

Many Cultures One Family:  
Celebrating Cultural Diversity Across Tribal Lines at the Santa Fe Indian School

By  
Robert A. Bell

A Thesis Submitted in  
Partial Fulfillment of the  
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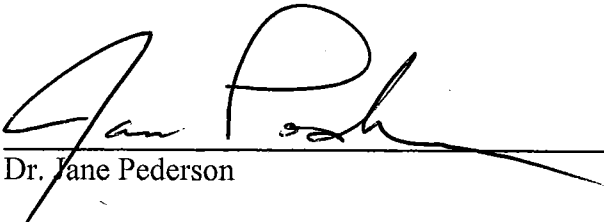
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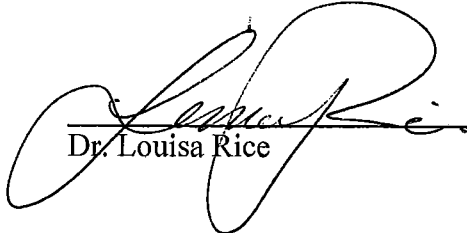
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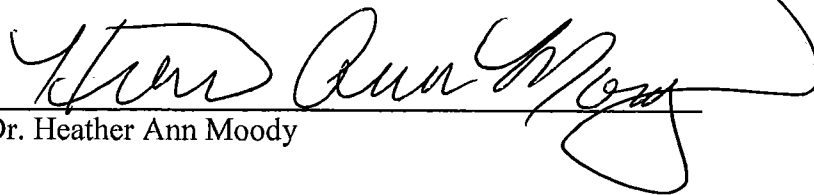
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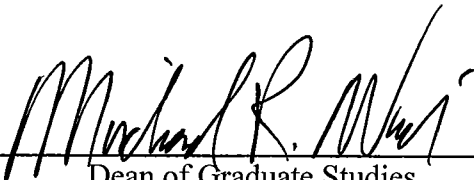
The members of the Committee approve the thesis of  
Robert A. Bell presented March 27, 2014 of Oral Exam

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. James Oberly, Chair

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Jane Pederson

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Louisa Rice

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Heather Ann Moody

APPROVED:   
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dean of Graduate Studies

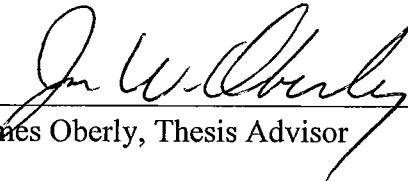
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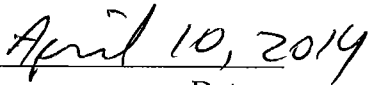
By

Robert A. Bell

The University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, 2014  
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The Santa Fe Indian School is best known for the art that its students and faculty produced. Two aspects of the school that have not been researched very closely are, 1) the interactions between the students that attended the school, and 2) the role Progressive educators played in that interaction. The Pueblo students attending the school created a family and community within the school across tribal lines through the use of Pueblo cultural values. The Progressive educators who taught in the day schools allowed the Pueblo students to paint their tribal dances and then had the students explain the subject of the painting, by speaking English. The teachers paralleled the educational philosophy of John Dewey that teachers and students engage on a common interest. Dewey called this the educative process. He experimented with this theory at his Laboratory School in Chicago. Two elements, Pueblo cultural values and Progressive educational ideas, worked in conjunction to create a family of Native Americans who viewed themselves collectively as Native American and fostered the roots of pan-Indianism. Everyone at the Santa Fe Indian School worked to educate Native Americans with an identity rooted in Native American culture, not a cheap copy of a white man.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. James Oberly, Thesis Advisor

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

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To my wife Vickie thank you for all of your patience during this project

“Education was something that was very important to the Pueblo Elders and parents of the students. They all believed it was very important for their children to learn the ways of the white man, while at the same time preserving the Pueblo culture.”

– Winona Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*

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## Introduction

The artwork produced at the Santa Fe Indian School (SFIS), in Santa Fe, New Mexico, was the visible trademark of the school. The Native American artists that graduated from that institution produced many valuable pieces of art, from Pueblo pottery to Pueblo watercolor paintings. The people that knew of this school only associated art with SFIS. One aspect of the school that has not been examined is how Pueblo cultural values in conjunction with Progressive educational ideas, worked together to create the family and community that developed among the Native American students. The bond that developed among the students was unique. It was unique in that the bond crossed tribal lines and the students no longer looked at themselves as a member of one tribe, but collectively as Native Americans. The majority of the students that attended the Santa Fe Indian School were Pueblo and their number partially explains why the family and community came to exist within the school. The Pueblo created strong family and kinship ties. Equally as important, they promoted the education of their children and encouraged cultural exchange among all people for better understanding. The Progressives created communities within the educational environment of the school, to encourage cultural exchange among the students and teachers. That allowed the teachers to create the educative process, which was an educational philosophy of Progressive philosopher John Dewey. The following thesis will argue that Pueblo cultural values and Progressive ideas about education worked together to form a family and community of Native Americans across tribal lines. They identified themselves collectively as Native Americans and fostered the roots of pan-Indianism.

