Navajo Chaos," *Indian Truth,* October 1935: 4.
[188] Flora Warren Seymour, "Thunder over the Southwest," *Saturday Evening Post,* April 1, 1939: 72.
[189] "'Minutes of the Meeting of the Navajo Tribal Council," Keams Canyon, Arizona, July 10–12, 1934, 90, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
[190] US Congress, House of Representatives, Subcommittee on General Bills before the Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Bills before the Committee on Indian Affairs on HR 7781 and Other Matters*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., February 11, 1935, 320.
[191] Donald L. Parman, "J.C. Morgan: Navajo Apostle of Assimilation," *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives* 4 (Summer 1972): 83-98.

> Nevertheless, we do not approve of that kind of building. It seems to us that the authorities think that any old thing is good enough for the Indian. If we are going to receive any kind of desirable education, for the sake of the boys and girls, we should have a good, clean, up-to-date schoolhouse.[192]

In his testimony before Congress later on the same day, Collier referred to Morgan's statements, and opened his remarks by stating, "I have never known a more flagrant case of one befouling his own nest than we have seen this morning."[193] Collier added:

> I was flabbergasted when I heard Mr. Morgan tell about mud roofs, no windows, and a single hole in the top, because we are being hammered from the other end by people saying that we are constructing deluxe houses, putting in steel windows when we should put in wood windows, and that we are spending altogether too much money in that work.[194]

Some Diné leaders like Morgan felt that buildings similar to Euro-American schools would help Diné children adapt to the dominant culture. Collier, on the other hand, felt that the Diné would flourish in architecture that was specifically adapted to their culture and environment.

By the time the hearings began, the hogan school program had already been cut back and tellingly, Collier did not take the opportunity to argue for its reinstatement. In 1935, Collier's chief objective was the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), which was also opposed by Morgan. Morgan commanded a great deal of power—in 1937, he became the first chairman of the tribe chosen by a reservation-wide election—and he was able to turn his opposition to Collier to great advantage. It seems more than likely that Collier was forced to pick his battles and that the hogan school program was relinquished to increase support for the IRA and other controversial policies, such as stock reduction.

This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the Navajo Mountain community expressed its unanimous support for the hogan school design at the beginning of 1934. According to a letter written on February 14, 1934 by R.M. Tisinger, the Arizona State Superintendent of Indian Education, to John Collier:

> I note from your letter of February 2 that there is a question concerning the construction of the hogan type of school. In this connection I would like to report that some weeks ago a group of Indians at the Navajo mountain told me specifically that they would prefer the white man's type of school rather than one

[192] US Congress, House of Representatives, Subcommittee on General Bills before the Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings,* 322.
[193] US Congress, House of Representatives, Subcommittee on General Bills before the Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings,* 335–336.
[194] US Congress, House of Representatives, Subcommittee on General Bills before the Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings,* 359.

> built of the hogan type. A few days later Mr. Phillip, the architect wired asking if it would be possible to use the hogan style of architecture in this location. Superintendent Balmer and I made a special trip in the Navajo mountain country and held a meeting with the Indians to see if they would approve this style of architecture after seeing the architect's pencil sketch. At this meeting the hogan school was explained in full and there was a unanimous vote in favor of the plan. On numerous occasions the architect's pencil sketch has been shown to Indians, and so far I have had no unfavorable reactions to the plan.[195]

Building the School

The parcel on which the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center is located originally belonged to Benjamin Wetherill, who settled a 160-acre tract on the east side Navajo Mountain in May 1927, and then opened a trading post.[196] The Navajo Mountain Trading Post was subsequently taken over by the Dunn family in 1932. The land became part of the Navajo Reservation on March 1, 1933 and the entire tract—including the land upon which the trading post had been built and the land where the school was subsequently constructed—was issued to the United States by quit-claim deed in October 1934.[197]

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[195] "Letter from R.M. Tisinger to Commissioner of Indian Affairs," February 14, 1934. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931-43, Box 56.

[196] The parcel was as follows: "Beginning at the northwest corner of the store building of the Navajo Mountain Trading Post at Teasya Toh, or Cotton Wood Springs, between one-half and two miles north of the Arizona-Utah State line, between Navajo Mountain and Piute Canyon, east of Navajo Mountain, three-sixteenths mile, thence east one-fourth mile to the northeast corner; thence south one-half mile to the southeast corner; thence west one-fourth mile; thence north one-fourth mile; thence west one-half mile to the southwest corner; thence north one-fourth mile to the northwest corner; thence east one-half mile to the point of beginning." See "Letter from W.D. Weekly to William H. Zeh," November 14, 1934. FOIA Control No. BIA-2010-00567.

[197] In order to avoid complications, both Wetherill and Dunn issued quit-claim deeds on October 4 and October 6, respectively. A verbal agreement was apparently made with the government that allowed the trading post "perpetual use of water free of charge" as long as the trading post kept the well and water-supply equipment in good repair. See "Letter from Oscar L. Chapman to the Attorney General," August 28, 1934, and "Letter from Marvin D. Long to L.T. Hoffman," May 15, 1939. The trading post had dug a well when it was first established, but when the day school-community center and its water supply were developed, the new water system was shared with the post, and the old well apparently fell into disuse. Unfortunately, the lack of a legal instrument delineating the water rights belonging to the trading post led to a long series of problems during the years that followed. In 1946, the federal government challenged the post's right to the water because were no documents attesting to the agreement. See "Letter from J.H. Stewart to Office of Indian Affairs," December 16, 1946. In 1950, the post decided to resurrect the old well, and the water from it was then channeled into a common tank shared with the Center. The jurisdiction over the water was additionally complicated by the lack of any survey indicating whether the two wells were located on the tract that had been sold to the government for the Center. See "Memorandum from R.G. Fister to A.G. Harper," June 22, 1951. By 1954, a new controversy erupted over whether the water supply was sufficient to satisfy the demands upon it, and again, the post's claims were called into question. At that point, Paul W. Hand, the Assistant General Superintendent was prepared to demand that the post pay to install its own tank and separate the systems. See "Memorandum from Paul W. Hand to Marvin Long," September 29, 1955. Although the possibility of creating a written agreement was raised in 1955, nothing seems to have come of it, and by 1960, the BIA and the Navajo Mountain community were working together to locate a new site for a school where the water supply would be ample. See "Memorandum from Dillon Platero to Paul Jones," June 28, 1960. By 1962, the volume of water

The Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center began as a collaborative effort between the federal government and two private organizations: the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs (NMAIA) and the National Association on Indian Affairs (NAIA).[198] In 1924, he NMAIA and the NAIA instituted a field nursing program at Native American reservations in the Southwest. The program began on several pueblos in New Mexico, including Santa Clara, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, and Zuni. By 1930, nurses sponsored by the NMAIA and the NAIA were also working on the Navajo Reservation at Nava and Red Rocks in New Mexico.

Mollie B. Reebel was the third nurse employed by the NMAIA and the NAIA. For four years, beginning in November 1926, she worked at Jemez Pueblo and Zia Pueblo in New Mexico. She then took over the Navajo field station at Nava, New Mexico, and after a further four years, she was chosen to begin an "experimental health and community project" at Navajo Mountain.[199]

Correspondence between architect Hardie Phillip and John Collier indicates that Phillip first suggested the hogan design for the Navajo Mountain day school-community center because he felt that its remoteness would make it difficult to transport certain building materials to the site.[200] The Indian Service agreed with Phillip and by August of 1933, the architects had submitted a set of plans for approval.[201] Construction of the school was delayed until November 1934, when all legal obstacles had been removed by the transfer of the land to the federal government. The federal government allocated $25,976.04 to the project.[202]

Although the design for the hogan school buildings was inspired by Diné architecture, the polygonal *tsin bee hooghan* was not a common form at Navajo Mountain during the 1930s.

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from the well belonging to the government was such that the school was buying water from the trading post well at a rate of $60/month. See "Memorandum from M.D. Long to Area Director, Gallup Area Office," October 29, 1962. All documents from FOIA Control No. BIA-2010-00567.

[198] The NAIA was originally known as the Eastern Association for Indian Affairs, which founded shortly after the creation of the NMAIA. The Eastern Association for Indian Affairs became the National Association for Indian Affairs in 1933. For more on the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, see Robert William Mayhew, "The New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, 1922–1958" (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1984).

[199] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness*, Bulletin 24 (National Association on Indian Affairs, Inc./New Mexico Association Affairs, Inc., November 1935), 3-4. This booklet indicates that Reebel's Navajo Mountain assignment was initiated at the behest of the federal government.

[200] "Letter from Hardie Phillip to John Collier," January 9, 1934. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931–43, Box 56.

[201] "Letter from Oscar Murray to John Collier," August 23, 1934. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931-43, Box 56. According to Murray, these plans were identical to the plans for the hogan schools at Cove, Mariano Lake, and Shonto, although ultimately, each of these schools would vary in size, arrangement, and composition. The original drawings for the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center appear to have been lost or destroyed, although a copy of the project specifications may be found at NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931-43, Box 57. A copy of the Request for Proposals for the project's millwork, which contains a detailed list of building materials, may be found at NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Phoenix Area Office, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction, Box 58.

[202] See "Letter from Roy H. Bradley to John Collier," March 21, 1935. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Phoenix Area Office, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction, Box 59.

According to Dee Inman, the first teacher to reside at the school, local residents referred to the buildings at the school as "belicano hogans," *bilagáana* being the Diné word for Euro-Americans.[203] She noted that the Navajo Mountain area did not have octagonal hogans built from logs, but that palisaded hogans built from vertical uprights covered with earth were common.[204] Photographic evidence indicates that the vernacular hogans at Navajo Mountain during the mid-twentieth century also included forms that were corbeled (either plastered or unplastered), or forked-stick.[205] Inman reported that even though the new school was constructed in a *chindi* (or "haunted) place where an Anasazi burial had been unearthed during construction in 1935, the OIA refused to sponsor a ritual to cleanse or bless the site. Inman praised this decision to overlook the traditional beliefs of local Diné and contended that "the magic of democratic discussion with someone they know, trust, and understand" was sufficient to address the problem.[206] Unfortunately, there is no way to assess the accuracy of her claim.

Figure 18: The Navajo Mountain Community Center, c. 1934
Source: National Association on Indian Affairs/New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness,* Bulletin 24 (November 1935)

At the end of August 1934, Reebel, along with Mary Gould and William Alphonso, arrived at Navajo Mountain. Gould and Alfonso were both Diné and had been schooled off the reservation where they learned to speak English. Reebel, paid by the NMAIA and the NAIA, became the Head Community Worker at Navajo Mountain, while the federal government paid Gould as an

[203] Inman, 80.
[204] Inman, 96.
[205] For images of these types of hogans at Navajo Mountain, see Makeda, "Visions of a Liminal Landscape: Mythmaking on the Rainbow Plateau."
[206] Inman, 78–79.

Assistant Nurse Aid and Alphonso as an Assistant. [207] The OIA also budgeted money for supplies and equipment including horses and goats and irregular labor.[208] Four large tents, provided by the OIA, were erected near the Navajo Mountain Trading Post and served to house the new project (see fig. 18). The tents were soon equipped with a sewing machine and a washing machine for local residents to use.[209] Rena Edwards, a graduate of the Riverside Indian School in California joined the group shortly after they arrived.[210]

In early October, Reebel was given a government pick-up truck.[211] She supervised the station and traveled around Navajo Mountain offering medical help, while all of the community workers worked with local residents to provide an introduction to mainstream Euro-American culture. Later the same month, Reebel, Gould, and Alphonso traveled to Cove, Arizona to participate in Allan Hulsizer's Community Work Institute. While there, they attended classes in carpentry, tin work, erosion control, health, home economics, first-aid, community work, and teaching.[212] Ultimately, Reebel was appointed to jointly manage the construction of the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center with Carl Beck.[213] According to Reebel, Beck began organizing a crew to haul stones for a "demonstration hogan" for teaching home economics as soon as the title for the land was settled in October.[214] Meanwhile, William Alphonso began making furniture for the school.[215]

The local unit of the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Department (CCC-ID) built the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center.[216] The CCC-ID was a special section of the Civilian Conservation Corps explicitly created for Native Americans—over 85,000 members

[207] An account of Reebel's experiences at Navajo Mountain may be found in *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness*, Bulletin 24 (National Association on Indian Affairs, Inc./New Mexico Association Affairs, Inc., November 1935).

