of the 1930s were abandoned as budgets and personnel were drained away by wartime demands. On the other hand, experiences of Native Americans during the war led to a renewed appreciation of the value of education and a determination to expand the educational opportunities available. Several tribal councils enacted compulsory education ordinances and offered scholarships to promising high school graduates. Indian veterans eligible for benefits under the GI Bill of Rights enrolled in colleges and vocational training programs in record numbers.

One of the first signs of the stirring of a new interest in education came in the spring of 1946 when a delegation of Navajo leaders went to Washington, D.C. to demand more schools for their people. They pointed out that more than half of all the 22,000 children on the reservation were not in school, most of whom had reached the age of twelve or thirteen without receiving any formal education. Willard Beatty, the director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' education division, responded by establishing the Navajo Special Education Program in the fall of 1946. The program was designed to meet the needs of overage students, providing them with basic education, vocational training, and the requisite social skills needed for success in European American society. Students were taught the importance of such things as good grooming, proper manners, correct eating habits, and other "elements of white cultural behavior." More than 4,000 students enrolled in the program during its first quarter century of operation.

The curriculum of the Navajo Special Education Program was symptomatic of a fundamental shift taking place in federal Indian policy. The cultural pluralism of the 1930s was giving way to the assimilationism of the postwar era of termination. "The nation's treatment of the Indian had come full circle," historian Margaret Connell Szasz observed. "From the early twenties to the early forties the pendulum had swung toward recognition and encouragement of Indian culture; as the war ended, it began to swing toward assimilation." Willard Beatty's own earlier interest in the preservation of traditional Indian culture had been replaced by a desire to prepare Indians to take their place in the "dominant culture." His assertion that "whatever the [Indian] child learns within the home is contrary to things he needs to know" was nearly identical to the view of Richard Henry Pratt during the heyday of assimilationism in the late nineteenth century.

The swing toward assimilation accelerated with the appointment of Dillon S. Myer as head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1950. Two

years later Commissioner Myer replaced Willard Beatty as director of education with Hildegard Thompson, whose success as director of the Navajo Special Education Program had established her credentials as an assimilationist. In pursuit of her goal of preparing Indians for life in an urban and technological society, Thompson expanded adult vocational programs and also altered the curriculum of BIA schools to include more academic courses in science and mathematics.

Working in concert with the policies of termination and relocation, Hildegard Thompson shifted responsibility for Indian education to local public schools whenever possible. This move—part of the terminationists' desire "to get out of the Indian business"—came at the same time the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferring its health services to the office of the Surgeon General. Under Thompson's direction, the proportion of Indian children who attended public school increased from 52 percent in 1952 to 60 percent a dozen years later. New federal legislation positively encouraged this shift by providing public schools with increased federal aid. In addition to the funds available under the Johnson-O'Malley Act, in 1953 Congress began providing school districts in "federally impacted areas" with funds to furnish education to Indian students. (Districts with Native American students were "federally impacted" because Indians were exempt from paying property taxes, the primary source of revenue for public schools.) Passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965 gave added encouragement to districts to enroll Indian students. The act provided federal aid to school districts to meet the special educational needs of "children of low-income families."

The missing ingredient in the formulation of educational policy for Native Americans throughout the first half of the twentieth century was the voice of the Indians themselves. By the mid-1960s, that voice could no longer be ignored. The emergence of a strong Native American leadership became a powerful new force in Indian education, demanding and achieving a remarkable degree of Indian control over educational policies and institutions. The new leadership first appeared in the battle against termination, but once the tide turned in that conflict, Native people began to focus on educational reform.

The content of textbooks was one of the first of many contentious educational issues to engage the attention of Native American leaders in the mid-1960s. As more and more Indian children enrolled in public schools, parents grew concerned about the negative characterization of Indian cultures often found in instructional materials.

Jeannette Henry (Eastern Cherokee) and Rupert Costo (Cahuilla) first raised the issue in California in 1964, launching a well-documented attack on the demeaning and inaccurate stereotypes of Native Americans found in textbooks used in the public schools. The California Indian Education Association, founded in 1967 by David Risling (Hupa/Yurok), helped carry the fight forward in the next decade. On the Navajo reservation at Shiprock, New Mexico, concerned parents conducted a sit-in at the administration building of the local school district to protest continued use of textbooks that characterized Indians as "savage barbarians." Meanwhile, a survey of more than 100 history texts, conducted by the National Study of American Indian Education, found that "the American Indians have been obliterated, defamed, disparaged, and disembodied. The notion of the blood-curdling, perilous, massacring savage is common."

Native Americans across the country took the initiative in developing dozens of new and innovative educational programs. Stanley Smartlowit, Yakama tribal education chairman in 1963, organized a college preparatory course on the campus of Central Washington State University and established a remedial program at a remote site near the base of Mount Adams. "It's time," Smartlowit said, "we started doing something about education instead of just talking about our problems." Myron Jones (Tuscarora) began teaching Indian parents in New York about federal programs available for their children. The Shoshone-Bannocks in Idaho and the Blackfeet in Montana lobbied for the inclusion of courses in Native American arts and history in the curriculum of local schools. Artist Clarence Pickernell (Quinault) returned to his reservation in western Washington and began offering classes in Indian culture. "A decade ago," Pickerell observed in the late 1960s, "I would have said the culture and traditions were gone, dead. But when I came back . . . a change had taken place. There was a spontaneous reawakening."

Dissatisfaction with the quality of education provided by public schools and schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs led Native Americans in the mid-1960s to establish their own schools. The first of such Indian-controlled schools opened in the fall of 1966 at Rough Rock, an isolated community near Chinle, Arizona. Navajo leaders contracted with the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and the BIA for funding of what was called the Rough Rock Demonstration School. Instruction at this experimental school was in Navajo and English, with special emphasis placed on Navajo history and culture. The school's Navajo Curriculum Center, founded in 1967, published instructional materials drawn from the oral traditions of community members and illustrated by local artists. One of the first publications to appear was Etheloo Yazzie's *Navajo History* (1971).

Although supported by federal funds, control of the school at Rough Rock remained firmly in the hands of an all-Navajo school board. John Dick, one of the first board members, explained the school's purpose:

> We want our children to be proud of being Navajos. We want them to know who they are. . . . In the future they will have to be available to make many choices and do many different things. They need a modern education to make their way, but they have to know both worlds—and being Navajo will give them strength.

The key to the success of Rough Rock was the enthusiastic support it received from the Navajo people. Their identification with the school was evident in the name they gave it. Schools run by the BIA were called, in Navajo, *Washington bi 'olta,* or "school of the federal government"; and public schools were called *Bilagaana Yazhi bi 'olta,* or "white children's school." Only Rough Rock was called *Diné bi 'olta*— "the Navajo school."

The success of Rough Rock soon encouraged other communities to establish similar schools. Navajos in the villages at Ramah and Borrego Pass in New Mexico opened schools based on the Rough Rock model. Likewise, the Chippewa and Cree people in northern Montana assumed control over the Rocky Boy School and began revising its curriculum to include courses in Indian culture and history. Representatives from several such schools banded together in 1971 to form the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, dedicated to the proposition that "if American Indians are to survive as a people, they must develop and control their own schools."

Native American interest in educational reform was not limited to elementary and secondary schools; it extended to the college level as well. Navajo Nation chairman Raymond Nakai and other tribal leaders launched a major fund-raising campaign in the mid-1960s to establish the country's first Indian-controlled college. The campaign succeeded in obtaining grants from both private and public sources, including major funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity. In January 1969 Navajo Community College began offering its first classes at a temporary location in Many Farms, Arizona. The curriculum at NCC