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HISTORY OF THE ALBUQUERQUE INDIAN SCHOOL*

By LILLIE G. MCKINNEY

INTRODUCTION

THE civilization of the American Indian has been slow, difficult, and expensive for our government. Different administrations have tried different policies. Usually some method of force was used down to 1876. Force meant the final extinction of the race. About the only education that filtered in among the savages was the result of the labors of heroic missionaries who established schools among them from 1819-1876 subsidized by meagre sums from the government.

The greatest pioneer missionary among the Indians of the Rocky Mountain area was Sheldon Jackson of the Northern Presbyterian Church from 1838 to 1909. He has been called the "pathfinder and prospector of the missionary vanguard."¹ By personal appeals to wealthy churches and individuals in the east he supplemented the small sums allowed by the government in educating Indian youths. In 1869 he became superintendent of missions under his church. From this time until 1876 he was actively engaged in establishing mission schools in all the Western territories, especially in Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico.

In 1876, under President Grant, the new policy of educating Indians under strict government control was much

*Accepted at the University of New Mexico in 1934 in partial fulfillment of requirements for the M. A. degree.

1. *The Pageant of America*, V. 1, p. 252.

more successful than his "peace policy" (forcing them to live on reservations and securing peace by feeding them).

In 1887, under President Cleveland, the Dawes Act was passed which provided individual ownership of lands and citizenship for such holders. In addition a liberal provision was made for educating Indian youths on reservations, and the appointment of more agents to protect them against the injustice of the white man. This was a generous and humane policy toward the Indians. It may well be called the Indian Bill of Rights. This policy has been followed by succeeding administrations and has proved fairly successful.

Hence, the Albuquerque Indian School is greatly indebted to the Presbyterian missionaries, to the liberal policies of the government, and to the public spiritedness of the citizens of Albuquerque for their donation of the present school site.

CHAPTER I

INCEPTION AS A CONTRACT SCHOOL (1878-1886)

As early as 1878, Major B. M. Thomas, United States Indian agent of the Pueblo agency at Santa Fé, proposed the establishing of a central boarding school.¹ On April 24, 1879, the office of Indian affairs instructed Major Thomas to find a site for such a boarding school on the public domain. On June 19, he reported that a survey would have to be made. By September 25, authority came to incur the expense of the survey as well as to advertise for proposals for the erection of a school building. Shortly thereafter the secretary of the interior reported to the president, November 15, 1879, that

the establishment of boarding schools on the reservations for elementary and industrial instruction has therefore been found necessary, and as far as the means appropriated for educational purposes permit, this system is being introduced.²

On December 13, an offer of twenty acres about three

1. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 885, (1892).

2. 46 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 10-11, (1879).

miles from Albuquerque was made to the government on condition that the school should be a Catholic school under the immediate management of the archbishop of the territory. This was declined because the tract of land offered was too small and because of the restrictions imposed.³ The following February 19, 1880,⁴ Major Thomas reported that he could find no unoccupied land. However, he submitted a proposition that called for the leasing of 160 acres in the northwest corner of the pueblo of San Felipe from their officers for a period of ninety-nine years. This proposition was rejected. Major Thomas then suggested to the people of Albuquerque that if a suitable location near the city were donated to the government for the purpose, an Indian training school would be established. Steps were taken to secure the necessary land. By February 7, 1881, Agent Thomas reported that the citizens of Albuquerque, after nearly completing a purchase of land for the school, had abandoned the enterprise. Major Thomas believed that only two plans remained: first, to purchase a good place on the Rio Grande where water was plentiful for irrigation; or second, to reserve necessary land near Santa Fé where irrigation and farming could never be developed.

Meanwhile, missionaries of the Presbyterian church learned that the Albuquerque board of trade was interested in the establishment of an Indian training school at Albuquerque. On August 5, 1880, the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, superintendent of mission schools in the Territories, for the Presbyterian board of home missions, reported that the Board of Trade of Albuquerque would probably offer a location for a Pueblo boarding school.⁵ Since the secretary of the interior had, a year previous, authorized the establishment of such a school and since the Presbyterian missionaries desired to direct such a school, the Reverend Sheldon Jackson offered to contract with the department to

3. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 885-6, (1892).

4. Perry, Reuben, *Historical Sketch*, p. 1, (1914) unpublished. Found in the office files of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

5. Letter of Reuben Perry to O. H. Lipps, commissioner of Indian Affairs—A partial list of the donors of the school site was: Franz Huning, F. H. Kent, W. C. Hazeltine, Albert Grunsfeld, E. S. Stover, W. B. Childers, A. M. Coddington, Santiago Baca, Mariano Armijo, L. S. Trimble, Perfecto Armijo, and Juan Armijo.

start one in the fall and carry it on until the government was ready to operate it. This offer was accepted, and a few months later a contract boarding school was opened by the Presbyterians in rented buildings.⁶

The previous October, 1880, Franz Huning had offered to donate forty acres about ten miles south of Albuquerque, but this offer was rejected on account of severe winds and sandstorms and the lack of improvements. Next, Mr. Huning proposed to sell for \$4,500 an improved tract about five miles from Albuquerque, but this offer was not accepted because the Indian office had no funds. Then, on March 7, 1881, Major Thomas telegraphed that the town of Albuquerque had offered a donation of land, and asked if he should accept forty or sixty acres on condition that the government put up an Indian training school. The Indian office replied "that the acceptance of the offer did not seem expedient."⁷

In 1882, the principal of the contract school⁸ reported that the citizens of Albuquerque had purchased an excellent tract of land in Bernalillo county for \$4,500 well located, and one-fourth under cultivation, to be donated to the United States government as a site for an Indian training school.⁹ This offer was accepted.

This deed was approved by the attorney general, September 19, 1882, and was recorded in the Bernalillo county, N. Mex., October 13, 1884.¹⁰

An adverse claim to a portion of said land

6. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 885, (1892).

7. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892).

8. Those religious schools that contracted with the government to maintain and educate a specified number of Indian children were called contract schools.

9. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892).

