

American Indian Oral History Collection
Transcript Record

Tape Number: 881 Side: 1

Dating of Taping: 5/72

Field Worker(s): Margaret Snyaz

Tribe(s): NIA

Location(s): Santa Fe

Narrator/Event: Dr. George Boyce

Additional Narrator(s): _____

Subject(s): Leadership of Education Division, BIA, 1930-1970

Navajo Reservation During WWII

Personal Background

Navajo Education

Comments:

Education

BIA

Reservation Conditions during WWII

Personal History

AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH PROJECT

University of New Mexico

Tape Number: #881

Tribe: Anglo

Informant: Dr. George Boyce

Informant's home address: 1203 Calle Luna, Santa Fe

Band or Clan:

Date and location of interview: same as above, 18 May 1972

Field Worker: M. Szasz

Date of transcription: May 26, 1972

Contents:

- 1) Leadership of the Education Division & the BIA, 1930-70 *
- 2) Navajo Reservation during World War II
- 3) Biog. background of Dr. Boyce before entering BIA
- 4) Navajo Special Ed Program: 1946-1961
- 5) Navajo Reservation in late 1930's - community schools, economic needs

* John Collier, Willard Beatty, Hildegard Thompson, William Zimmerman, Carson Ryan, etc.

Evaluation of Interview: good

Future Prospects: good

Tape #881 (side 1)
MISCELLANEOUS
Dr. George Boyce
May 18, 1972
Interviewer-Margaret Szasz

Education Div. in BIA
1930-1970
Navajo Reservation
during WW II
Background Prior to
entering BIA
Navajo Special Education
Program 1946-1961
Navajo Reservation in
late '30's---- community
schools and economic needs

Q. Okay, back to Secretary Ickes, you say it was his wife?

A. Yes, it was Secretary Ickes' wife who was particularly interested in Indians and Indian arts and crafts and visited the Southwest particularly quite often.... So when her husband was appointed Secretary of the Interior Mrs. Ickes persuaded her husband to appoint John Collier as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs... John Collier had been a social worker and adjutant, an outspoken adjutant with Indians which was some of the reasons underlying Mrs. Ickes interest in him... However, she was aware of the fact that he was often a highly unpredictable personality, kind of a mystic, probably would be a better expression than unpredictable.... because of his mystic outlook on life and Indians, therefore she also designated, or her husband designated for these reasons... William Zimmerman, Jr. as Associate Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He had been a book salesman and had no experience with Indians... but he was... well, many of his associates used to say that he had ice water for blood. He never got emotionally involved in things and he was kind of like a, well, a stabilizing force... kind of a parachute stopping an airplane... as an analysis and was therefore acutally the executive administrator with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. So you had two extreme viewpoints... and this in the course of time led to administrative problems. Because after John Collier resigned as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Zimmerman was still Associate Commissioner and Collier's successor, Bill Brophy, was an ex-TB patient and actually after several years of sickness and incapacity had to resign. So consequently for several years or more... Mr. Zimmerman was the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

- Q. Oh, is that right?
- A. So we had opposing forces you see and in the policies and in the philosophies and this well, as a matter of fact, it is the thing that is behind these events during the 1940's... the decade of real crisis on the Navajo (reservation) that I found myself in considerable opposition and am writing that story, I have just finished writing that story... the history only as I experienced it in that opposition and just during 1940's, which I call the decade of crisis among the Navajos, because it was suddenly discovered that the old life could no longer be continued... and the government had no provision for an alternative economy and they had no provisions for educating them for a new way of life... and they were in no position to live off the reservation, and the resources were known to be inadequate for the number of Navajo living at that time.
- Q. Before you leave this, one thing on Zimmerman, you would say that from the time that Collier resigned in the spring of '45 until the time that Myer came in which was '49, Zimmerman was really...?
- A. In fact, the operator....
- Q. Okay.
- A. He was not an innovator and he was politically sensitive, very cautious about change, and hesitant to go to Congress that involved innovation or increased funds for increased facilities and so people at the time often thought why doesn't Congress do something about the Indians, but nobody was permitted to go to Congress, in fact. So that Congress could not be blamed for that....
- Q. Well, do you feel, Dr. Boyce, that Zimmerman was partly responsible for the trend for termination from that hearing before the Civil Service and Post Office Committee the testimony that he gave there?
- A. Yes, I think that he was partly responsible simply because he was bowing actually to the will of Congress at the time and willing to do so.
- Q. Which he wrote later in retrospect, that was not his fault at all and I wondered at the time.

- A. Yeah, well when we were trying to do things, to simply get schools for Navajos, when they didn't have schools for some 16,000 children... but he, when those facts were developed and verified, this was very embarrassing politically to him because everything had been alright until then. He hadn't been willing to tell Congress there were 16,000 children, they just asked for the same amount every year... for the same number of children and he was... felt that those were pushing him into this embarrassing position and whose goals were rejected by Mr. Zimmerman... he did on the basis that they were too close to the problem and he... Well, Congress pushed them, nevertheless he designated the tribes, at Congress' request, to be sure... without any real resistance on his part, that they were ultimately terminated.
- Q. Would you say then that, or let me put it this way, how would you analyze the relationship between Beatty and Zimmerman at this time?
- A. Yes, well Beatty really at that time, was a line officer and he had the authority to implement his educational ideas... that authority was terminated when the area offices were set up.
- Q. In the 1950's....
- A. Yeah, this was about the time that Mr. Myer was Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Myer was dedicated to termination. He was also dedicated to clipping the authority of those who had worked otherwise... so Beatty's authority was clipped and nobody in the Indian office any longer really had authority to do anything about education, whatever their views might be... except with the Commissioner's approval through the Area Directors, none of whom were educators.
- Q. This is since 1950?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. Up until that time... the present...
- A. Yes, this is still the situation.
- Q. Okay, this is a very good point.