Michael McGerr, a Professor of history and the associate Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Indiana University-Bloomington, wrote about the time Progressivism started in America and explained what it was: "Progressivism was an explosion, a burst of energy that fired

in many directions across America. From the 1890s to the 1910s the progressives managed to accomplish much of their ambitious agenda.”<sup>1</sup> The Santa Fe Indian School was founded in 1890 and grew during the years of Progressivism in America. The academic development of SFIS paralleled the educational agenda of the Progressives during the Progressive years. The Progressives were social activists that wanted political reform, social improvements, social justice, and reform and modernization of the public education system in America. They were middle class citizens of the United States, very concerned about the concentration of wealth and power in the upper classes that had accompanied the industrial expansion resulting from the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century. They wanted to make everyone in the country middle class. The Progressives believed that all people, no matter their ethnic background, should be included in mainstream America, but within limits. The Progressives believed that certain ethnic groups, such as Native Americans, could not fully assimilate into mainstream middle class white America, because they were inferior. They viewed Native Americans as people they would include in society, but only as wards of the middle class.<sup>2</sup>

The Progressive Movement enacted social change and reform in the United States, after the assassination of President William McKinley in 1901. His successor Theodore Roosevelt was a Progressive and interested in social, political, economic, and educational reform. The Progressive Era began with the shot that killed McKinley in September 1901.<sup>3</sup> There were many different people involved in the Progressive Movement. One Progressive thinker was John

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<sup>1</sup> Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent, The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 397, xv.

<sup>2</sup> McGerr, xiv-xvi, 182-209, and special attention to the last sentence of the second paragraph on page 207.

<sup>3</sup> McGerr, 39.

Dewey, who made a great impact on the public education system of the United States.<sup>4</sup> Dewey was an American philosopher, psychologist, and education reformer. Dewey introduced his ideas on the education of elementary and secondary students in 1897.<sup>5</sup> Anne Durst, a professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater in her book *Women Educators in the Progressive Era, The Women behind Dewey's Laboratory School*, defined what Dewey thought was important concerning the education of children: "His idea was that students at the elementary stage of education were most important."<sup>6</sup> The curriculum of SFIS from 1902 to 1918 seemed to parallel the educational agenda of the Progressives and Dewey. But there are few surviving records pre-1918 to prove that the educational ideas of Dewey had been applied since 1902 at SFIS. The records that survived indicate that something was happening but it is unclear exactly what happened.

There were only two teachers at SFIS that were either taught by Dewey, or were known followers of Dewey. In 1918 Elizabeth DeHuff arrived at SFIS. She had studied under Dewey at Teachers College, Columbia University. She is often associated with bringing Progressive education to SFIS. Dorothy Dunn was the other teacher that utilized the educational principals of Dewey. Dunn believed that Native American children could be taught academics through art. Both women contributed significantly to the education of Native American students.<sup>7</sup>

The cultural values of the Pueblo were also present at SFIS. The Pueblo believed in strong family and kinship ties. These ties were not necessarily confined among the Pueblo

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<sup>4</sup> McGerr, 111.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Anne Durst, *Women Educators in the Progressive Era, The Women behind Dewey's Laboratory School* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 46.

<sup>7</sup> Michelle McGeough, *Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe 1918-1945* (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian Press, 2009), 17-18.

exclusively. The Pueblo included people from other tribes and people that were not Native American in these circles. The Pueblo have a long history of creating alliances and family ties with people from outside the Pueblo community to attain a common cause.<sup>8</sup> The parents, grandparents, and Pueblo elders sent the Pueblo children that attended the school, with this thought ingrained into their minds: “Education was something that was very important to the Pueblo Elders and parents of the students. They all believed it was very important for their children to learn the ways of the white man, while at the same time preserving the Pueblo culture.”<sup>9</sup> Agents from the Bureau of Indian Affairs did not have to come to get the children from their Pueblo homes; the parents brought their children to the day schools and SFIS. The fact that the Pueblo brought their children to the school symbolized how important the education of their children was, and reinforced their belief that education was the best way to keep Pueblo heritage alive.<sup>10</sup>