[208] The budget is for the period September 1, 1935 [sic, 1934] to June 30, 1935. Alphonso and Nathan were each paid $550 for a ten-month period, with a $50 deduction for quarters. *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Central Classified Files, 1907–1939,* Series D, Part 1 [microform edition], edited by Robert Lester and Ariel W. Simmons (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1995), reel 6. For more on how Native American workers were selected for the day schools, see "Letter from Sally Lucas Jean to John Collier," November 21, 1934. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75, Central Classified Files, Box 53.

[209] Mollie B. Reebel, "Tenting on Western Navajo," *Indians at Work* 2, no. 17 (April 15, 1935): 29–30; "Navajo Mountain Nurse Report," *Indians at Work* 3, no. 4 (October 1, 1935): 37-38; and *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness*.

[210] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness,* 6.

[211] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness,* 7. Reebel reported that traveling to Tuba City, eighty-eight miles away, took eight hours.

[212] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness,* 7–8.

[213] "Telegram from [John] Collier to [Roy] Bradley, November 7, 1934." NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Phoenix Area Office, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction, Box 58.

[214] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness,* 9. For more on the history of "demonstration hogans" on the Navajo Reservation see Lillian Makeda, "The *Tsin Bee Hooghan:* Cross Cultural Discourse and the Emergence of a New Icon of Diné Cultural Identity" (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 2019).

[215] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness,* 10.

[216] The specifications for the project are located at NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931–43, Box 57.

worked on a variety of projects that included construction, reforestation, and water development from April 1933 until July 1942.[217] Members of the Navajo Mountain unit of the CCC-ID, including Jack Many Goats (Diné) and Nasja Begay (Paiute), began quarrying rock and clearing the land in November 1934. Ephrim Whiskers (Diné) also assisted with the construction.[218] Other Diné, including brothers Cal and Carl Moon worked as stonemasons on the buildings.[219] Jerry Smallcanyon (Diné), who would later work in a variety of capacities at the day school-community center and Jackson Gray Mountain (Diné) were part of the CCC-ID crew who worked on the corbeled-log roofs. [220]

Although stone and coarse sand (for the concrete mortar) were available near the site, finely-grained sand for plastering and finished concrete work had to be transported to Navajo Mountain. According to Smallcanyon, the project's planed lumber was trucked in by Hopi laborers from the closest railhead at Flagstaff, some 170 miles away.[221] Douglas fir, subalpine fir, Engelmann spruce, limber pine, and large ponderosa pine trees grow on Naatsis'áán and the vigas for the roofs were harvested locally.[222] The freight costs associated with the project were increased by the condition of the road to Navajo Mountain, which included a fifteen-mile stretch over sand and steep grades. The stretch typically required three hours to traverse and helps to explain why the buildings at Navajo Mountain cost more to construct than the other three hogan schools on the reservation.[223]

The local Navajo and Paiute CCC-ID crew was paid with military jackets and large shoes that had to be cut down to size. Although the workers were very grateful for these items at the time, in an interview conducted in August 2011, Smallcanyon said that the men were not paid in currency and expressed great bitterness at their inability to speak English and negotiate a fair rate of compensation.[224]

The demonstration hogans and the day school-community center were funded separately (and had individual federal project numbers: F.P. 290 and F.P. 295 respectively). Building materials

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[217] Szasz, 42; Parman, *The Navajos and the New Deal*, 34. For more on the CCC-ID, see Donald L. Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," *Pacific Historical Review* 40, no. 1 (February 1971): 39–56.
[218] Ephrim Whiskers also assisted Mollie Reebel, the first nurse at Navajo Mountain. See "Navajo Mountain Nurse Report," in *Indians at Work* 3, no. 4 (October 1, 1935), 37–38.
[219] Inman, 114.
[220] Jerry Smallcanyon, interview by author, Navajo Mountain, August 22, 2011. Translated by Taft Blackhorse.
[221] Jerry Smallcanyon, interview by author, Navajo Mountain, August 22, 2011. Translated by Taft Blackhorse.
[222] Seth B. Benson, "A Biological Reconnaissance of Navajo Mountain, Utah," in *University Publications in Zoology* 40 (1933-1935), ed. Charles Atwood Kofoid, Joseph Grinnell, and Samuel Jackson Holmes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), 443. A description and complete inventory of the vigas for the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center may be found appended to "Letter from Roy H. Bradley to John Collier," July 22, 1935. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Phoenix Area Office, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Construction, Box 60.
[223] "Letter from Andrew Officer to Roy H. Bradley," December 1, 1934. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75, Central Classified Files 1907–1939, General Services-400, Box 1427.
[224] Jerry Smallcanyon, interview by author, Navajo Mountain, August 22, 2011. Translated by Taft Blackhorse. Smallcanyon said that the wood was delivered at the Yellow Salt place, to the south of Navajo Mountain.

for the first demonstration hogan apparently arrived before the building materials for the day school-community center. Lumber intended for the demonstration hogan was ultimately used to construct tents for Reebel, Gould, and Alphonso because the status of the land was not clarified until several months after they first arrived to set up the community center.[225]