- A. Because I happen to have a clipping here, that has to do with the... General Accounting Office, has accused the Indian Bureau of having spend within the last 10 years of so... oh, half a billion or more dollars without getting anywhere... without its goals being specified to the field workers and not making progress on goals, great confusion. Goals have been stated, I know back 10 years ago, that the Indian children would be in the situation now that they find themselves in... in terms of drop outs, low academic achievement and the like. It is one thing to express goals and problems but it is something else to have the authority to do something about it.
- Q. In other words, since 1950, this has been a crucial factor in achieving... the goals and this is what...?
- A. Yes, that's right this is the situation that Mrs. Thompson, who used to work for me incidently, and succeeded Willard Beatty, found herself... she thought that maybe she could somehow by tactfulness accomplish things, but her... even her tactfulness didn't get through Dillon Myer and others... against the tides. The times had something to do with it, to be sure... but she didn't have the authority to swim against the tides... except to indicate what her views were... When it came to the showdown of getting change, getting money, she wasn't able to succeed. In my view... maybe she feels more optimistic about it than I, but I think that the things that are being tabulated today will probably verify that this statement...
- Q. Now this term, I have heard you say before... Dr. Boyce, 'line authority', could you define it for me?
- A. Yeah, Mrs. Thompson and all of the other heads of all the different divisions; Irrigation, Education, and the like... it is a military expression and they are called staff officers... In the broader sense, they are consultants... and one step removed supervisors... They can't even go into supervising an area without the permission of the line officer. The top line officer is the Commissioner of Indian Affairs who directly reports to the Secretary of the Interior... and he has his political blocks too... no matter what his views may be and he delegates it to Area Directors who can carry out his

orders. But if an educator wants to change the curriculum or gather data she would have to have the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or else he or she doesn't go.

Q. She cannot give orders directly to the Area Director?

A. And if she does go she still cannot give orders to an Area Director.

Q. Okay.

A. And so the school principal, he is still further down the line than the staff officer because he has to follow or be blocked by the Reservation Superintendent... he is the line officer... subject to orders and only subject to orders of the Area Director who is only subject to orders of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs... The others are all in that staff capacity as consultants and supervisors, but they are utterly irresponsible administratively...

Q. So before 1950, there were a number of individuals who had line authority?

A. Yes, yes...

Q. And they could issue the direct orders?

A. And this...

Q. And this is one of the reasons why Beatty was able to do so much?

A. This is the reason why Beatty was able to do it and the others were too lazy, too politically secure... playing it safe and this of course made Beatty's problem all the more difficult... he was outspoken and courageous and he had a philosophy that was in accord with most of John Collier's philosophy and so yes, that was the situation, this was the relationship between Willard Beatty and me because I had written textbooks with Willard Beatty before coming into the Indian Bureau.

Q. Oh, for goodness sake....

A. So I had a little edge on rapport and knowledge of his views and in a position to implement them and

carried them out... so that when I got the general idea and I was in accord with it, and we had a relationship where we were... completely frank with each other... and so when we reached the point of mutual understanding and I was... and he could come out and talk to me... and I could report back to him... weaknesses and shortcomings... need for money what can we do... beat the game... sub rosa....

- Q. Well said... I am sure, beat the game, sure....
- A. You know, so that there were really three of us who were in this relationship and position in the course of time... there is Willard Beatty, I have already explained my relationship and then Hildegard Thompson and she had known him before... but he selected her and she was... had some experiences as a reading specialist and really the three of us who did what things that were done in the Southwest... and which weren't done elsewhere.
- Q. Okay, now let me follow this other thing through and then I want to come back one more thing on this... business of 'line authority'... Would you say then that the Directors of Indian Education, after Hildegard Thompson... Dr. Marburger?
- A. Yeah, the man who was or is, he only stayed with the Bureau for a year... he went to New Jersey, can't think of his name at the moment... the state Superintendent of Education in New Jersey.
- Q. That is Dr. Carl Marburger?
- A. Marburger, yes.
- Q. And then Charles Zellers?
- A. Yes and I don't know Zellers.
- Q. You don't know him....Well as I was going to ask you was... would you say... that they were confined in the same way that Hildegard Thompson was?
- A. Sure they were in the same position... and unless they were in harmony on a particular item with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he simply overruled them... I think that this is one of the reasons why... Dr. Marburger was only in the Bureau for one year.

- Q. Yes, yes... I gathered that. I read some correspondence that Bob Roessel wrote to Dr. Marburger and that was in the indication...
- A. But I can't say positively... because I only talked to him once or twice and he was really on his way out at that time.
- Q. Well he wasn't like Hildegard Thompson.... he could not... he could not try to pass...
- A. No, he couldn't do anything... no, this explains why the... this partly explains why such things as the... General Accounting Office is now reporting that Hildegard was able to express the fact that we have 10 or 5 years and let's make some progress regarding dropouts and academic achievement but it wasn't really realistically implemented.
- Q. Now let's go back... your education... to your education.
- A. My education....
- Q. Can you give me a little background?
- A. Well, I don't know if it's specifically pertinent, people used to ask me, well they still ask me this question, if I were born in the Indian Bureau?
- Q. I certainly hope not.
- A. I could have pinched myself a thousand times if anybody would have forecast such a thing... I went to Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut and a Bachelor of Science degree and majored in the physical sciences... as I was training as an administrator in the biggest glass company in the world, in Hartford, Connecticut.
- Q. Well....
- A. However because of World War I and alike... I was out for a year and then I came back and speeded up and finished my work in 3½ years... meaning that I got out in the middle of the year... which is an awkward time to find jobs and we had a minor depression at that time... that was in 1920... in the Depression right after World War I and my college president urged me to go up to St. Paul School

in Concord, New Hampshire with one of the wealthiest clientles in the United States and... the real old time wealthy people... the descendants of Alexander Hamilton and the like well... I found myself embarrassed because I had never taken education and school teaching was the last thing that I thought of... and I really didn't want to go up. But I was young and he kept asking me... when are you going, George? So I went up and they offered me, what in those days was so much money for playing tennis with the kids... you know, canoeing and baseballing, hockey... things I generally paid to do and a chance to read a few books I was too busy to read that just because of these things so I was hired or I said I would come... for the rest of the year only to teach a class... And then before that was over, through one of my professors, another extravagant offer came to me, to another private school and it was again so much that I couldn't refuse... so I said, wow, I still don't have... I wasn't... the opening that I had trained for.... (?)... was... well, one I could have had... but the times weren't right for it so I went out to find another one... I wrote and indicated that the least salary that it would take... and thought that would settle the matter... I would get awfully embarrassed but it didn't... So therefore, I decided, George, you don't know what it is all about, this school business and you either ought to get out and I knew that much or start learning something about it. So that is when I took my Master's degree and then of course that opened alot of vision for me... I had my own experiences as a youth. It was not unhappy, but I can recognize many of its shortcomings... and so, I began working on these terms instinctively I guess in relationship with the group. I was only a few years older than they were anyway... And they were 19 and 22. So one thing led to another and so I spent 17 years actually teaching the wealthiest children in the country... the Rockefellers and the Alexander Hamilton's and the like... and in a number of different schools, all high rated schools... and I had quite a bit of administrative responsibility and experience besides scinece and mathematics... and because of my innovative work, again one thing led to another and I went to Western Reserve Academy in Ohio... and was one of the early... experimenters in Consumer Education and mathematics applied to functional everyday living situations...