"Beginning at a stake at the northwest corner of the lands formerly owned by John H. McMinn, thence N. 4°53' W. 731.7 feet to a stake at the northwest corner of the land hereby conveyed; thence N. 84°52' E. 2,320.7 feet to a stake at the northeast corner hereby conveyed; thence S. 3°45' E. 720.4 feet to a stake, thence S. 7°30' W. 793 feet to a stake at the southeast corner of the land hereby conveyed; thence N. 85°50' W. 184.6 feet to a stake; thence N. 87°42' W. 615 feet to a stake; thence N. 81°52' W. 203 feet to a stake; thence N. 78°44' W. 224 feet to a stake; thence N. 73°19' W. 176.4 feet to a stake; thence N. 70°14' W. 234 feet to a stake; thence N. 78°38' W. 567.7 feet to a stake at the southwest corner of the land hereby conveyed; thence N. 6°8' W. 234.4 feet to the point or place of beginning containing 65.79 acres, more or less."

10. Two buildings were erected on this tract by the government, and were occupied in August, 1884.

having been set up by one Baldassare, the citizens of Albuquerque presented him with a \$300 organ, when he executed a quit claim deed, December 26, 1884, which was recorded in the Bernalillo County, N. Mex., January 9, 1885. On the 8th of June, 1885, Superintendent Bryan submitted a plat of the land conveyed, with a view of quieting title to a certain road adjacent to and in front of school buildings.¹¹

The location of the present site was in the very heart of the Indian country within easy reach of the Pueblos, Navahos, Apaches, and Utes. The climate was excellent, having mild summers and winters not too severe.

This was fine for the prospective Indian pupils because their new environment would be almost identical with that of their homes; and since the altitude was about 5000 feet, the climate was considered very healthful. The new school was to be located about two and one-half miles northwest of the city of Albuquerque—the metropolis, business, and railroad center of the territory of New Mexico. It had in addition to its many other merits, a picturesque location in the Rio Grande valley, bounded on the west by the craters from five extinct volcanoes and on the east by the beautiful Sandía and Manzano mountains. The present site originally consisted of sixty-six and seventy-nine hundredths acres purchased by the citizens of Albuquerque for \$4,300.¹² The land was purchased in small lots from the native settlers, and the title was taken in the name of Elias Clark who, under date of June 17, 1882, conveyed the tract to the United States by warranty deed.

The school was located one mile north of old Albuquerque, at the village of Duranes, where it remained for over a year. It was first opened January 1, 1881, by the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, D.D., to educate Indian pupils at an annual cost of \$130 per pupil. The school was a boarding and an industrial school for the Pueblos under contract

11. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892.)

12 Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 1 Cf., 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892). Mr. Perry gives sixty-six and seventy-nine-hundredths acres at \$4,300; the House executive document give sixty-five and seventy-nine-hundredths acres (more or less).

with Henry Kendall, D.D., secretary of the board of home missions of the Presbyterian Church, United States of America. The contract was for a maximum attendance of fifty pupils of both sexes.¹³ The average attendance was forty. The school was conducted in a Mexican house which had been built for a residence, and it afforded poor convenience for school purposes. J. S. Shearer was the superintendent in charge.¹⁴

Professor J. S. Shearer resigned in July, 1882, and was relieved on July 31, by R. W. D. Bryan of New York. Major Thomas wrote to the commissioner of Indian affairs at this time that Professor Shearer had been very industrious and successful in advancing the interests of the school, and that he was sorry that a change in management of the school was made necessary, for the school had been managed efficiently and had made fine progress during the year, even though confined to insufficient and unsuitable quarters.¹⁵

During October, 1882, Professor R. W. D. Bryan, his faculty, seventy pupils, and school property were moved from Duranes to the present location where a number of buildings were being erected by the E. F. Halleck Manufacturing Company of Denver, Colorado, under contract with the commissioner of Indian affairs.¹⁶ These school buildings were accepted by the government through the inspection and recommendation of a board composed of Major Pedro Sanchez,¹⁷ Superintendent of Construction Edward Medler,¹⁸ and A. M. Coddington.¹⁹ Their report

13. 47 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 199, (1882).

14. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 1-2, gives attendance as 47; Major Thomas in 47 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 199, (1882), gives attendance as 40.

15. 47 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 190, (1883).

16. The plot of ground was purchased by the citizens of Albuquerque and was located two and one-half miles northwest of the city.

17. *Memoria Sobre la Vida del Presbitero*, Don Antonio José Martínez, by Pedro Sanchez (Santa Fé, 1903) p. 45. Pedro Sanchez was appointed Indian agent by President Arthur and served till the election of President Cleveland.

18. Personal interview with Reuben Perry, June 23, 1934. Edward Medler was an old resident of Albuquerque and was a local contractor. His son, ex-District Judge Edward L. Medler, is now practicing law at Hot Springs, New Mexico.

19. *Ibid.* A. M. Coddington was one of the first citizens of Albuquerque in 1882. He was a resident judge of the city. He was a brother-in-law of B. S. Rodey and an uncle of Pearce C. Rodey, now practicing attorney.

was made about September 1, 1884, and the buildings were accepted soon thereafter.²⁰ The new school building could accommodate 150 children. Even at this early date the buildings were insufficient, for the superintendent found it necessary to erect some other buildings with funds furnished by charitable people in the East through the agency of the Presbyterian church.²¹ Hon. H. M. Teller, secretary of the interior, in a letter to the president of the United States in 1884 said:

The flourishing Albuquerque school has moved into new quarters after three years of waiting in rented buildings, supplemented by temporary makeshift additions, put up one after the other as the pupils crowded in. This building was intended for 158 pupils, and the superintendent of the school is asking for the immediate erection of another building to house the 50 additional pupils who will ask for admittance this fall, and the 100 others who can easily be obtained. The \$40,000 appropriated this year for buildings will be needed for the Crow, Devil's Lake, Wichita, Quinaielt, and Fort Peck buildings, and repairs and additions at other points, and Albuquerque must wait another year, as must also nine other places where there are either no buildings at all or else buildings which need immediate enlargement.²²

The school prospered greatly under the management of Superintendent Bryan, who remained in charge until October 2, 1886. On February 23, 1884, a congressional committee composed of Hon. Clinton B. Fisk, chairman, E. Whittlesey, and Albert K. Smiley visited the Indian school under the care of the Presbyterian home mission board. The committee reported to the secretary of the interior that Mr. R. W. D. Bryan was the principal of the school, and besides a matron and a cook, he had three assistant teachers; namely: Miss Tibbles who taught arithmetic, her most advanced class studying decimals; Miss Wood, who taught geography, reading, and spelling; and Miss Butler,

20. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 1-2, (1914).