Construction began in October 1934 on the first "demonstration hogan."[226] As soon as the status of the land was clear, workers began digging a trench in preparation for the hogan's foundations. The building, which had been budgeted for $500, was apparently constructed by local community members without the oversight of the OIA.[227] In September 1934, Collier had expressed an interest in having the hogan school at Cove be constructed by local Diné working independently of the OIA's construction division (but using the plan designed by Mayers, Murray & Phillip).[228] At that point, the buildings at Cove had progressed too far to implement a new contract, but William Zeh, the acting OIA administrator in Gallup, suggested that Navajo Mountain might provide an opportunity for the community to construct the day school-community center there.[229]

One of the reasons why the hogan school had been developed was to encourage the Diné to feel a connection with its design and a sense of responsibility for maintaining its architectural fabric. By relinquishing the construction of the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center to local residents, Collier no doubt hoped that the Native Americans living in the area would develop a sense of stewardship for the buildings. Records indicate that Collier's attempts to release the construction of the day school-community center at Navajo Mountain from governmental oversight were probably thwarted by rules relating to fiduciary accountability.[230]

In November 1934, Allan Hulsizer visited Navajo Mountain and reported to Collier,

> We went to Navajo Mountain and met with the Chapter representatives there. Mr. Officer of Mr. Bradley's staff and Mr. Priestly of Mr. Phillip's office, as well as Mr. Carl Beck met us there, so all phases of the proposed project were discussed. It was an inspiration to us all because of the extreme simplicity and evident rightness of the set-up. The four tents on a slight rise of ground, with a wooden platform connecting them all furnishes living quarters for Mrs. Reeble [sic] and

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[225] "Letter from F.J. Scott to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," February 8, 1935. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931–43, Box 51.
[226] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness*, 9.
[227] "Request for Allotment: Constructing and Equipping Home Economics Hogan at Navajo Mountain," August 20, 1934, and "Telegram from [William] Zeh to Commissioner of Indian Affairs," November 7, 1934. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931-43, Box 56.
[228] "Letter from John Collier to William Zeh," September 17, 1934. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931–43, Box 50.
[229] "Memorandum from William H. Zeh to Mr. [John] Collier," September 22, 1934. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931–43, Box 50.
[230] These issues are raised in "Letter from Ivan F. Albers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs," April 3, 1934 and "Letter from William A. Zimmerman to Ivan F. Albers," June 4, 1934. Both are located at NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931–43, Box 51.

> two Indian aids, Mary Gould and "Bill," as well as a working centre [sic]. Mary teaches both men and women to use the sewing machine and Mr. Dunn, the trader reported a great increase in the demand for yard goods. Bill serves as group leader to the men who assemble to discuss affairs around a campfire at night. He also is working as a leader with the gang employed to construct the home economics hogan and root cellar - Many other duties fell to these Indian Assistants which are of distinct value to the community now and serve to train them as future leaders.[231]

Winter weather created further interruptions, but work resumed in March 1935 and construction was underway on a new community building—probably the second demonstration hogan.[232] Delays in construction may also have been exacerbated by the fact that by mid-March the CCC-ID crew at Navajo Mountain had still not been paid.[233]

In April 1935, Reebel reported that two demonstration hogans were standing but lacking roofs—these are almost certainly the buildings numbered as #506 and #507 on the plot plan in figures 1 and 2.[234] During that month, two local women built an outdoor oven and a fireplace for the hogans. A Euro-American construction foreman was finally hired in May of 1935.[235]

In 1936, the crew completed the last building for the school—a residence for Tedge Bremer. Bremer, who replaced Mollie Reebel, also drove the bus (a converted pick-up truck) for the school.[236] This building is probably the double-hogan labeled as #510 on the plot plan in figures 1 and 2. Inman recorded that the fireplaces were very smoky and this may account for why stoves were eventually installed at the center of the classrooms with flues that were inserted through the skylights.[237] Construction documents indicate that Navajo Mountain was also the only new day school-community center to have flagstone floors, and Inman's autobiography

[231] "Letter from Allan Hulsizer to Commissioner of Indian Affairs," November 21, 1934. Donald L. Parman Papers, 1883–1994, Box 2, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. (Mimeo). A photograph of the site that Hulsizer visited may be found on page 4 of *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness*.
[232] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness,* 18.
[233] "Letter from F.J. Scott to Commissioner of Indian Affairs," March 18, 1935. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931–43, Box 51.
[234] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness,* 19. The records about the demonstration hogans are confusing because government documents mention that there was only one, while Reebel reported that there were two.
[235] National Association on Indian Affairs, Inc., 21; Inman, 83; "Letter from F.J. Scott to Commissioner of Indian Affairs," May 3, 1935. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-999, Public Works Administration Projects 1931-43, Box 51.
[236] Inman, 79, 125.
[237] Inman, 83.

confirms that the floors were finished by the time the school opened.[238] There was no electricity or phone service.[239]

The Navajo Mountain Chapter House, a square building with wood shingles was additionally located on the day school-community center's campus. According to Inman, it was not completed by the CCC-ID, but was left as a community project for local residents to finish.[240] A coal shed was added to the campus in 1942.

By the early 1940s, transportation issues on the Navajo Reservation compelled the creation of makeshift dormitories at many of the day schools. Maria Chabot, author of the report, *Urgent Navajo Problems*, recorded that Diné at Dennehotso, Arizona, were petitioning to introduce boarding school facilities there by 1940. Parents argued that the school would be near enough to enable them to visit their children, whereas this would be impossible if the children were sent to any of the established boarding schools on the reservation located at least 90 miles away.[241] After World War II began, busing children long distances became even more difficult, and a variety of buildings, including hogans, chapter houses, and log cabins were used as makeshift dormitories across the reservation.[242]

By 1942, the federal government began plans to construct accommodations to board students at Navajo day schools and drawings for the new buildings were completed by December of that year.[243] The dormitory at the Navajo Mountain School was one of the first three federally-funded dormitories; the other two were constructed at Dennehotso and Piñon in Arizona.[244] According to James M. Stewart, the Navajo superintendent, the sites were chosen "based on such factors as economic poverty, scarcity of resources for constructing housing units without governmental help, and the numbers of children effected [sic] by terrain and discontinuance of buses."[245] By the end of the war, the OIA had come to conclude that the dormitories were "a