- Q. You got involved in what they now term, progressive education.
- A. So then I began through this... not until this time, did I become involved with progressive education, that was primarily because I decided that I would like to take some more work... graduate work at Columbia University where I specialized in Curriculum. I was one of the first Curriculum specialists, there wasn't even such a category then, you know, and they had mathematics and foreign language but there was no such thing as curriculum... in those days. And therefore, I got a job under Willard Beatty in Bronxville, New York... so that I could commute to Columbia you see and this led to my writing mathematics textbooks and some involvement not really in the official capacity with but I would say encouraged me not without some, want if and ands, and buts about it and Willard Beatty became president of Progressive Education Association and so when he was selected as head of Indian Education, why he started to persuade me to join him for a couple of years... he thought that maybe there was a little job that I might do... in making mathematics more functional for the Indian kids... all the textbooks were about interest and real estate... business and the Indian children had no experience with such things. It was meaningless to them. And so this is why he invited me into the Bureau of Indian Affairs as the first and last and only curriculum specialist for the Indian Bureau.
- Q. You were at Bronxville?
- A. And so I came into the Indian Service from Bronxville.... That was the only public school that I ever taught at but it was somewhat like the clientele was somewhat similar not quite as wealthy, top management, but not old line capitalists at Bronxville.
- Q. One peg down, oh boy.
- A. Well for many years, well I have been in the West now for 34 years, nevertheless for many years, almost every week in Time magazine some of my former pupils were being written up, well, I didn't mean to talk about that.
- Q. No, that was absolutely fascinating...
- A. You asked a leading question...

Q. I sure did.

A. So actually my coming into the Indian Bureau, I resisted like even becoming a school teacher but for several years and I didn't know anything about Indians and I was on Main Street, I had no real interest... and so I took the assignment for no more than two years. Well alot of things happened subsequently...

Q. Was your first direct assignment based in Washington, D.C.?

A. Yes, but I actually had permission to set up my office, my own office and residence in Lawrence, Kansas... I travelled the Indian country for 3 years in a trailer. And so I could go out and stay on the reservation, my only assignment was... George, go out and find out what the situation is.... And talk to anybody you want to talk to... the missionaries, the traders, the Indians... the old line, government employees, the people in town, and taste and smell and look at the geography and find out what you can about the economy, what the Indians are thinking about, why are they the way they are... what is their history, what makes them behave the way they do... and try to synthesize in an objective understanding and restate the needs and their abilities... to respond because the old line of government you see was that the Indians were the last ones to know what their problems were.

Q. So this was your assignment, first of all...?

A. So I travelled the country as much as I could in 3 years... and to get the great differences, this was part of the problem... and the Sioux, the climate, what they can raise, was not the same as the Carolina, Eastern Cherokee or the southwestern Navajos or the Northwestern fisherman and alike... all the different health problems, the different historical problems, the pathological problems and the mental health problems, different potential economy... none of these were of interest or concern to the government, therefore, the Indians couldn't realize what was happening to them... because the goals of the government as you know had been for many decades... and probably still are, to get out of it... and so no concern is made toward modern psychology, psychiatry or sociology, economics and the like, so

this is how I got finally involved in this... social and economic problems and in a larger planning

- Q. Is this when you... was during the time that you went into the schools and observed?
- A. Went into the schools and... I went out with the (?) and the roadmen... and the mechanics and the Indians, and through their rituals and social affairs and everybody....
- Q. Weren't you lucky?
- A. Well I owe the government alot of tuition... nobody ever had such an experience or can have it.
- Q. John Rainer told me that he met you during those early years... he was teaching at one of the schools.
- A. I guess so, I never remember...
- Q. Well, I was surprised that he mentioned your name... and said you were out going around visiting all the schools at that time.
- A. Well there was nowhere in the West that I would go but that government and Indian people of course, know me.
- Q. Certainly... What...
- A. This became a personal problem because no one else had the access to the information that I had.
- Q. That is what I was going to get into.
- A. And this was increasingly so on the Navajo, you may want a little bit of it... and so I knew too much to quit, it bothered my conscience.
- Q. That's why you stuck with it.
- A. Yeah.
- Q. I don't blame you.
- A. As I knew myself what I was doing... and not without alot of difficulty and nervous energy and job risk. I always was able to keep my independence, you see, And I knew what the alternatives were, hair splitting

or just not saying anything, closing my big face... I couldn't take either of those all the time... the situation that I found myself, normally like in football and baseball, whatever it may be, if you're in the third team you don't stay very long... so, somebody makes you a better offer. And I felt that I was on the third team, but my market was away from the problems that I was involved in and so, yeah, I learned too much not because I am smart but because of the situation that I found myself in and this led to more and more....

- Q. Well how did you get based on the Navajo area? I mean what was the upshot of these years?
- A. Briefly, Navajo was one of the places that I visited of course... in the trailer and as a curriculum specialist and I met so many people because of the nature of my assignments, just prior to my coming, in the late 1930's under the Depression era, the government put scientists to work just like they put CCC boys to work... so to the Navajo, which is the largest area... they sent agronomists and geologists and botanists and so forth and they just about finished their work when I first arrived on the scene... but their work was all in separate, unrelated volumes... There is no water here said the geologists, don't bring people in here, there is no drinkable water at any depth, there is no water. You have got to get people out of here, there are too many already. And then the agronomists would come along and look at the surface and say they don't have enough sheep in here, they aren't eating enough grass, they ought to bring more in. Well, this merely illustrates some of the conflicts and the idea of separateness of the various sciences and they had no body to try to synthesize it and the superintendent of the time had some rather technical planning concepts, let the scientists say is what is to be done and then have the people do it. Anyway he asked Washington to assign me to him for this responsibility... and... My philosophy, I think, was more democratic than some of my superiors, not Mr. Beatty, and so I suggested, well let's just take a little bit of the reservation, instead of getting in too deep... and see what ideas it might suggest. And get some principles about this planning... it was kind of sneaky thinking but valid. And I just about, well this study that I made as a consequence, of about 6

months, that I put into it... was merely ready for reading by the various department heads... for any errors or any comments that they might have when the war came... so this first step in planning never got beyond that and this is how I got involved on the Navajo... because shortly after that when the war was on... the director of Navajo schools went into war work, and I was invited again for two years and to... assume that responsibility and train someone to take my place.