21. 48 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 693, (1884).

22. *Ibid.*, p. 5. Cf. Appendix, p. 132.

the primary teacher, who taught chiefly by object lessons. Chairman Fisk further stated,

We heard classes in all the departments. The teaching is entirely in English and is well done. Discipline in the schoolroom is good, and most of the scholars appear bright and interested in their studies. The health of the children is good except that some are troubled with sore eyes, probably caused by scrofula. The buildings are poor, but the dormitories are clean and well ventilated. The number of pupils now is one hundred and thirty-two. We saw them at dinner, which consisted of soup, mutton, and bread. After dinner we went to the ground given by the citizens of Albuquerque for new school buildings to be erected by the government, with room for one hundred fifty scholars. With the help of Mr. Bryan and the agent of the contractor we measured and staked out the sites for boarding house and school house. When these are completed, shops should at once be added for industrial instruction, which the Pueblo Indians need above all things.²³

Superintendent Bryan believed in securing the Indian children who lived near the boarding school. He opposed sending children long distances from their homes. His views were best expressed in the annual report²⁴ of 1885, in which he stated:

The ultimate object of the Indian schools is, as I understand, not so much the improvement of individuals as the gradual uplifting of the race. To this end it is important to guard against the formation of a wide gulf between parent and child, and to prevent the child from acquiring notions inconsistent with proper filial respect and duty. I am, therefore, anxious to have local and neighborhood day schools maintained; to have boarding schools multiplied within easy reach of their homes, so that the parents may often visit their children, and thus grow accustomed to their improvement, and so that the children may spend each year a long vacation at their homes. I would

23. 48 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Dec. 1, pt. 5, II, 693, (1884).

24. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 481-2, (1885).

recommend that at this school, therefore, the term consist of nine months, giving the children three months at their homes. The schools at the east and far from the children's homes should be used as normal schools, to prepare those who have shown ability and aptitude at the local boarding schools to be teachers and leaders of their people.

It was under Superintendent Bryan that industrial education was introduced into the school. Because of this training, the boys soon made the buildings habitable, making many tables and other articles of furniture. Mr. Bryan suggested that special contracts be entered into for the maintenance of an industrial department allowing ten dollars per pupil per annum to be given for each trade established; to which at least one instructor should devote his whole time.²⁵ Carrying out the idea of industrial instruction, the boys and girls were employed in domestic work, especially in the dining-room and laundry. In addition the girls were taught sewing, cooking, and the care of the sick. Also a farm was operated during the year and forty acres were cultivated. The boys worked hard, especially the Apache boys, who previous to entering school regarded work as disgraceful. The painting instructor with a corps of apprentices painted, grained, and decorated in an artistic workmanlike manner several large houses. The stone cutters, who were selected from the pueblo upon whose land the stone was quarried, worked out door and window sills with care and accuracy. Mention should be made of the carpenter boys who did creditable work throughout the school term.²⁶

According to a letter written by the Presbyterian home mission board to the board of Indian commissioners in 1885, the school needed to be enlarged because it was the central point at which the Pueblos and neighboring tribes might gather. The school was very popular with the Indians. If sufficiently large buildings were erected, almost any number

25. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 481, (1885).

26. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 481, (1885).

of pupils could be secured. It was believed that by 1886, the enrollment would reach 200.²⁷

The faculty of 1885 consisted of R. W. D. Bryan, superintendent; the Misses Tibbles, Wood, Patten, and Butler, teachers; Mrs. Bryan and Miss Wilkins, matrons; Mr. McKenzie, instructor in carpentering; Mr. Loveland in painting; Mrs. Loveland and Mrs. Sadler in sewing; and Mr. and Mrs. Henderson in cooking and care of the tables. They were a courageous band of workers, and the work done by them as a whole was very encouraging.²⁸

The average attendance during the year was 156. A noted event was the coming to the school of sixty Apaches. A few of the older pupils ran away, but the larger number remained, and many of them made rapid progress, especially in manual labor. However, the largest number came from ten of the nineteen pueblos. The Lagunas, the most advanced pueblo, sent thirty-two.²⁹

Certainly the school under the direction of Mr. Bryan prospered and was successful, for Major Pedro Sánchez, Indian agent, in writing to the commissioner of Indian affairs, said:

The boys and girls that return from the Carlisle school, as well as those who attend the Albuquerque school, are the pride of every man that appreciates education and desires the welfare of these Indians; but when they return home they have to join hands with the agent, and thus deal with the gross ignorance so deeply rooted in their people.³⁰

And Mr. Dolores Romero, Indian agent at Isleta, in a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs wrote:

I should recommend that more children be sent to Carlisle, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe, because

27. *Ibid.*, p. 801.

28. *Ibid.*

29. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 480, (1885). The Albuquerque Indian Boarding School was classed with reservation boarding schools, although it was not on a reservation because the school was originally intended for the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.

30. 48 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 183, (1884). Major Sánchez of the Pueblo Indian Agency at Santa Fé recommended in August, 1884, a day school in every pueblo.

the children coming from these schools are a pride to civilization, and they are also an inducement to other children to attend more regularly, and would apply themselves to learn the first rudiments of learning in the primaries in order to go to the higher schools.³¹

Although Mr. Bryan's work terminated in 1886, he continued to have a very strong personal interest in the Indians and the Indian school. He made his home in Albuquerque where he became a leading attorney and a prominent citizen. In the spring of 1912, shortly before his death, he delivered an able and sincere address to the graduates of the Indian school. After reading this address in the *Albuquerque Evening Herald*, Commissioner Valentine wrote to Superintendent Perry, "I congratulate you on the fact that men of this type are interested in the Albuquerque Indian School."³² It is certain that Superintendent Bryan laid a firm foundation for the continuance of the school: by drawing pupils from the pueblos and other nearby tribes; and, by introducing industrial training into the school. Fortunately, indeed, was the Albuquerque school to be piloted by a man as able as Mr. Bryan through the critical stages of its infancy from 1881-1886. His vision made later progress possible.

31. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 384, (1885).

32. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 4-5, (1914).

CHAPTER II

FIRST PERIOD OF GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT (1886-1897)

On October 2, 1886, the management of the Indian School was entirely transferred to the United States government¹ and P. F. Burke of New York entered on duty as superintendent.² He found that the school had accommodations for 200 pupils and was intended especially for the Pueblos and Mescalero Apaches. Since the government had made no arrangement to purchase the property claimed by the Presbyterian board he found that furniture and other interior appliances had been removed, leaving the buildings destitute of everything.³ This was a rather bad situation, but could be remedied more easily than many other problems arising during his superintendency.