One way to examine the Pueblo and their ability to create family and community across tribal lines was to study Pueblo cultural values. One way to understand the cultural values of the Pueblo was through the words of the students that attended the Santa Fe Indian School. Joe S. Sando, a Pueblo scholar, former SFIS student and a member of the Jemez Pueblo, explained the worldview of the Pueblo, family and kinship ties were the most important part of life and through these ties any common goal can be attained. The most important act a tribal member can do was something for the good or betterment of the tribe, with no thought of personal gain. Not

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<sup>8</sup> Sally Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1990), 3.

<sup>9</sup> Winona Garmhausen, *The History of Arts Education in Santa Fe* (Santa Fe: Sandstone Press, 1988), 6.

<sup>10</sup> Hyer, 3-8.

only family ties were important but education was and still is very important.<sup>11</sup> During the time span of this thesis, 1900 to 1934, young Pueblo children learned the ways of white man, while at the same time they kept their Pueblo heritage alive. This was very important to their Pueblo parents and elders.<sup>12</sup> This thesis utilized the oral history project celebrating the one hundred year anniversary of the Santa Fe Indian School, housed in the archives at the University of New Mexico. Through these oral histories the cultural values of the Pueblo can easily be seen. The transcripts of the interviews of the students from various tribes that attended the school all revealed how the Pueblo created a family of Native Americans within the school.

That fact is very important and explained why life in the Santa Fe Indian School was distinctively different than the other boarding schools in the United States. The interviews also uncovered that not only were Native American students from other tribes included in this family, but also many non-Native Americans teachers were included. Pueblo cultural values and Progressive ideas on education encouraged cultural exchange between all people both, Native American and non-Native American at SFIS. The cultural exchange led to a better education and understanding among the Native American students and others that either attended or worked at the Santa Fe Indian School.

Reading how the students educated each other through a cultural exchange of ideas shows how the Native American community formed. Another factor linked to the formation of the Native American community is the role of Progressive ideas on education. The interviews with former students gave the indication that at least a few of the teachers at SFIS taught a

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<sup>11</sup> Joe S. Sando, *Pueblo Profiles, Cultural Identity through Centuries of Change* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1998), 11, 28-29, 51, 65.

<sup>12</sup> Garmhausen, 6-7, Hyer 3.

curriculum that paralleled Progressive ideas on education and in particular the educational philosophy of John Dewey.

## Chapter One

### **The Santa Fe Indian School Was Different From Other Boarding Schools**

Indian Boarding Schools in the United States were created to assimilate Native American children into mainstream American society. These schools were the brainchild of Colonel Richard Henry Pratt. During the mid-1870s, Pratt noticed that Native American prisoners in his charge at Fort Marion prison in St. Augustine, Florida excelled in learning the ways of the white man when put into an environment away from Native American culture. The Native American prisoners were administered to in a military manner to maintain control over them. Pratt's prisoners eventually went on to the Hampton Institute, an African American college in Hampton, Virginia. There, these Native Americans learned useful skills that attempted to assimilate them into mainstream American society.<sup>13</sup>

Pratt thought about a way to incorporate what he had discovered in the mid-1870s at Fort Marion, to assimilate Native Americans. By 1879, Pratt convinced the United States government to create a school totally devoted to teaching Native American children useful occupations, carpentry for boys and domestic service for girls. Pratt believed education that taught useful trades would help Native Americans become useful people in American society. Pratt, backed by the United States government, started the Carlisle Indian Industrial School located at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The school was a converted U.S. army post, which gave the school a military appearance. Pratt instituted military drill in order to instill discipline into the Native American children.

As Pratt recruited and brought Native American children to Carlisle, the culture shock of being taken hundreds of miles away from their families and the use of a military lifestyle was

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<sup>13</sup> David Wallace Adams. *Education for Extinction, American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 38-46.

difficult for the Native American children. The close quarters that the Native American children lived in allowed disease to run rampant within the school. Many Native American children became sick with diseases like measles, smallpox, and diphtheria. Many died from these diseases because of the lack of quality medical care available within Carlisle. Many Native American children committed suicide to escape being forced to learn English, and being punished for speaking in their native languages, or practicing their culture. There usually was not enough food to feed all of the students that attended Carlisle, so many children were hungry. The food that was served was not fresh and, more often than not, the fruit, vegetables, and meat were spoiled when they arrived at the school.<sup>14</sup>