- Q. Okay, before you go on to there... the community school project, on the Navajo reservation from way 1936 to 1940....
- A. 1936 is when they opened and from 1936 to 1940 they were run by my predecessor, Mrs. Lucy Wilcox Adams.
- Q. Yes, I recognize that name... Now these were set up without the overall planning that you are speaking of?
- A. Yes, this was John Collier's idea only, to bring the schools, to eliminate boarding schools, distant boarding schools and bring the schools nearer to the people and if possible have they quite primitive in staff and facilities...
- Q. But they were not always set up where the people were going to be... isn't this right?
- A. No, cause the people were mobile... pastorally mobile they weren't migrants.
- Q. No, no I realize that.
- A. They had winter homes... they had summer homes, perhaps several homes in several ranges... so however, these concepts were developed less than a year prior to Willard Beatty's coming in... by Dr. Carson Ryan, he took this assignment for just one year and then Willard Beatty came in and followed Carson, they were in accord...
- Q. Yes, that is the way I treated them, as being in accord, but you are saying that the community school idea was essentially Dr. Ryan's?
- A. Yes, lodged under Dr. Ryan... and that is right, but they opened in '36 and that was about the time that Willard Beatty came in.

- Q. But they pretty generally much failed, didn't they?
- A. Well I have to say, sort of hedge on that because in terms of their community relationships I don't think that they failed. I think that the teachers formed a very important bridge to the people and the services that they rendered. A great deal of the time was devoted to adult services... people came in here for various and I won't elaborate on that.
- Q. No.
- A. And on the other hand, on the other hand, their resources far too meager for the task... John Collier and his associates... in the first place, I don't know on what basis they made their initial request to Congress because it was grossly in error and for example simply by clerical error, I suppose, I can only guess... They only asked for enough money for school books for 1 student instead of 30 and then that 1 student was rounded off so that they actually had no money for instructional supplies for over years and I could say the same about... they never planned to have books, but the children, you could not get more than two or three children within miles of the school no matter where you were located. And so in order to get enough to have the school legally. The budget wouldn't give them money for school unless there were at least 9 students there, and you couldn't even get 9 students in most places. Only two or three places out of nearly 40 day schools could get 9 students... to come in. That happened to be a little agricultural tract, for example and not many sheep to move and so they had to buy buses, there was no money for buses in the allocation from Congress... There was no money for a busdriver and I could go on and on this way so... By the time I became administrator of the system they had deteriorated physically. And they were only in existence because they took money from the boarding schools and they deteriorated along with them as a consequence.
- Q. Alright, this is what I had in mind... I didn't mean that they had failed with the community or with the concept...I meant that it just simply wasn't funded.
- A. Now when the war came on it reached the point where there really was no money to continue all those

schools... and this Mr. Zimmerman particularly, I knew what the situation was and so at least for a year, I could get away with taking the money from two schools, closing one in order to keep at least one going with the war on. And the people are now concerned with the war on. Before they had been bitter against John Collier and the sheep reduction, and they tried to bargain with him about schools, and maybe if we can embarrass him about schools, we will not have the stock reduction.

Q. Oh, was that their reason?

A. Yes.

Q. Oh, I hadn't heard that before.

A. Yes, that is the white man's war... they didn't ask for it. John Collier was (?) so this was the Navajo logic and Navajo reasoning and you see their premises were wrong and their conclusions were wrong, but they were logical. So Mr. Zimmerman always insisted that any schools that were closed was because of the shortage of teachers. That wasn't so.

Q. Cause of the shortage of money...

A. Yeah.

Q. Period.

A. So this is kind of a confused thing, in many ways, I have written about to some extent.

Q. Well, Dr. Boyce, when you took over you said that you took over for a two year period, what was your title?

A. Director of Navajo Schools.

Q. Director of Navajo Schools?

A. Very soon became Director of Navajo and Hopi Schools.

Q. Okay, and was this the year the war broke out?

A. About 65 schools all together, I went there in February 1940 and the war broke out in less than a year but in the meanwhile it was piling up and we could anticipate that things were going from bad to worse and then we did lose, I wouldn't say lost, I would

say alot of the employees, teachers and others went transferred or were drafted into military service of one sort or another but actually I was able in various ways to get teachers for every school that I still had money to run at all. And one way was the introduction of taking a better Navajo bus drivers and day school assistants that I recalled, they did the cooking and the bathing, things like that, who were in many ways, bi-cultural to a considerable extent and they spoke English and Navajo fairly well and persuaded the Civil Service to let me use those as teachers in training for a year.

Q. Very tricky.

A. Yeah, provided that they got inservice training, and they went to summer school, and then if successful at the end of the year, they got a full teacher's salary and many of them just retired a few years ago. They went on really with this stimulus and got college degrees and became fully qualified Civil Service employees but it killed alot of birds with one stone.

Q. Indeed, indeed, was it difficult to get Civil Service to cooperate?

A. Yeah, actually the Indian Bureau was violating Civil Service regulations on salaries alone, they were underclassified in terms of Civil Service ratings, so as to pay them less than the Indian Bureau had money to pay them and so the Indian Bureau resisted the proper classifications for many years of all the employees in the field of Indian Service, all the Indian employees got was \$60 a month, as though they were day laborers for example... when they should have gotten several times that amount, according to Civil Service standards. This was true about teachers in the Civil Service standards and these made recruiting and such problems difficult and finally the Civil Service, but it wasn't until the '50's that it demanded that the Indian Bureau upgrade.