On August 31, 1887, he submitted the first *Annual Report*⁴ under government management for the fiscal year ending June 30. According to this report, the Pueblo Indians were not favorably inclined toward educating their children, and it was with much difficulty and hard work that they were enrolled.⁵ As early as 1883 boarding schools for Indians were considered by the commissioner of Indian affairs, greatly superior to day schools,⁶ and the opening of the school at Albuquerque was expected to accomplish the greatest good and to be the most practical way of educating them;⁷ whereas in the day schools the language and habits of the savage parents were kept alive in the minds of their

1. Ellwood P. Cubberly, *State School Administration*, p. 110. "In 1876 a new policy was adopted, viz., that of providing for the education of the Indians under strictly governmental auspices, and with this change in policy the real development of Indian education began." Evidently this was not a rigid policy, since the commissioner of Indian Affairs did not adhere to it in all cases.

2. 49 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 154, (1886).

3. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).

4. These reports may be subjective but are the best and most authentic material on the Albuquerque Indian School since supervisors would note any discrepancies.

5. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 545, (1892). According to a legend of many tribes, the Pueblo Indians chose ignorance and poverty in this world, but happiness in the next. This idea was ingrained in the Pueblo mind, constituting a basis of dogged resistance to efforts in educating their offspring; and when in some cases children were forcibly sent to school, on their return home, parents did all they could to destroy what they had learned.

6. 47 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 199, (1882).

7. 47 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 190, (1883).

children.⁸ Naturally, the Pueblo parents were in a state of doubt and disbelief concerning the value of educating their children away from parental influence. The chief opposition came from the Pueblos at Santo Domingo and Jémez. These were both large groups, but neither sent children to the Albuquerque Indian school.⁹ Even the northern Pueblos objected because they were distrustful of all efforts made in their behalf and clung obstinately to traditions and original systems of law. To the Pueblo villagers the day schools were all that could be desired, and they could not understand why the boarding schools were considered better. They, therefore, used the day schools as an excuse for retaining their children.¹⁰ However, their attitude became more friendly after the arrival, in 1887, of Superintendent Riley and Agent Williams among them, for they sent 130 pupils soon thereafter to the school.¹¹ Opposition came also from the Ute squaws who held superstitious beliefs that the attendance of their children at the school two years previously was the cause of the death of about one-half of those in attendance. No doubt the cause of this great loss of lives was due to the diseased condition of an hereditary nature in the children.¹²

At this time five distinct tribes were represented in the Indian school. Of the pueblos San Felipe sent thirty-nine,¹³ Isleta thirty-six, Laguna eighteen, Santa Ana ten, Zia eight, Ácoma eight, Cochiti five, Sandia five; of the other tribes the Navaho sent eight from Cañoncito Cajo, the Mescalero Apache one, the Pápago seven, and the Pima twenty-three, making a total of 129 Pueblos and thirty-nine from other tribes. Superintendent Burke gave 170 as the maximum attendance for 1887.¹⁴

Teaching in most cases was rather poor. There was no uniformity in the course of study nor in the textbooks

8. 49 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 100, (1886).

9. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).

10. 50 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 268, (1888).

11. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).

12. 49 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 267, (1886).

13. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 768-9.

used.¹⁵ The superintendent was allowed to select the textbooks and pursue the course of study that he liked best. The results varied widely within the school, and often a lack of purpose in ordering textbooks retarded progress. Nor was this all. Literary progress failed to keep pace with industrial, because the teaching force was inadequate; two teachers had to instruct and deal with 130 children of all ages and advancement. Besides this, the teachers lacked sufficient education to instruct the children in the rudiments of English.¹⁶ No test was given teachers for capacity, intelligence, or character, and neither was there an assurance of a reward for merit,¹⁷ and Superintendent Burke recommended that teachers in government schools be placed under civil service regulations to promote efficiency.

The fiscal year, 1888-1889, showed an enrollment of 219 and an average attendance of 172. Evidently the Pueblos were becoming more favorable toward education. At the beginning of the school term manual art instruction was reintroduced and was of great practical value to the pupils.

The next few years were critical ones for the school; the resignation of P. F. Burke May 24, 1889, was followed by frequent changes in superintendents. Many activities of the school were curtailed because there could be no constructive policy over a period of years; however, progress was made in the increased enrollment and in the extension of industrial work.

On May 25, 1889, William B. Creager was appointed superintendent, and his first *Annual Report* (1890-1891), was entitled "Report of Fisk Institute, Albuquerque, New Mexico."¹⁸ In this report the account given of progress in the improvement of buildings and grounds was greatly overdrawn. He says

that greater advancement has been made in all the industrial departments, in the improvement to

15. 50 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 730, (1888).

16. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 333, (1887).

17. 50 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 270-1, (1888).

18. *Ibid.*, p. 571. Possibly in honor of Clinton B. Fisk, chairman of the congressional committee.

the buildings and grounds, in the additional comforts, and facilities for the education of Indian youth this year than in all previous years combined.¹⁹

The trades taught were: harness making, shoe making, cooking and baking, sewing, and laundry work.²⁰ The academic department²¹ was under Mrs. D. S. Keck assisted by five women teachers. Since the new academic building had not been completed, only three rooms were used; other necessary rooms were fitted up elsewhere until the building was dedicated on May 30, 1892. The school was graded at the beginning of the year, and work was outlined for each grade. The highest grade had an enrollment of fifty, the intermediate fifty-eight, the second primary fifty-nine, and the first primary 147, making a total of 314.²²

Daniel Dorchester, U. S. superintendent of Indian schools, maintained that there were two chief obstacles that hindered Pueblo progress, first, their adherence to ancient ideas and usages; and second, their dark religious fetichism.²³ Even Commissioner T. J. Morgan recognized these problems; he wrote that it was almost impossible to secure attendance of the Pueblo children since "there has been a persistent, systematic effort to prevent the people from patronizing these schools, and recently some of the patrons have been induced by misrepresentations to appeal to the courts to have their children removed from Albuquerque by a writ of habeas corpus."²⁴

Commissioner Morgan requested that the Rt. Rev. P. L. Chapelle, coadjutor bishop of Santa Fé, use his influence to return the Isleta Indian children that had been removed by their parents because of the activity of the Catholic priest at Isleta. But Mr. O. N. Marron, Catholic attorney of Albuquerque, appealed to the courts to restore to the Pueblo parents their children, and Commissioner T. J. Morgan, not

19. *Ibid.*

20. 53 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 428, (1893).