[238] "Memorandum to Mr. Stenz from David R. Etter," March 7, 1941. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 128. Also see Inman, 105.
[239] Inman, 83.
[240] Inman, 111.
[241] Maria Chabot, *Urgent Navajo Problems: Observations and Recommendations Based on a Recent Study by the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, August 1940), 40. Boarding schools on the Navajo Reservation were located at Crownpoint, Fort Wingate, Toadlena, and Tohatchi in New Mexico and at Chinle, Fort Defiance, Leupp, Shiprock, and Tuba City in Arizona.
[242] Photographs taken by OIA photographer Milton Snow in October 1944 show dormitory facilities converted from an old range rider's cabin at the Red Rock [New Mexico] day school-community center; log cabins at the Hunter's Point [Arizona] and Red Rock [New Mexico] day school-community centers; an octagonal log hogan at the Beclabito [Arizona] day school-community center; and the chapter house at the Coyote Canyon [New Mexico] day school-community center. The photographs may be found in the Milton Snow Collection at the Navajo Nation Museum, Window Rock, Arizona.
[243] "Letter from Robert J. Ballantine to James M. Stewart," August 19, 1943. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 129.
[244] George A. Boyce, *When Navajos Had Too Many Sheep* (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1974), 118–119.
[245] "Letter from J.M. Stewart to Office of Indian Affairs," June 10, 1943. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 129.

determiner of policy for the future" and the modification of day schools to boarding schools would become a highly significant development.[246] By 1954, all but three of Collier's original day schools in the Navajo Nation had become boarding facilities.[247]

The Office of Indian Affairs originally drew up plans and furniture designs in December 1942 for the dormitories at Navajo Mountain and Aneth in Utah, and Piñon in Arizona. [248] The original drawings show a rectangular building with a pitched roof, 24' wide by 102' long. The plan was later modified into a U-shape.[249] An L-shaped design was ultimately constructed at Navajo Mountain, as well as at Piñon and at Dennehotso.[250] The Indian Office gave the authority to proceed with the projects in August 1943.[251] Although construction began that year, the dormitory at Navajo Mountain was only about 40% complete by March 15, 1945.[252] At that point work was stalled because funds were not available for hiring labor (although all of the construction materials were on hand).[253] The building was not completed until after the end of World War II and it finally opened in 1946.[254]

According to Lisbeth Eubank's son, Randy, who lived at the school during the 1940s, the root cellar was used to house boy students during Navajo Mountain's transition from a day school to a boarding school and one of the classrooms was used for girls.[255] The dormitory was constructed largely through the efforts of local residents and the crew included many women. Kenneth

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[246] "Letter from George A. Boyce to J.M. Stewart," April 16, 1946. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 129.
[247] Robert W. Young, editor, *The Navajo Yearbook of Planning in Action, Report No. 4* (Window Rock, Arizona: Navajo Agency, 1955), 106.
[248] The drawings are not dated, but in "Letter from Robert J. Ballantyne to James M. Stewart," August 19, 1943, Ballantyne assigns them a date of December 17, 1942. The letter and drawings are located in NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 129.
[249] The change was made because the original linear design with 60 beds was deemed as "a very long, narrow and awkward looking building in relation to the architecture of our existing day school plants." "Letter from J.M. Stewart to Office of Indian Affairs," September 21, 1943. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 129.
[250] The dormitory at Aneth was left unfinished because it was discovered half-way through construction that the building site belonged to the Aneth Trading Post. After the war, the building materials were used to construct a Quonset hut-style dormitory. See Boyce, *When Navajos Had Too Many Sheep*, 119. By April 1946, plans for the Dennehotso dormitory were underway and for two dormitories at Piñon, although it is unclear whether the second dormitory at Piñon was ever completed. See "Memorandum from George A. Boyce to J.M. Stewart," April 16, 1946. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 129. The school at Piñon (including the dormitory) was documented by the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1993 and its report is available online. See "Pinon Boarding School, Navajo Route 41, North of Navajo Route 4, Pinon, Navajo County, AZ" at https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/az0296/.
[251] "Letter from Robert J. Ballantyne to James M. Stewart," August 19, 1943. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 129.
[252] "Letter from George A. Boyce to Office of Indian Affairs," March 15, 1945. NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 129.
[253] "Letter from J.M. Stewart to War Production Board," May 7, 1945.
[254] Mary Shepardson and Blodwen Hammond, *The Navajo Mountain Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 36.
[255] Randy Eubank, interview by author, Navajo Mountain, May 20, 2009.

Clayton hauled sand to Navajo Mountain for the new building, Gene Holgate, Sr. and Robert Little donated wages and horses, Lee Payton found mattresses at the Moenave School near Tuba City, Arizona, and Robert Tallsalt and Jerry Smallcanyon constructed beds.[256]

The grounds of the Navajo Mountain Community Center and Day School include many landscape features dating to the 1930s and 1940s, including flagstone walkways, flower beds, masonry retaining walls, and an old apricot tree. A peach orchard was formerly located to the north of the kitchen and historic photographs indicate that a flagpole originally stood to the east of the south classroom.