Q. Well that was a long time.

A. Yeah.

Q. So you stayed on there, clear through the war?

- A. I stayed on clear through the war because I became involved in post war planning and behind the scenes, publicizing of the needs that finally resulted in the ten year, \$88 million program and so I felt that I had accomplished my goals a little bit over due on some relief... So I left in '49, but the actual passage of the bill was clearly in sight, it wasn't actually passed till 1950, but I left in '49 for a change and requested it for when the opportunity came up with what the Navajos call a day school, the Intermountain School up in Utah... the biggest boarding school, coeducational boarding school by far in the country... they have... I did not want to be... I didn't want to assume responsibilities for the \$88 million was spent.
- Q. Let's go back a little bit... could you tell me about the... the beginning of the formulation of the special Navajo program?
- A. Yeah, this is a story that very few people understand or know... because I counted 24,000 Navajo children of school age, 6 to 18, and the Bureau denied this and had to be done for 3 or 4 times but everytime I did such things the numbers would increase and I got more accurate data, and the data was... was always pretty reliable.
- Q. When you are saying the Bureau denied you... are you referring to Zimmerman?
- A. Yes, yeah... and "George, it can't be!" and then later, later people came and they would say, well George, you are asking for too many schools because half of them won't come... no obligation to give them an education, they are in poverty, they are ignorant... they are in poor health and so forth... and they won't come cause that is going to be embarrassing to ask money, oh gosh, besides maybe we can get them to move off the reservation and then George we'll be over built... So...well where was I?
- Q. You were going to tell me about the origins of the program.
- A. Oh yes, well and then I, the Bureau of the Budget and the Indian Bureau were in bitter controversy and you see I had day schools unfilled and because they didn't have buses so that the buses couldn't go far enough, even though I had buses but there

weren't any roads for buses.

Q. Okay.

A. So the school only had 15 kids and this is not the Indian's fault.

Q. But they assumed it was?

A. They assumed it was so that's right, they said they won't come anyway, George, look you only got 15, so but I was... therefore, during the war... in order to keep that school going at all, I didn't even have a bus, I conceived the idea of having a native dormitory, where they could come and stay native style or it was either that or nothing which is worst... bad as it may be... if the people will build a hogan for the kids and then somebody would come sleep with them at nights and maybe bring in some corn and mutton once in awhile cause we had no money to feed them or house them or anything. Well the government was so opposed to the boarding idea that I wasn't permitted to put them anywhere near the school where there were toilets and running water and heat... they had to be outside the fence for several miles away and we did it, all but 15 or 16 schools.

Q. Who were you fighting in the Bureau?

A. Well, having this... nobody was going to put up the money for this because you couldn't even get authority for this with the war on... for materials even to put up a hogan... you had to provide it yourself. You had to get Indians to go out and quarry some rock or bring some blocks... and so, but I was able to say... all along that we are still short schools for 16,000 kids. And the Bureau of the Budget says we are not going to give you any schools for any kids, so you fill up what you have... got so this is an impossible situation. We couldn't fill up what we had.

Q. Right, I understand that.

A. So the Bureau of the Budget took the position that until you filled the off reservation boarding schools, contrary to the Bureau's policy, you aren't going to get any schools. And they said this year, not just once but year after year, and the situation was get-

ting worse on the Navajo. So we decided to fill up those schools.

Q. You had to tell the Navajo people that they had to sent their kids away in order to get schools built on the reservation?

A. That's right.

Q. How did they react?

A. Well, the Bureau of the Budget said, fill up Albuquerque first and they wouldn't go.

Q. It is just during the war that you are still talking about?

A. No.

Q. This is just after?

A. After, after, the war couldn't be an excuse any longer the war was over in '46.

Q. '45.

A. Yeah, the war was over in '45, the war was over and...

Q. First they wouldn't even go.

A. First they wouldn't even go to Albuquerque, that was the nearest you see and Mr. Beatty and I were on their side and besides Albuquerque was a high school and we didn't have any high school kids. How can you have high school kids if you don't have first graders. So we tried to get Albuquerque to take some younger kids, somehow... but they still would not go, they wouldn't send the younger kids away, and there weren't any older kids that Albuquerque would accept, you see, impasse after impasse. So, Willard Beatty and I about this, about this time Beatty said, they are about ready to close Sherman out at Riverside in California because California is going to assume responsibility for Indian education and we won't have any need for it anymore. And I said, well I don't think that any school ought to be closed with the need as great as it is, even though it is way over there. And so then we began to say, well the Navajos won't send younger ones, we are against sending younger ones ourselves.

Q. Sure, right.

A. But the older ones are not in too much of a different position from white rural kids have been in for years, have had to board in town for the winter in order to go to school, high school. Well these kids aren't ready to go to high school, and so we have alot of questions, can we develop a program in spite of that; will serve from ages 13 to 18 who have never been in school, speak Navajo, know no white man's customs and teach them a trade cause there is no place on the Navajo reservation at least during this time and this is how this special program and this was really one of the stimulus for us to do some innovating thinking in order to beat the general, the Bureau of the Budget at its own game.

Q. Okay, well this all of this reasoning, thinking out... was this primarily between you and Dr. Beatty?

A. And Hildegard Thompson.

Q. And Hildegard Thompson.

A. She was brought in as a supervisor. We decided to do an experiment for 200 kids at Sherman. We had alot of basic questions, will they come, and so forth and will stay and will they come back and how long do you need, George? Well we just took a guess, we said that 5 years, we don't think they will stay any longer we said, they will get married, regardless, if you don't take them till they are 16 or 17, they are going to get married in 5 years and anything less than that we know we can't do... Well this later proved to be a pretty good shrewd guess for the world about nonliterate primitive people.

Q. What... she came into the program from what position?

A. Well she had been my supervisor on the Navajo, so she was acquainted with the Navajo problems.

Q. - So her title was what?

A. Oh, under me she was, Supervisor of Academic Instruction but then Willard Beatty had taken her to work on a broader basis on his staff in Washington on reading and so he was willing to reassign her back but under his direction and not mine. Willard Beatty asked me

this question, "George, do you want a supervisor?" and I said, that is not the question, the question is, what is the best arrangement... I am not going to be out there too long.

Q. Okay, so she became the supervisor of the program?

A. Yes, directly under Willard Beatty.

Q. Why?

A. I was the consultant and often made trips with her to see how it was going and to discuss what the next steps were and what the problems were.

Q. What was Madison Coon's capacity at this time?

A. Well, he wasn't involved in this special program.

Q. He wrote about it later, but he wasn't....

A. He was unfamiliar with it in his writings you see, my insight was not really because of familiarity, it was because he did the best he could.