21. The literary department in the Albuquerque Indian School has always been spoken of as the academic department.

22. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 679, (1892).

23. *Ibid.*, p. 545.

24. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 43-44, (1892).

caring to contest the matter in the courts, allowed the children to be taken.²⁵

Superintendent Creager reported that the Indian children learned rapidly, but they were difficult to enroll because of the opposition of their parents. A recommendation was made by the commissioner of Indian affairs to congress to appropriate money for meals for visiting parents of the children in order to keep them friendly at enrollment time.²⁶ Teachers were not always fitted for their tasks; such a position needed men and women of tact, discretion, patience, sympathy, and loyalty in more than an average degree.²⁷ Apathy among the citizens of Albuquerque was noticeable at first, but upon being convinced that the school was an asset, they became interested and agitated for good roads to the school until the county commissioners built them.²⁸

In dealing with Pueblo parents, Superintendent Creager aroused the opposition of the Reverend A. Jouvenceau, a priest among the Pueblos near Santa Fé. He instigated an investigation of Mr. Creager, and advised the Indian parents against sending their children to the Albuquerque school. The Indian office had considerable correspondence with Archbishop Salpointe on the subject, and hoped that Father Jouvenceau might be ordered to stop his interference with Pueblo parents. This was not the end of this unfortunate affair since two teachers, Miss Walter and Mrs. Gause, also presented charges against Superintendent Creager to R. V. Belt, acting commissioner. These charges were dismissed; the teachers had no proof to substantiate them and later pleaded earnestly that no investigation be made. However, Acting Commissioner Belt did write two letters to the commissioner on the subject. One related to the statements presented; the other advised that upon close observation of the conduct and management of the school and its personnel, an investigation was unnecessary. This

25. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

26. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 431, (1892).

27. 53 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 428, (1893).

28. 52 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 575, (1891).

29. Letter of Mr. R. V. Belt, acting commissioner, to William B. Creager, October 2, 1891. Found in the Albuquerque Indian School files, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

view was changed upon Mr. Belt's return to the Indian office when the commissioner showed him a letter from Miss Lillian Carr whose statements were in the form of cumulative evidence against Mr. Creager. Mr. Belt now suggested an investigation. This was not acted upon by the commissioner for his faith in Mr. Creager remained unshaken. Unknown to either of the above gentlemen, Inspector Gardener had taken matters into his own hands and had investigated the affair. This report tended to exonerate Superintendent Creager from the charges made, but left the impression that his retention would seriously embarrass the progress of the school in view of the publicity given the scandal. Dr. Dorchester was then sent to make further investigation. He exonerated Mr. Creager from the charges made,³⁰ but Superintendent Creager gave up his position March 31, 1894.

The school was next placed in charge of John Lane, special United States Indian agent, from April to June 15, 1894. During this brief time he tried to keep the standard high. The big problem as he saw it was the lack of drainage.³¹ On June 16, F. F. Avery was appointed to the position, but served only until August 7, 1894. He in turn was succeeded by William N. Moss, supervisor, who had charge of the school from August 8, to September 30; and he was relieved October 1, 1894, by John J. McKoin, who was to hold the position until April 9, 1896.

Despite the fact that such frequent changes were made in the superintendency, the school, during this time enrolled 283 pupils. Regular and irregular employees numbered fifty-eight,³² the school had a capacity of 300, and an average attendance of 256 at a per capita cost of \$175. Work was fine in the kitchen, bakery, harness shop, and dress-making department; the farm work was fair. Fourteen boys had work at the school while twelve hired out to local farmers. Dormitories were kept clean and fresh, and the

30. *Ibid.*

31. 53 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 1036, (1894).

32. *Ibid.*

conduct at the tables and in marching to and from the dining room was good.

Mr. McKoin reported that the year 1895-1896 was marked by dissensions among the employees, yet this friction did not keep the results of the work that year from being fairly satisfactory, both from a literary and an industrial point of view.³³ Reclaiming the school farm was slow discouraging work because of poor drainage and of the difficulty in securing water for irrigation. Its alkali condition was partially overcome by planting the land to alfalfa.³⁴ Another problem vexatious to the superintendent was the sewerage system. The land and sewerage problems were to harass succeeding superintendents.

Special U. S. Indian Agent M. B. Shelby relieved Mr. McKoin on April 10, 1896, and served until April 27, when S. M. McCowan arrived as the new superintendent at a salary of \$1,500 per annum. In his report for 1896-97 Mr. McCowan stated that the frequent changes in employees and superintendents had been very detrimental, since 1894, yet this year showed some progress. The literary department was much better than in previous years, due possibly to the principal who was one of the few thoroughly competent instructors in the service.³⁵ Fair progress was made in the industrial departments. In the sewing room pupils were taught to draft, cut, and fit garments. Excellent work was done in the carpenter shop. All repairs were made by these boys. They kalsomined the entire plant, finished a nice bath house, and white washed the board fences. So energetic were they that all the paint was used up before the expiration of the school term. Satisfactory work was done in the laundry, bakery, and kitchen. Recommendations for the school included a sewerage system, since the one in use was in a deplorable condition and a constant menace to good health. Mr. McCowan maintained that dollars should not count when the lives and health of children and employees were endangered. Other recommendations in-

33. *Ibid.*, p. 1036.

34. 54 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 381, (1896).

35. 55 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 382, (1897).

cluded an electric lighting system, a large dining room and kitchen, and a guardhouse for unruly boys.

This period, 1886-1897, and the one from 1897-1908³⁶ were critical for the school, for frequent changes in superintendents tended to reduce the efficiency of the school by shortening constructive plans that should have been executed over a period of years. The above changes may have been due to many causes: for instance low salaries, incompatibility in dealing with the Indian office, investigations of such a nature as to interfere with the work of the school, promotions within the Indian service, and victims of the political spoils system.