Educating Students at the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center

In an account of her community work at Navajo Mountain, Reebel wrote that she had begun teaching children with picture cutouts and coloring exercises by November 1934. In January 1935, Reebel's assistant, Mary Gould, transferred to the hogan school at Mariano Lake and was replaced by Ida Nathan.[295] By March of that year, Nathan and Willie Alphonso were leading a community club that focused on local projects, but in May they both left.[296] Ephrim Whiskers, a returned student, and Polly Manygoats, a graduate of the Sherman Indian School began working with Reebel, and in June, Pauline Donzilgi, another graduate of the Sherman Indian School, replaced Ida Nathan as a health aid.[297]

Dee Inman, the first teacher at Navajo Mountain, arrived in 1935 before the new school buildings were complete. She initially lived in a tent, as did Tedge Bremer.[298] Inman noted that the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center opened late, in October 1935, with sixteen Diné and Paiute students: Harry Duggai, Linda Endischee, Tad Endischee, Philip Long Salt, Phyllis Long Salt, Dan Nasja, Andy Red Shirt, Thelma Todochene, James Yazzie, Max Yazzie, Alice Segani Yazzie, Donald Segani Yazzie, Raymond Segani Yazzie, Jean (Bidoni) Yellow Salt, Ruth Yellow Salt, and Willie Yellow Salt.[299] At that time, perhaps 15% of the entire Diné population had attended school and hopes were high that the new day school-community center program would significantly increase this statistic.[300]

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[256] Randy Eubank, interview by author, Navajo Mountain, May 19, 2009. According to Eubank, the old root cellar was used to house boys and one of the classrooms was used for girls prior to the construction of the dormitory.
[295] *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, *Central Classified Files, 1907–1939,* Series D, Part 1 [microform edition], edited by Robert Lester and Ariel W. Simmons (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1995), reel 6 includes a revised budget from February 1, 1935 to June 30, 1935
[296] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness,* 18.
[297] *Navajo Mountain: A Community and Health Experiment in the Wilderness,* 21–22.
[298] Inman, 86.
[299] See Inman, 82.
[300] Katherine Iverson, "Progressive Education for Native Americans: Washington Ideology and Navajo Reservation Implementation." *Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science* 3 (Winter 1978): 238.

Inman was assisted by a group of Diné assistants—Meda, Ivan, and Lascha—who are recorded by only their first names.[301] Ivan departed within a few months after being employed, and Lascha lived in a nearby hogan.[302] Meda moved into the teacherage and had her own bedroom after Bremer moved into her own quarters.[303] During this period, one of the classrooms was used as a sewing room, where the school's sewing machine was made available for the community to use.[304]

Meda helped Inman to communicate with the people of Navajo Mountain and encouraged adults to come in on Saturdays to bathe, do laundry, and make use of the sewing machine.[305] Among her other duties, Meda cooked the noon meal for the children and laundered the children's clothing.[306] Women in the community could earn a hot meal by helping her with the laundry, while men who were willing to chop wood could exchange their work for either a meal or clothing.[307] Bremer was assisted by two Native American women while Inman was at the school, Dola and then Isobel, who shared the double-hogan (Building #510) with Bremer.[308]

Inman was transferred after six months and replaced by Anne Franks, who taught from mid-1936 through June 1939. Franks' school reports detail the use of the school by adults who were involved in educational activities.[309] She also taught community members about health issues, with a particular emphasis on impetigo and trachoma.[310] The students at the school during her tenure there ranged in age from seven to seventeen and were classified at five different levels, from beginner to fourth grade.[311] In December 1936, she noted that many of the families had moved their camps so that half of the children were now within walking distance of the school. Other families had left their children with relatives so that they could also be near enough to attend classes.[312] During the 1936–37 school year, the school's pickup truck went out on a seventeen-mile-long route, which took two and a half hours to traverse. A round trip totaled thirty-four miles and required five hours on the road daily.[313]

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[301] Inman, 135.
[302] Inman, 139.
[303] Inman, 131.
[304] Inman, 83–84.
[305] Inman, 84.
[306] Inman, 144.
[307] Inman, 84.
[308] Inman, 117, 140, 161.
[309] Anne Franks, "Quarterly Report for the Navajo Mountain School," June 30, 1939. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-749, Quarterly School Reports, Box 53.
[310] Anne Franks, "Quarterly Report for the Navajo Mountain School," September 30, 1938. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-749, Quarterly School Reports, Box 53.
[311] Franks' reports may be found at NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-749, Quarterly School Reports, Box 53.
[312] Anne Franks, "Quarterly Report for the Navajo Mountain School," December 31, 1936. NARA—Washington, DC, RG 75-749, Quarterly School Reports, Box 53.
[313] Mildred Adair, "The Establishment, Growth, Development, and Functioning of the Federal Day School on the Navajo Reservation since 1935" (Master's Thesis, Florida State College for Women, 1938), Chart II. The "bus" was typically a pickup truck with a covered bed. Of all the community centers, only Aneth (also located in the Utah section of the Navajo Reservation) required bus trips as lengthy as those at Navajo Mountain.

Franks was succeeded by Lewis Durant, who taught for two years, and whose assistants included Fred Thompson, a man who had had construction experience in Albuquerque.[314] Durant was then followed by Lisbeth Bonnell Eubank in 1941.[315]

Eubank, a native of Virginia, hired on as a Harvey Girl for the Fred Harvey Company during her early years and by the mid-1930s was teaching English at the Santa Fe Indian School where she also worked as a counselor and girl's advisor. [316] While in Santa Fe, Eubank met her husband, Sam Eubanks, a Cherokee who taught carpentry at the school.[317] Eubank subsequently took teaching assignments with the Office of Indian Affairs at Torreon and Crownpoint, both on the Navajo Reservation in New Mexico. Sam Eubanks died in 1941, the same year that his wife arrived at Navajo Mountain.[318]

Eubank ultimately became "one of the most famous schoolteachers on the Navajo Reservation."[319] She was instrumental in forming a school board that became "the only operating community organization" at Navajo Mountain for a number of years. The board ruled on decisions that far exceeded the scope of its original charter and made important contributions that improved the lives of the people at Navajo Mountain.[320] Eubank did graduate work at the University of Chicago and the University of Utah and published an article on Navajo games while teaching at Navajo Mountain.[321] She was also a licensed midwife, and according to anthropologists Mary Shepardson and Blodwen Hammond, who studied the Navajo Mountain community during the early 1960s, "delivered, named, and taught most of the younger generation" in the area.[322]

During the late 1940s, the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center—now a boarding school—was featured in a *LIFE* magazine article and in a number of photographs taken