B. He was at Haskell at that time, wasn't he?

A. Yeah.

Q. Oh, he was?

A. The head guidance at Haskell.

Q. Well what did you think of the job he did on it?

A. Well, I didn't think that he did the job real justice, I couldn't write it myself because you would have to be there, the only one that could have done it real justice was Mrs. Thompson and she wasn't doing it.

Q. That's too bad.

A. I have given some reference to it. Because of that, I have tried to summarize the particulars, the unique principals that were within the program in the book that I just finished, but it is only a few pages devoted to it.

Q. Is that all, well didn't the program, at least I have developed this in the chapter that I wrote...

- A. The program grew very fast.
- Q. Didn't it become almost an example for other boarding schools?
- A. We hoped that it would be but...
- Q. What happened?
- A. Nothing, and those who were... in fact, Mrs. Thompson and myself and some of the supervisors that worked under me if the program expanded, we had to recruit more teachers and more supervisors and we were highly selective in that. And they all felt that this was a good example, maybe a prototype of what the Sioux needed, it would be different because you start again with the problem, two problems, the Sioux problem is different but the principals and the policies is what they needed, particularly if they knew who was running the schools and how.
- Q. Well, Dr. Boyce, could you tell me, why this program which you say worked so well with the Navajo and was so innovative, why, for instance, a similar program was not developed with the Sioux?
- A. Well none of them initiated it and this speaks for itself.
- Q. You mean the individual?
- A. The type of school administrator with rare exception and the type of teachers with rare exceptions. The third team rarely starts something new. And how do you make a first team out of a third team? By getting rid of the third team and the Bureau's policies were not in this direction, I tried my best a number of times, for example, to recruit people who already were out in public school work, who were successful and had broad experience and wanted to be innovative, could learn but the Bureau would never hire any teacher or administrator except the lowest beginning level. Now out of those you have an occasional... promoters and so you get a lot of third team members all the way up the line. And rarely do you get in this process, top people which the nature of the problem requires.
- Q. Well you know that one of the things that Dr. Ryan said in the Merriam Report was that he thought that

the salaries should be competitive and what I... there was some indication that they did become more competitive and is this true?

A. That is only part of the story because the last meeting I had with John Collier, was almost an order that if the Navajo want schools it's because the missionaries and the traders put them up to it. And I want you to go back and redirect the Navajo thinking. And go on the assumption that we are going to have to hire cheaper teachers and more primitive schools. So these are some of the opposition of the mystic here. Let's not have schools, let's not destroy the culture... of course, at this point we definitely parted and of course I did just the opposite, and he only had one more week to go.

Q. Well would you say, this is an interesting point, because I mentioned... I said that....

A. Well this is a little bit more fully developed, my story..... I only wrote the story in the '40's and my... Navajo for my part, the introduction is a little bit... some of the earlier things that I first observed come as a green horn from New York. Well that is not important.

Q. But comparing Collier and Beatty, would you say that, of course Collier, you describe as a mystic... cause he was obviously not a mystic... but Beatty was more willing to adjust to changing times, do you think that this was true?

A. Yes, I think that it was true and I think that it was probably his biggest error in some ways because progressive education died and it died for political reasons and Beatty was not a politician. He didn't realize the importance of political backing, and political maneuvering to get money and things for which government has the responsibility, and you have to do this only through Congress... directly through Congress and Beatty was more loyal than me. He was a very honest person to his superior, fortunately I could be loyal to Beatty, but I couldn't be loyal to Collier when the chips were down.

Q. When you say progressive education died, do you mean within the Bureau school system?

- A. All over the nation, it was a reactionary opposition.
- Q. Yes, I have mentioned that, but I wondered.
- A. Partly the fault of progressive education, being mislabeled by those teachers who didn't understand it and allowed the permissiveness that we now see and regret... And then partly because they really didn't realize the political reaction of the times in maintaining the old standards, the old psychology. Progressive education came in right at the beginning when the old Thorndike psychology was being challenged by the first...first by the Gestalt psychology and later revisions of it... that came in right after the war and in the '20's... the first introduction of Gestalt psychology was when I was at Cornell in the '20's and so... progressive education was following the Dewey philosophy about the time when the new psychology was being developed and it was caught in the jam.... So politically Congress and the people who control education in the country were bitterly and in violent opposition to people in progressive education and so they put a stop to it. Now this happened in the Indian Bureau and it happened all over... Beatty was constantly on the defensive about that.
- Q. In other words, your analysis of the demise of progressive education within the Bureau did not assume that Beatty himself changed, he did not change, he still believed in progressive education?
- A. Yes, that's right... Collier said, don't go to Congress, Beatty, for more school funds, Beatty didn't go, well I did... but that was something else.
- Q. Well what about the old ideas that were served during the 1930's of cross-cultural education, these died out after the war... emphasis on education for living in the white man's world... Didn't Beatty change a little bit there?
- A. Beatty didn't really change his philosophy. He recognized the necessity for that generation of Navajos in particular, that they would be growing up and be raising families long before their younger brothers even got to school and in terms of the known resources in this study of resources that I indicated... all the known resources at that time. We didn't know about uranium that was about the only

one that we didn't know... would have given only a very marginal, modest living for only half of the Navajo population at that time. But with the known population doubling every 25 or 30 years so because of economic necessity, only... was... were those efforts, as in the special Navajo program, off reservation employment.

Q. Okay, what about the rest?

A. However as far as the rest is concerned, we were the first to introduce Navajo speaking assistant teachers, for example... We recognized the mental health problems, we recognized the difficulties of experience problems building a curriculum on the experience to which the Navajo child could react and then do his own thinking in arithmetic and science books, without giving up anymore Navajo than I gave up by moving about in order to eat and be clothed but he was the first one to introduce the Navajo language and bi-cultural reader and I was the first one to start Navajo language newspapers.... These things were going on. And we were teaching Navajos to read and developed an alphabet in order to use a typewriter for writing Navajo... experimented with what the difficulties were... how long... does it take to teach it an English speaking Navajo or a non-English speaking Navajo and then we... all of this planning that I did, was ultimately put into Navajo for the Navajo... In spite of the distances and the cultural background, actually participated in improving the long range plan, getting an understanding of it. We printed the court forms in Navajo, we printed how you organized a PTA in Navajo for example... and then of course, Glen Emmons and all of this opposition to stop this... bitter opposition to this.... People don't realize this today, it is impossible to continue... the war settled and then Glen Emmons and the attitudes of Congress settled it... today you see some other things coming back to us... under what leadership and whatever understanding is to be experienced.