A study of the changes made under the democratic regime from 1886-1897 indicates that politics³⁷ was possibly the major cause, since during the two terms of President Grover Cleveland (1885-1889; 1893-1897) and the intervening Harrison term (1889-1893), the school at Albuquerque was directed by three superintendents: Burke, Creager, and McCowan. From October 1886 to June 1897, a period of not quite eleven years, five other men held the office for brief transitional periods of a few weeks each; but the three named were chiefly responsible for the course of events and for any development that may be credited to these years.

36. The second period under government management from 1897-1908 will be treated in Chapter III.

37. An investigation by the Indian office of Supt. Creager was perhaps the cause of his withdrawal from the school.

CHAPTER III

RETURN OF REPUBLICAN CONTROL (1897-1908)

As might have been expected after the republican party returned to the control of national affairs, there was a new appointment to the office of superintendent at Albuquerque, and there were others at about the same three-year interval. Between June, 1897, and February 1908, we find the superintendencies of four men: E. A. Allen, R. P. Collins, J. K. Allen, and B. B. Custer. Several other names appear, but, as in the preceding period, they were merely transitional.

The many changes from 1886-1908 indicate that they were due in large measure to the turn given the political situation, and since other governmental department administrators were admittedly removed because of their opposing political views, it is only reasonable to suppose that superintendents under the interior department were no exception. Though politics was perhaps the major issue, other causes sometimes operated.¹

Hence on June 6, 1897, Edgar A. Allen succeeded S. M. McCowan as superintendent, and held this position for nearly three years until March 31, 1900. Mr. Allen's first year as an administrator was a trying one. In his report to the commissioner of Indian affairs he wrote that:

Frequent changes of superintendents and employees have had the effect of unsettling the institution and very materially hindering its progress. The last change took away not only the superintendent and the matron, but also, the principal teacher, senior teacher,² disciplinarian, assistant disciplinarian, chief cook, shoemaker, and band teacher.

Besides these transfers most of the older and better trained pupils were taken from us, leaving a new superintendent and a large proportion of

1. Burton B. Custer resigned to accept a position as superintendent of the warehouse in the Indian department at St. Louis, and Mr. Edgar A. Allen resigned for reasons unknown to the writer.

2. Teachers enter the Indian service according to such classification as primary, junior, or senior teacher.

new employees, and but few advanced pupils with which to conduct affairs.³

Mr. Allen reported that no class had yet graduated because the children remained only from one to five years, and very little could be accomplished in so short a time. Furthermore, it was almost impossible to secure children from the reservations and pueblos because counter influences were at work to keep them away.⁴ For the next fiscal year, he recommended a new sewerage system, a new building for the carpenter shop, and one for shops and laundry costing \$3,500.⁵

In his *Annual Report* for 1898, Mr. Allen was not entirely satisfied with the progress made, for two reasons: first, the shops were very poorly housed; and second, there had never been a course on instruction pursued by which the students could be systematically trained. Even with this adverse report, progress had been made. New ring baths had been installed; electric lights added, a new steel tower built; a new well dug; an appropriation made for a sewerage system;⁶ and a number of blue ribbons awarded for the excellency of the Indian school exhibit at the territorial fair.⁷

In the *Annual Report*, 1899, Mr. Allen submitted as his most outstanding problem the reclaiming of the school farm. He stated that

The task of reclaiming the school farm is a serious one. Old residents state that the land had

3. 55 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIII, 360-1, (1897). Cf., Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 5, (1914). Superintendent S. M. McCowan and his corps of employees were transferred to the Indian school at Phoenix, Arizona.

4. 55 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIII, 197, (1897). Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 5, (1914). "Most of the pupils were mixed Mexican and Indians, for whom the school was not established." The pueblo of Santa Clara was an exception. Their friendliness toward the school was due almost wholly to the influence of the lieutenant governor who was educated at the Albuquerque school, and to a former teacher who had married an Indian woman of the village. Cf., 55 Cong., sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XV, 339, (1898). In most cases the downpull of the tribe was greater than the uplift of the returned student.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 9. "The system was installed by Superintendent Allen during the fiscal year, 1900, at a cost of \$11,000. This was a great improvement and convenience to the school."

7. 55 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XV, 380, (1898).

been used for the manufacture of adobe brick since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, until the citizens conceived the idea of presenting it to the government. No one ever had the temerity to attempt to cultivate it. Foot by foot, however, it is at great expense and labor being improved, and while this can never excel as an agricultural school, the land may in time be made to produce fairly well. The crop of alfalfa raised this year is much the best that has been produced, and the garden, while not quite so good as last year, would have been better had the spring not been so unfavorable.⁸

Mr. Allen recommended for the ensuing year an appropriation for a heating plant, a manual training building, and a domestic science building. At this time the capacity of the school was 300; the actual enrollment 321 with an average of 304 for a period of ten months. There were twenty-six employees. The per capita was \$167, with a total expenditure of \$42,907.03.⁹ Mr. Allen resigned March 31, 1900, to be succeeded by M. F. Holland, supervisor, who served from April 1 to May 26.

On May 27 Ralph P. Collins was appointed superintendent at a salary of \$1,700 per annum.

Superintendent Collins wrote that when he took charge the greater portion of the pupils enrolled were Navahoes, Pueblos, and Apaches. According to the new administration, industrial training was more important than academic or fine arts because such training enabled the future adult Indian an opportunity to earn money. Mr. Collins in his *Annual Report* wrote the Indian commissioner that "most time is given over to practical and useful work. Only enough attention is given to music and so-called accomplishments to serve as a diversion."¹⁰

A charge was made that most of the children enrolled were Mexicans, but the superintendent insisted that all could prove their Indian blood.¹¹

8. 56 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XVIII, 409; (1899).

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 552-3.

10. 56 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XXVII, 494, (1900).

11. It is possible that a large per cent of the children were Mexicans since the majority of Indian parents were indifferent to educating their children.

average daily attendance of 315. The subsistence raised by the school was valued at \$789.70. The per capita cost

At this time the Isleta children were most difficult of all to obtain. Mr. Collins reported a total enrollment of 335 with an average attendance of 317.61. This enrollment was greater than the capacity of the building. The school farm had increased in fertility over previous years. Recommendations for 1900 were general rather than specific.