The Santa Fe Indian School was not like Carlisle or the other boarding schools in the United States. Yes, there was military drill and there were classes to teach carpentry to boys and domestic service to girls. But after 1902 the presence of a parallel educational curriculum of Progressive educational ideas at SFIS created a learning environment that was not present at other boarding schools in the United States. SFIS taught a different curriculum to its students. The Native American students that attended the school in Santa Fe were taught through an exchange of cultural ideas, which meant students exchanged ideas with each other and their teachers to learn. About the same time John Dewey experimented with an exchange of ideas and called it “the educative process.”<sup>15</sup>

Most of the Native American children that attended the Santa Fe Indian School were Pueblo. They were less than two hundred miles from home. Instead of agents from the Indian Service coming to the homes of the Pueblo children to take them to a boarding school hundreds

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<sup>14</sup> Adams, 46-50.

<sup>15</sup> Adrea Lawrence, *Lessons from an Indian Day School, Negotiating Colonization in Northern New Mexico, 1902-1907* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 68.

of miles away from their homes, like Carlisle, the Pueblo parents brought their children to the Santa Fe Indian School. SFIS did not have as bad a problem with disease as Carlisle. Unlike Carlisle, there was an ample supply of fresh meat, fruit, and vegetables supplied to the school by the parents of the Pueblo children and grown in gardens tended by the students that attended the SFIS.<sup>16</sup>

The Santa Fe Indian School was a very different place to attend. The school, and the way it taught Native American children, had been hidden by the overall view of boarding schools until 1988. That was the year that Winona Garmhausen published her book, *Arts Education at the Santa Fe Indian School*. With her dissertation, researched and written from 1976 to 1983 at the University of New Mexico about the history of art education at the Santa Fe Indian School, Garmhausen inserted a Native American identity and voice that is now present in the scholarship on SFIS.

As more scholarship has been written on SFIS many new thoughts came to light. The recent scholarship has brought new speculation as to what happened underneath the more known artworks that originated at the school. It has become evident that something different was being utilized to educate Native American children at SFIS. Recent scholarship gave an indication that the curriculum being used paralleled Progressive educational ideas. There can be many parallels made between the Laboratory School that Dewey started in Chicago and SFIS. Many of the same educational principals seem to be applied at both schools. But due to a lack of the number of documents that have survived, course curricula, teaching plans, and the methods teachers applied at SFIS, it is nearly impossible to make a direct connection to both schools. Only two people that taught at SFIS were known followers of Dewey, Elizabeth DeHuff and Dorothy Dunn. DeHuff arrived in 1918 and Dunn in 1932. What the students in the oral histories said and what little

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<sup>16</sup> Hyer, 21-25.

correspondence that does exist indicated that some of the Indian Service teachers paralleled Progressive educational ideas and the educational philosophy of Dewey. The following thesis will show that the Santa Fe Indian School and the Laboratory School in Chicago at least ran parallel to each other. Either by accident or by some unknown association to Progressive educators SFIS ran a curriculum parallel to the Chicago Laboratory School after 1902.

The following literature review will explore how the scholarship changed in 1988 on the Santa Fe Indian School and became more detailed. The findings the authors expressed from 1988 to 2012 focused more on the interaction between the students, the cultural values of the Pueblo, and the role of Progressive education. At SFIS, Progressive education in conjunction with Pueblo cultural values worked together to create educated Native Americans with an identity rooted in Native American culture, instead of a cheap copy of a white man as was being produced at other boarding schools.

### **Literature Review**

The United States closed most government run Indian Boarding Schools in the 1930s. Since that time the literature written about the boarding school experience painted a picture of despair and loneliness for the Native American students that attended these schools. Books written in the 1960s and 1970s told a dark story of the attempt to kill Native American culture for the purpose of assimilation. One example of that scholarship is the book, *Me and Mine, The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa*, by Louise Udall, a freelance writer with a famous namesake of the western United States.<sup>17</sup> Published in 1969, that book told of the experiences Helen Sekaquaptewa had in the Keams Canyon Day School and the Phoenix Indian School, in Phoenix, Arizona. Udall gave an example of how Native American students were taken from their

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<sup>17</sup> Louise Udall, *Me and Mine, The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969), 1.