Q. Did you have any allies in Congress during that time?

A. I developed allies in Congress, I didn't have any to start with.

Q. Who were they?

- A. Well this is a story in two parts too... Ruth Kirk, a lady by the name of Ruth Kirk (Mrs. John Kirk). She came out to see me one day, she was chairman of the state, New Mexico State Welfare Board and she was interested because her husband was an Indian trader and she was on the Welfare Board, and she came out to see me to see what the welfare situation was. And she felt that the state of New Mexico had some responsibilities for it even though they didn't have any money for it. It's as poor state as you can see... Well as we got to talking, I sort of challenged her and she accepted the challenge, and so we had an informal sort of sub rosa, you might say organization. So she had the money and the freedom to move to develop eastern contacts and I assumed the responsibility of local and regional publicity. They couldn't stop me cause all I was doing was giving facts... and they didn't for several years... dare to try to stop me... So this is how we got the two going together... two for two... through the regional publicity and Time and some of the national magazines, but... and through Ruth (?) civic organizations and subsequently politicians picked it up and this is how this came about.
- Q. You are speaking of the post war period?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. And who were the key individuals in Congress... who would you identify as a key individual?
- A. Well, earlier in the game there were members of the House Appropriations Committee and of course, we played both sides of the street, the Democrats and the Republicans made no bones about that, this is not a party affair. To the extent that we could exercise any persuasion. When it got to the President, well we couldn't persuade the President although we managed to put enough pressure on Truman to come through.
- Q. Truman, yes.... Eisenhower?
- A. Eisenhower, no, he wasn't that kind of a person so we got Glen Emmonds and then a dead stop came to everything, he would just let us have spelling and arithmetic.
- Q. Under Glen Emmons?

- A. Yes, most of the action was in my time, yeah.
- Q. He was willing to get the kids in school but he wanted them to have...
- A. He wanted them to become presidents and bankers...
- Q. Oh my!
- A. The pressure was on to get kids in school because the publicity had done that and finally Congress ordered Secretary Krugg to present a plan and actually gave them an order but that was after they let 8 or 9 plans go already because of the opposition of the Indians.
- Q. Did you get involved in the adult vocational programs at all?
- A. No, no.
- Q. Because I have heard them described as being a complete fiasco.
- A. Yeah.
- Q. Well would you go along with that?
- A. Well you see, the Intermountain School was a vocational school, but it was a special program vocational and it completed the... it completed the salvaging of that generation because even though they added up Sherman and Chemawa and Chillico and all the others... It was only about half of that generation when I say 13 to 18 year olds. And so Intermountain was so large we took 2300 girls and 1300 boys. We had to get 500 jobs for them ever spring and we had to place them over 9 states, you couldn't let them put them all in one location, we had 26 locations for the boys alone but that was the young adults and I was not involved with the adults.
- Q. With the adult program?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. How did you wind up these special programs for these teenagers?

- A. Well I didn't wind it up and I left Intermountain, I was ready to retire when the matter of what has become the Institute of American Art came up.
- Q. Oh, '66?
- A. And I got involved in that one from the beginning unexpectedly, yes... and so I left Intermountain in '66 which was still special programs but there had been some modifications however. Because by that time some kids could start not as non-English beginners, but maybe the 3rd grade... 16 years old, so we then could take a certain portion and give them 8 years of schooling, and with 8 years of schooling a number of them were able to catch up and transfer somewhere else to high school and maybe go on to college and we remained a special program in the school until I left in '61 and I think it has probably been going down since.
- Q. I would think so... I know that Coombs cuts it off in '60 and I didn't know any statistics beyond that year so that is why I wondered.
- A. Yeah, it was complex and if I hadn't had the experience I would have had with the Navajo, the missionaries, the Bureau, public relations and so forth, they would have had me behind the 8 ball. And the Bureau didn't have people with that type of experience to follow that's what happened.
- Q. Would you say that it was the interest of the Navajo people which was of key importance in getting the special program, of the delegation going back to Washington?
- A. Well now... no, just not that... the Navajo people did change its attitude toward education, and when I came they could have a kid who was just across the street working that made it so hard at times and impediments but their attitude toward education did change and so when they went to Washington, it was because of the data that I talked about, you see I had assembled the data, post war... no, no... this I told you this was the data that I had assembled for one small part of the reservation terminating with the war. I would like to add to that another note because in 1943 the war was still on so all the planning work had been stopped, its continuation was out of sight... but the whole government

wanted to prepare itself for a possible, what do you call it?

Q. Phasing out?

A. Well after the war when there were no jobs, so forth.

Q. Depression?

A. Yeah and the possible Depression after World War II and it already had one after World War I and there was a Depression in the '30's and so the government was thinking of preparing itself in advance with public works programs... John Collier being the kind of person he was sent out directives to have long range talk with the Indians and so forth, but he was a poor administrator and none of the reservations did that. They all did Public Works Programs and that is as far as any of the people thought... but George had had this unique experience and so we moved in. It was not a post war program we need, it was not a public works program, we need a program for the first time in Indian history. And there is the data, we had more data on that Navajo reservation than any other place has had on any reservation or even any 2 acre reservation and so we prepared a report accordingly and submitted it to Washington in 1944, it was completely suppressed, it is still suppressed as far as I know. It has never been released to the public, I have the data so I can go out and talk about the data without referring to the print. I could just say it you know, so many of this or so many of that or this is what the income or this is what the acreage is... and so forth and nobody could deny that. So this was the first long range program, this was for the whole reservation at that time... and however the government was so shocked at the expense involved and the expenses that I indicated wouldn't have done half the job, actually and everybody figured Congress wouldn't give us 100 million. Everyone thought we were crazy to ask for that much, for Indians you know. Nobody was willing to throw a million out of anything that was in there so it was so tight, you can't deny it if you don't do this, George, they will hollar. So the Indian office came up with 6 more programs, they sent out person after person one way or another and with the exception of Charles

Collier, who was John Collier's brother, after John was out of the service... Charles Collier was the one that took the position that George, half of them won't come so there's half of your schools gone. And besides they will end up at the bottom of the ladder so why worry about educating them in the first place and if they get hungry enough, look what the Irish did, they will go... so he got the lowest... a little bit lower than my estimate. But of all the others kept going up because they couldn't help but go up. The Indian Bureau made a mistake in sending out others. So when my first added up to 50 million then the whole troop would come up with 100 million and then a few years later, they spent 400 million, under a different programs and auspices.