During the next few years, owing to the enrollment of the larger number of Mexican children and the inaccessibility of the school from the city of Albuquerque, the Department and the Indian Office seemed to lose interest in the institution and were inclined to abolish it.¹²

Mr. Collins used the outing system,¹³ for he permitted the oldest boys to work in the beet fields and upon the railroads in the territory. He reported that a course of study was prepared for the industrial department. It must not have been broad enough in scope since Estelle Reel, superintendent of Indian schools, desired better provision for the teaching of industries, especially blacksmithing.¹⁴ Coöperation among the employees was excellent; the social life was both pleasant and agreeable. There were thirty-four employees caring for an enrollment of 336 with an was \$135.81 with a total cost to the government of \$42,781.41.¹⁵

For the fiscal year, 1901-1902, Superintendent Collins made a determined effort to enroll only full-blood unprogressive Indians. Twenty Navahos were enrolled when the work was checked by a serious epidemic of diphtheria. The results for this year were unsatisfactory since every department was affected by the epidemic. There were 150 cases, but no deaths. This was a great record for the efficiency of the medical treatment.¹⁶

12. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 9, (1914).

13. The outing system (first used in the Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pa.—the system of hiring out the Indian children to responsible white people) was adopted by most boarding schools.

14. 57 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. 5, pt. 1, XXIII, 414, (1902).

15. 57 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XXIII, 676-7, (1902).

16. 57 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 254, (1903).

A shop, a warehouse, and a pumping plant were built at a cost of \$6,000.¹⁷ The total sum expended by the government for the year was \$57,600¹⁸ for an enrollment of 313.

Twenty-five boys were listed on the outing system to work in the beet fields of Colorado. These boys did well financially.¹⁹

Athletics became important at this time. The boys played some first-class games of baseball and football, while the girls met and defeated every basketball team of any note in the Territory of New Mexico.²⁰

The services of Mr. Collins ended March 17, 1903, and the Indian office sent O. A. Wright, supervisor, on the eighteenth, to take charge; he remained until June 30. On the following day James K. Allen, a virile and able superintendent, assumed charge.

His arrival heralded a new life for the school. He stopped its threatened abolishment by enlisting the support of the commercial club and the citizens of Albuquerque in donating funds for the purchase of land to open a roadway from the school to Fourth street, and by persuading the Indian office to purchase land immediately east and west of the plant so that the school might have easy access to this road.²¹ The crisis had been passed, a new building program was launched.

In his *Annual Report* for 1902-1903, Mr. Allen reviewed the school situation as he had found it. The plant consisted of about thirty buildings. Some were old and ill-arranged. The kitchen and dining room needed to be condemned and a new structure built; the laundry, built in 1885 and costing \$900, was a cheap affair in the beginning. This building needed to be replaced by a newer and better equipped structure. Mr. Allen insisted that the most needed building had as yet found no place on the campus—a manual training building with sufficient floor space to care for

17. *Ibid.*, p. 434.

18. 57 Cong., 1 sess. Sen. Ex. Doc. 449, V. XXXII, p. 122, (1902).

19. Cf. reference 15, *supra*.

20. 57 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 254-5, (1903).

21. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 9, (1914).

all boys enrolled in the industrial department. Then, too, the water system was not complete, for the wells were probably contaminated with surface water. New wells could be sunk at a cost not exceeding \$500. The heating plant was not up-to-date, since coal and wood stoves were used. The old system should be replaced by the cheaper and cleaner steam heat. The electric lighting system was the only one that was satisfactory. The Albuquerque Gas, Electric Light, and Power Company furnished electricity at a cost of \$1,200 per annum.²²

About one-third of the pupils having Mexican blood were discharged by June 30.²³ Only those of Mexican descent whose parents could prove Indian blood remained.²⁴ This discharge marked the second major crisis averted, for this determination of Mr. Allen's to fill the school with pure blood Pueblo and Navaho pupils reawakened the Indian office to a new sense of duty to the school that has continued to the present time.

The fiscal year, 1902-1903, ended with the school having a capacity of 300, an enrollment of 380, and an average daily attendance of 286,²⁵ and an employee force of thirty-one,²⁶ seven of whom were Indian. The superintendent received a salary of \$1,700 a year, the physician \$1,100, the chief clerk \$1,000, and teachers' salaries ranged from \$540 to \$740.²⁷

Mr. Allen turned next to the farm problem. The fiscal year, 1903-1904, was marked by his efforts to remedy the bad condition of the alkali soil. He believed that an abundance of water and ample drainage at considerable cost would reclaim the farm. Not only was this undertaken

22. 58 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 217, (1904).

23. 58 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 217, (1904).

24. A printed form, "Application for Enrollment," was used to record the name, age, parentage, and previous schooling of the child; the consent of parent or guardian for not less than three years; a physician's certificate of health; and an endorsement by an agent or superintendent.

25. *Annual Report*, p. 5 (1904). The low average attendance was possibly due to the fact that 216 Mexican pupils were discharged during the year and their places eventually filled from the Pueblo and Navaho tribes.

26. From an old copy found in the office files of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

27. 58 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 655, (1905).

but a recommendation was sent to the Indian office to purchase an additional thirty acres for vegetables and alfalfa, and to appoint a trained farmer who had made a scientific study of the management of alkali and adobe soils at a salary high enough to attract him.²⁸ The value of the produce raised during this year amounted to \$1,197.11, costing \$843.53 which left a net profit of \$353.58, or an average of \$23.53 an acre for the fifteen acres under cultivation.²⁹

Mr. Allen recommended a gasoline or an electric pumping plant for irrigation to cost about \$7000. It was impracticable to obtain water from the river for irrigating because the water was not obtainable and the cost of maintaining ditches from the river was prohibitive.³⁰

During the year the housing problem became acute. A recommendation was made and an appropriation received for a new dining room and kitchen, a new laundry, and a new dormitory for boys.³¹

Public sentiment among the Navahos had become favorable to the school. So many Navaho children came that the total enrollment reached 348 with an average daily attendance at the close of the fiscal year, 1904, of 336. Of this number 313 were full blood. Progress in school was fair. About sixty per cent of the students were unable to speak or understand English. With the exception of a small class of older pupils the entire school was primary; however, a fine quality of workmanship was shown in the handicrafts.³² Pottery work among the Pueblo girls was very good. William J. Oliver was sent to escort Indians

28. *Annual Report*, p. 10, (1904).