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[314] NARA—Pacific Coast Region, Riverside, RG 75, Records of the BIA, Navajo Area Office, Central Classified Files, Box 128.
[315] Shepardson and Hammond, *The Navajo Mountain Community,* 36.
[316] For more on Eubank, see Lillian Makeda, "Visions of a Liminal Landscape: Mythmaking on the Rainbow Plateau": 670–673.
[317] Lisbeth Bonnell chose to delete the "s" at the end of Eubanks and refer to herself as Lisbeth Eubank.
[318] Randy Eubank, interview with author, Navajo Mountain, May 19, 2009.
[319] Shepardson and Hammond, *The Navajo Mountain Community,* 36.
[320] Shepardson and Hammond, *The Navajo Mountain Community*, 37.
[321] "Legends of Three Navajo Games," *El Palacio* 52, no. 7 (July 1945): 138–140. Reprinted in *The Games of the Americas, Parts 1 and 2*, ed. Brian Sutton-Smith (New York: Arno Press, 1976). Eubank also co-authored "The Attitudes of Navaho, Zuni, and Sioux Children towards Rules of Games" with Robert J. Havighurst, (a manuscript may be found in Laura Thompson's papers in the National Anthropological Archives, Washington, DC). Eubank additionally issued "The Indians Among Us," an audio tape of a discussion with Arnold Marquis and Ruby Marquis published by Key Records during the 1970s.
[322] Shepardson and Hammond, *The Navajo Mountain Community*, 16. In "Change and Persistence in an Isolated Navajo Community," *American Anthropologist* 66, no. 5 (October 1964), Shepardson and Hammond write that Eubank "describes herself as 'Old Lady Navajo Mountain' and concentrates on developing among her small pupils the use of oral English. She respects Navajo beliefs and idealizes the local population who, in her opinion, live harmoniously because their belief system has not been disrupted and because they 'abide in the shadow of the sacred mountain.'" (1035)

by John Collier, Jr.—John Collier's youngest son and later a noted visual anthropologist. Kate Tallsalt and her husband Robert—a former Navajo Code Talker—were both assisting Eubank as employees at the school during those years and they appear in these photographs.[323] According to Jean Dejolie—who was a student during this period—the children responded to the octagonal classrooms spatially as if they were vernacular hogans: the girls sat on the right (or north side), while the boys sat on the left (or south side). In addition, the children tended to walk around the classroom clockwise, just as they would have done if they were at home.[324]

By the early 1950s, the Tallsalts appear to have departed and several new employees, including Velda Endischee Luther, had joined the staff (see fig. 19). In 1953, Willie Grayeyes, aged seven, started school at Navajo Mountain—Grayeyes would later report that Eubank was the first Euro-American person he had ever seen. The school had about thirty students and Grayeyes, who only spoke Navajo, began learning the English language. The dormitory staff at that time included the husband-wife team of Florence and Joseph Jackson;—the cook was Velta Onesalt and the maintenance man/bus driver was Jerry Smallcanyon. The school also hired local students to help with maintaining the buildings during summers. When he was older, Grayeyes worked in this capacity (along with Boyd Endischee and Tom Nelson) and he helped Willard Neztsosie to repaint woodwork, as well as haul and repack the earthen roofs of the octagonal buildings at the school.[325]

Shepardson and Hammond recorded that children started class at Navajo Mountain at age six during the early 1960s. Each year, approximately thirty pupils entered the school and then stayed for two years. After a course of study that focused on learning English, elementary-age children would be sent to boarding schools either in Kayenta or Tuba City, Arizona, or farther afield.[326] The school employed local residents for six full-time positions and one part-time position (including cooks, janitorial staff, and instructional aides).[327]

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[323] The article, "The Navajos," appeared in the March 1, 1948 issue of *LIFE*. Bert Tallsalt is also discussed in an article in the *Christian Science Monitor* called “Six Make Trek to Civilization” published on December 22, 1949. The article also mentions Will Rogers, Jr., who with his wife Collier, adopted Clem, a boy from Navajo Mountain.
[324] Jean Dejolie, interview by author, Navajo Mountain, June 19, 2012. Inman observed the same phenomena during her tenure at the school in 1935–1936. See Inman, 81.
[325] Personal communication with Lillian Makeda, July 23, 2020. Grayeyes notes that the woodwork on the exterior was painted green, c. 1960.
[326] Shepardson and Hammond, *The Navajo Mountain Community*, 126.
[327] Shepardson and Hammond, *The Navajo Mountain Community*, 114.

Figure 19: The staff and students of the Navajo Mountain Day School-Community Center, c. 1950
Back row, from left to right, Jerry Smallcanyon, unidentified man, Joseph "Tex" Jackson, Lisbeth Eubank, Velta Endischee Luther, and Florence Jackson
Source: Collection of Randy Eubank

Eubank stayed at the school for about twenty years, retiring in the early 1960s. She received the Department of the Interior's Distinguished Service Medal in 1965 and subsequently served two tours with the Peace Corps in Senegal.

Eubank was followed at Navajo Mountain by Blanche Barrows, who taught at the school until it closed.[328] She was assisted by Mary Neztsosie, Lula Grayeyes, and Beulah Black at the dormitory; Ray Tomasyo, who served as cook; and Willard Neztsosie, who was employed as the maintenance man/bus driver.[329] In 1978, the school had approximately thirty kindergarten and

[328] Minutes of the Navajo Mountain Boarding School Board, October 23, 1982. FOIA Control No. BIA-2010-00567.
[329] Personal communication with Lillian Makeda, July 23, 2020.

first-grade students.[330] According to Alex Bitsinnie, who was a student under Barrows, community groups continued to use the school for meetings and other activities during this period.[331]

Correspondence acquired from the Bureau of Indian Affairs describes in detail the inadequacy of the water supply at the Navajo Mountain school. In a letter dated October 31, 1962, Edward Kerley, the director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs–Navajo Area noted, “future plans are projected for a new school location somewhere in this region if a suitable water supply can be found and developed.”[332] On July 15, 1976, the Navajo Tribal Council approved the withdrawal of land for a new school to be located north of the old site. By 1981, plans were well under way for its construction and the Navajo Mountain campus closed shortly afterwards.