- Q. Why would you say were the key reasons why the Navajos changed their attitude toward education?
- A. Well the number of different views were expressed and I expressed probably the lowest common denominator cause I was there and knew some of the things that other who wrote didn't know, didn't experience. But as a result of what could be done community wise in the day schools, when all of a sudden the schools were threatened with being closed and the Navajos took a little different view for one thing, I spent night after night in all night meetings all over the reservation to try and explain and its difficult to explain why the government doesn't have money but to find out which schools would agree to put up a hogan or put a community building if they had one and bring in some corn and take care of the children, maybe help out if they got sick, something like that... and I was able to persuade them at first... Well, I was able to do this first of all just before the war broke out because of the shortage of money and I got 6 communities as an experiment just before the war broke out. Those 6 communities had good, uneducated but good leadership, totally non-English speaking... uneducated but good leadership, they were good, what we would call head men... the head men has an outfit, you know, sometimes two or three head men... If they were quarreling, why I didn't solve it, so I got 6 communities and got facilities one way or another and Well then a few months later the war started and so an example had been set and other communities heard about it so I went around to talk to them

if they were in a position at all to respond, why we got the whole reservation, I didn't succeed in about 15 or 16 schools, there was too much split leadership, they were too far away, too bitter, etc. and so forth... But once again these other schools set the example and they began to change their thinking. Now they were sacrificing for their schools, this changed the whole relationship you see, the government... now this was not without some controversy because again when Collier set up the schools he was going to give clothing, for example, cause they had clothing in a boarding school... they figured they had to give some kind of a carrot. Well pretty soon they were so broke that they had to discontinue the program, they didn't sell it this way, you know.

Q. Can you see these schools?

A. Well then in my estimation, that began to sacrifice and... but there were alot of problems to be sure, but they weren't controversial, they weren't bitter problems... look, change you see... then besides through the Navajo paper they were writing back... Look, you see that my brother goes to school, I am over here in Germany or England or so forth... and having a hard time cause I didn't have enough schooling you see... And then the people went off to war work and he doesn't speak any English at all and all he can do is push a wheel barrel and he has to have a Navajo boss and pretty soon he wishes that he had gone to school so the war did this to the Navajos. However, it didn't happen to all the other Indians. That's why I go back to the roots, where they were beginning to sacrifice for the day schools to keep them going. Well, that didn't happen on the other reservation they didn't have to go put up hogans and they didn't have to do this kind of thinking.

Q. Was any of that done up on the Sioux Reservation?

A. No.

Q. Nothing?

A. No, nowhere that I know of.

Q. I wondered, I had not read about it, I just wondered.

- A. No, they had community schools but nothing like this and then they didn't have the same transportation problems, they didn't have the same economy, they didn't move their sheep, they didn't even have cattle or corn and so forth.
- Q. Do you see this mood that developed during World War II on the Navajo reservation as a background for the development for community schools in the 1960's, like Rough Rock and Ramah?
- A. Well I think that there were other things that happened during all of this time. The Navajos were very lucky in having people at the top like Jim Stewart, he was not a very good spokesman but I mention him... myself, Allen Harper that followed Jim Stewart, who had democratic views. So when all of that I've been talking about, the planning and so forth... the Navajos... were dealing with new data and understand... seeing the necessity for change and getting the experience of approving or disapproving of what the technicians were recommending and having gotten this far, well, we felt that why the Navajos were the last to use such facilities.... When I first came even the Sioux thought they were old fashioned... you see, and as a result of these experiences soon began to say... when you get smart like the Navajos... because they were having a democratic experience that had been destroyed in all of the other tribes for the first time... it was really building up from the bottom.
- Q. So you see them setting an example for other Indian areas and...?
- A. Yeah, it was part of my planning for additional day schools or enlargement of day schools where there was water that the government subsidize the construction of a community building... and this would be the modern equivalent of the chapter houses... only far beyond what the chapter houses ever reached... Because this would be a place where old communities come in for recreation, for health education, for showers, for baths, and for telephones and things...it lets the school be freed of that load, let them discuss the problems, it was a democratic process. They only got one of those built however, that was at Coyote Canyon... but since then with the oil and

coal oil... well now the Navajo tribe has taken up the idea itself and has built much more advanced a structure than within my phase of time... Same way with the schools, I, by necessity had to propose a more primitive site for schools in terms of the facilities than the Navajo tribe or rather the government has subsequently been building... They are a little bit more institutional than I would have build but this was another trick that sort of boomeranged... because the resource people wanted to plug for the San Juan project... which is a very big expensive irrigation project and highly questionable technically because it isn't a big project, it is little spots here and there a few acres here and a few acres there but resource people had their bill of goods to see and that added up to so many millions, 2 or 300 millions at that time, even that this was embarrassing and awkward to them so they started selling the idea that an institutionalized type of school with the type of dormitories that you have now would be a very expensive thing... and they purposely inflated it... they said... if we could get them all on the San Juan Project, you won't have to build day schools and you will save 100 million dollars and so that makes the irrigation look cheaper. You see, the razzle dazzle that takes place?

Q. Sure, sure....

A. And that really ought to be applied to these 300 million dollars we are asking for, sure we are asking \$300 million for the San Juan, but you are going to save 100 million over here... see?

Q. Clever people.

A. So this is the type of inflating that takes place And again, I said, I guess I am the only one who has the data to verify it cause I had this... it is just not me saying it, but I have it all thoroughly documented. I have the telegrams, etc.

Q. Well I would like to look at your manuscript. Did you keep your correspondence, did you keep copies of all your correspondence?

A. I am the only that has cause in this, it is sub rosa, with Ruth Kirk doing this and George doing

that... Ken Stewart didn't want to get caught with any of those letters or telegrams so he carried them all over to me, but he didn't try to stop me from doing it.

Q. You must have quite a collection.

A. Yeah, yeah, well I know what the topics are and if I should die and they were given to somebody else and they couldn't interpret them or to you...

Q. Probably not.

A. So I have kind of a compulsion you see, whether I do well or not to make it edited so....

END OF TAPE