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Albuquerque Indian*, I, No. 4, p. 16, September (1905). Charles Goshen, a full blood Paiute Indian of the Walker River Reservation, Nevada, showed Indian patience by making an old time rabbit net 900 feet long, three feet wide, and made somewhat like a fish-net with about two and one-fourth inch meshes. A piece of milkweed, which grows about two and one-half feet tall, was used. Only the outer cover could be woven, and this was separated by hand. Two slender pieces were moistened and twisted by hand until it was slightly larger than a fishing line, but strong enough to support 100 pounds. About 16,000 feet of thread, four tons of weed to furnish enough fiber, and twelve months of labor including Sundays were required to complete the net.

with pottery to the World's Fair at St. Louis. Many of the girls who had been taught weaving were so anxious to weave blankets that they frequently used the legs of an ordinary chair for a loom and it was "no unusual occurrence in passing through the dormitory to find a number of chairs used as looms on which are unfinished blankets."³³

Sanitary conditions of the plant were good. There was a large number of cases of diphtheria, but in a rather mild form. At this time Dr. Edwin L. Jones of Aguas Calientes, Mexico, was appointed under civil service rules as physician to the school at a salary of \$1,000 a year.³⁴

Congress in 1904 appropriated \$50,100 for support and education of the Indian pupils, for the purchase of additional land, for the construction and furnishing of new buildings, for repair and equipment of present buildings, and for the improvement of the grounds.³⁵ An additional \$3,500 was appropriated for improvements to the water supply.

The year was a successful one, and Mr. Allen was partially rewarded by an increase in salary of \$100 a year.

In his *Annual Report*, 1904-1905, Mr. Allen wrote that the industrial work accomplished was very gratifying. Two large adobe buildings were constructed requiring several thousand adobe bricks which were made and laid by the Indian boys. So much progress was made in the blacksmith and carpenter shops that Mr. Allen proposed to add cabinet making the next year.³⁶ A part of the superintendent's huge building program was completed at this time: An adobe blacksmith shop, an adobe carpenter shop, a barn and several storerooms enlarged and remodeled, a new cow barn with cement floor, a school warehouse moved to the new site, a cold storage building, the old office building moved to the new site and turned into a mess hall and quarters for employees, and the building of fences around barnyards and corrals. Buildings under structure were:

33. 58 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 404, (1905).

34. Letter of A. B. Tanner, acting commissioner, to James K. Allen, March 2, 1904.

35. 58 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 404, (1905).

36. 59 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 262, (1906).

a laundry, a kitchen and mess hall, and a small boys' dormitory for housing 100 boys.³⁷

Contracts had been made for securing additional land on the south and on the east sides of the school grounds in order to extend the lawns around the plant.

Literary work was good even though many pupils were fresh from reservations. Mr. Allen proposed to purchase a printing press and have the children publish monthly a small school paper, not to make printers of the children but to benefit them in acquiring spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation.³⁸

Another important phase of school work that was developed to its greatest extent as far as local conditions permitted was the outing system. At various times during the year there were sixty-six boys and eight girls outing. Fifty-two boys were sent to the beet fields at Rocky Ford, Colorado, while the remainder worked on the railroad or for local farmers. The girls worked as domestics. The total net earnings for these children was \$2,350.³⁹

By this time, the Pueblos were becoming more friendly toward the school. The total enrollment had reached the 357 mark with an average daily attendance of 340. There were 325 full blood and only thirty-two of mixed blood. The Pueblos sent 219, the Navahos 127, the Apaches eight, and the Papago, Shawnee, and Wyandotte one each. Most of the pupils were desirable, showing little discontent during the entire year.⁴⁰

Such a dynamic personality as Mr. Allen could not hope to carry out all of his major policies without opposition. His enemies pursued him relentlessly during the year 1905; as late as March 18, 1906, he had written to F. E. Roberson, Tohatchi, New Mexico, that he was still on the carpet and that a long strenuous hounding had been following him since the first of the year, but he felt that it was about closed. Evidently his enemies were unable to secure

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 261. For outing contract see appendix.

40. *Annual Report*, p. 7, (1905). On file in the office of the superintendent of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

his removal because he remained in charge until his death on May 27, 1906.

Under his direction the industrial department had become very efficient in developing the various trades. He had saved the school from being abolished by discharging the Mexican pupils, and by securing a road to Fourth Street. He had worked persistently to overcome the alkali condition of the soil, and had developed the outing system as far as local conditions would permit. His death was a great loss to the school.

Mrs. Allen took his place until the arrival of Supervisor Charles H. Dickson in June, who remained in charge until July 5, when he was relieved by the appointment of Burton B. Custer to the superintendency.

The *Annual Report* for 1905-1906 was rather brief. The warehouse had been destroyed by fire during the year, causing considerable loss and great inconvenience, and a contract had been awarded for a new warehouse. Many of the projects begun by Mr. Allen were completed: the dormitory, dining hall, office, two electric pumps (one for irrigation, the other for domestic purposes), a small light plant, and a new steam boiler for the power house.

The total value of the school farm and equipment amounted to \$12,323.67. The land alone was appraised at \$6,600.⁴¹

The outing system had been carried on to quite an extent since 100 boys and fourteen girls were outing during the year. The boys were under the supervision of the outing agent, Charles Dagenett, who sent them to work in the beet fields of Colorado and on the railroad. The girls worked in private families. The total amount of their earnings was \$10,671.13.⁴²

Superintendent Custer reported that very little had been done on the school farm for the fiscal year, 1906-1907, because the centrifugal pumps were not installed until late spring. However, the building program had moved forward. Perhaps the best warehouse in the service had just been

41. *Annual Report*, p. 13, (1906).

42. *Ibid.*

completed (a two-story brick building with an elevator) meeting every requirement. Many new sidewalks had been built. An entire new water system had been installed.⁴³ All installation work was done by the school. Work had just begun on a mess hall and kitchen and a small boys' building. A recommendation was made for a dormitory to be erected in 1908 for the large boys. Mr. Custer spent considerable time overseeing the construction work. He had forty men working on the grounds⁴⁴ besides the carpenter boys.

Except for an increased building program Mr. Custer left the school as he had found it (the school had neither gained nor lost by his superintendency). And, neither could the school expect to progress educationally, morally, or physically under his guidance for he lacked the vision that had characterized the administration of James K. Allen.

(to be continued)

43. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Sept. 25, 1907, p. 8, col. 2.

44. The water system included an electric triplex pump for domestic supply and a centrifugal pump for irrigation.