Other Hogan Schools

Over the years, the term “hogan school” has come to refer to several types of buildings, giving rise to some ambiguity within the scholarship regarding them. Anthropologist Gladys Reichard gave Navajo language classes in a traditional hogan that she called a “hogan school” at Fort Wingate, New Mexico during the summer of 1934. Over a decade later, at the close of World War II in February 1945, John Collier initiated a new project to build “hogan schools” on the Navajo Reservation. Each of the schools in his “native plan” would have had six to nine students under the tutelage of a Diné teacher who had had some elementary education.[333] At that point, the OIA was expecting serious budget shortfalls and Collier believed that small, locally-based schools would help address the government's fiscal problems.[334] His resignation in early 1945 ensured that the project was not implemented. During the school year 1953–54, several “hogan schools” did go into operation, but information about the buildings at these sites is sketchy. Most of these schools had enrollments of fewer than thirty students, although the “hogan school” at the Bellemont Ordnance Depot (just west of Flagstaff, Arizona and off the reservation) reported as many as seventy-seven students during the school year 1954-1955.[335]

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[330] American Indian Engineering, Inc., *Facilities Survey and Evaluation, Various Locations, Project No. K00-290/291* (United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, July 1978), 1. FOIA Control No. BIA-2010-00567.
[331] Alex Bitsinnie, interview by the author, Navajo Mountain, May 18, 2009.
[332] “Letter from Edward T. Kerley to the Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs,” October 31, 1962. FOIA Control No. BIA-2010-00567.
[333] George A. Boyce, *When Navajos Had Too Many Sheep,* 149–150.
[334] This plan may have been inspired by Maria Chabot’s account of the indeterminate role of returned boarding school students on the reservation in *Urgent Navajo Problems: Observations and Recommendations Based on a Recent Study by the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, August 1940), 42.
[335] Robert W. Young, ed., *The Navajo Yearbook of Planning in Action, Report No. 4* (Window Rock, Arizona: Navajo Agency, 1955), 106. Information about the Bellemont Day School is conflicting. An archaeological survey of Bellemont completed in 1993 identifies the day school as a rectangular building. See Donn R. Grenda, *Land Use in North-Central Arizona: An Archaeological Survey of Navajo Army Depot, Coconino County, Arizona* (Tucson, AZ: Statistical Research, 1993), 34.

Then, in 1967, a series of educational reforms were initiated on the Navajo Reservation and Collier's ideas gained a new lease on life. That year, Robert Roessel and his Diné wife Ruth began work on a new institution in Rough Rock, Arizona that would become known as the Rough Rock Demonstration School. The Rough Rock facility had originally been one of Collier's day school-community centers and it included a 1930s-era double-hogan similar to the double-hogan at Navajo Mountain. The Roessels' new program, the first of its kind in the nation, promoted Native American culture. As part of their new project, the Roessels built yet another double-hogan where Diné arts and crafts were taught.[336] The building offered compelling evidence of John Collier's influence, and, in particular, of his architectural vision.

Today there are numerous schools across the Navajo Reservation that include hogans or hogan-inspired architecture. At Nazlini, Arizona, a double *tsin bee hooghan* stands next to the main building of the Nazlini Community School (see fig. 20).

Figure 20: The Nazlini Community School, looking west, July 22, 2020
Source: Lillian Makeda

At other campuses on the reservation, architectural elements symbolizing the Diné hogan have been integrated into new and innovative designs exemplified by the Seba Dalkai School in Arizona. There, the Albuquerque-based architectural firm Studio Southwest designed a new educational complex featuring octagonal hogans with pyramidal roofs laid out upon an octagonal plan (see fig. 21).

[336] Ruth Roessel, interviewed by the author, Rough Rock, Arizona, March 12, 2009.

Figure 21: Seba Dalkai School, Seba Dalkai, Arizona (completed in 2002), September 19, 2019
Source: Google Earth, accessed July 28, 2020

According to Andrew Acoya, an architect working for the BIA, there is now a major endeavor underway to incorporate indigenous art and architecture into buildings for young Native Americans.[337] Facilities like the school at Seba Dalkai represent a resurgence of interest in constructing educational institutions that feature American Indian symbolism. The BIA's efforts in this regard can date their inception to John Collier's program to bring Progressive Education to

[337] Andrew Acoya, interview by the author, Albuquerque, November 23, 2010.

Indian reservations, and the Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center serves as an outstanding representative of a new and ultimately influential program embodying a commitment to respect and preserve Native American architectural traditions in this country.

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____ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
____ previously listed in the National Register
_X_ previously determined eligible by the National Register
____ designated a National Historic Landmark
____ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #____________
____ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # __________
____ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # ___________

Primary location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office
____ Other State agency
____ Federal agency
____ Local government
____ University
_X_ Other
Name of repository: Navajo Nation Tribal Historic Preservation Office

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): ________________

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10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: The main district encloses an area of 5.3 acres.

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates
Datum if other than WGS84__________
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1. Latitude: 37.010807 Longitude: 110.474447
2. Latitude: 37.011099 Longitude: 110.474415
3. Latitude: 37.010868 Longitude: 110.473705
4. Latitude: 37.010451 Longitude: 110.473915
5. Latitude: 37.014940 Longitude: 110.474291
6. Latitude: 37.010788 Longitude: 110.474261

Or
UTM References
Datum (indicated on USGS map):

☐ NAD 1927 or ☐ NAD 1983

1. Zone: Easting: Northing:
2. Zone: Easting: Northing:
3. Zone: Easting: Northing:
4. Zone: Easting: Northing:

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The UTM references enclose a rectangle that includes the main school campus. A noncontiguous structure (a pumphouse) is located about 300 yards to the southwest of the main district boundary.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The district boundaries form a polygon that encompasses the buildings and the major landscape features associated with the school.