families: “Superintendent Lemmon called the men together, ordering the women and children to remain in their separate family groups. He told the men it was a mistake to follow Yokeoma blindly; that the government had reached the limit of its patience; that the children would have to go to school.”<sup>18</sup> That example of children being taken away from families by Indian Agents to go to boarding schools against their will was a typical scene in the literature written in the 1960s and 1970s. Later in the book, Udall told of the unpleasant experiences Sekaquaptewa had in the schools, ranging from having a male teacher fondle her and other female students in her sixth grade class at the Keams Canyon Day School to the military atmosphere and the corporal punishment used at the Phoenix Indian School.<sup>19</sup>

Winona Garmhausen had a different view of the boarding school system. There certainly were bad stories to tell and they had been told through the 1960s and 1970s. While writing her dissertation at the University of New Mexico from 1976 to 1983, Garmhausen discovered a school that had a different teaching philosophy and a Native American philosophy present within the school. Those two philosophies made that school different from other boarding schools. Because the Native American students were taught in a different way than the other boarding schools in the United States, the Native American students that attended the school began to form a Native American community. The school that Garmhausen examined was the Santa Fe Indian School.<sup>20</sup>

From her dissertation, Garmhausen wrote a book published in 1988, *The History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, which was about the history of the art curriculum at SFIS.

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<sup>18</sup> Udall, 91.

<sup>19</sup> Udall, 106, 136-137.

<sup>20</sup> Winona M. Garmhausen papers Collection Institute of American Indian Art, MS-007, box 9, file 1, Chapter One, “Early History of The Santa Fe Indian School 1890 to 1930,” PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1983, 12-27, 42-48. Located in the archive at the Institute of American Indian Art in Santa Fe New Mexico.

Garmhausen discovered, and many scholars have expanded on her discovery since 1988, that a combination of factors existed within SFIS that created an atmosphere that allowed cultural exchange to occur at the school. A philosophy was created that encouraged the students from different tribes that attended the school to collectively identify themselves as Native Americans. Garmhausen examined the history of art education at Santa Fe through the words of the Native American students that attended and the educators that worked at the Santa Fe Indian School.

Garmhausen decided to look at how the Santa Fe Indian School was run differently and taught an optional curriculum of art. Garmhausen examined the entire history of the school, from its beginning in 1890 with one central school and nine feeder day schools in the northern Pueblos, until 1990. She also researched the government policies that were in effect at that time concerning Native American education. Garmhausen pointed out the importance of the Dawes Act and its link to the boarding school system. The Dawes act and boarding schools worked together to assimilate Native American children into mainstream American life.<sup>21</sup>

Garmhausen pointed to the fact that Santa Fe had many Progressive educators working at the school. The Santa Fe Indian School opened during the first years of the Progressive Era in the United States. There were many new ideas that materialized about social and educational reform in the United States at that time.

Another unusual part of the setup of the school was that tribal elders and the governors of the Pueblos were allowed in the school and had some say as to how the school was going to be run. There was a visiting house that allowed the families of students to visit their children attending SFIS at any time. An elder was available to talk to any student. The students could go home for the weekend if they wished. The students, their parents, and the citizens of Santa Fe

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<sup>21</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 7.

supported and had a great deal of pride then and today in what they called “their Indian School.”<sup>22</sup>

Garmhausen wrote *The History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe* to tell the unique history of the arts programs at the Santa Fe Indian School. She profiled the career of Superintendent John DeHuff and his wife, Elizabeth. Elizabeth was not a teacher in the Indian Service or at the school, but had an intense interest in Native American culture, art and history. While DeHuff was Superintendent at the Santa Fe Indian School, Elizabeth invited seven gifted Native American student artists to paint pictures about their respective cultures in the living room of their home.<sup>23</sup> John DeHuff was demoted and removed from the Santa Fe Indian School because of the actions of his wife.

Garmhausen pointed out that the arts program was not confined to the main school in Santa Fe. The San Ildefonso Pueblo Day School was an important part of the arts curriculum and the place where Pueblo students were introduced to art at a very early age. According to Garmhausen the students at San Ildefonso Day School eventually became, “The future instructors for the Indian school at Santa Fe came from San Ildefonso.”<sup>24</sup> One of the contributions Garmhausen made to the advancement of the literature on SFIS was her research on the students that came from the San Ildefonso Pueblo Day School. Garmhausen used interviews of former students and oral histories from the San Ildefonso Day School. Many of the talented artists that created Pueblo pottery and Pueblo watercolor paintings attended the San Ildefonso Day School.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 8-18.

<sup>23</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 34.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 33.

Starting in 1985 and completed in 1990, Sally Hyer did an oral history with former students that attended the Santa Fe Indian School and the feeder day schools. Her work was part of the *One Hundred Years Oral Project*. That project was part of the dissertation that she wrote while attending the University of New Mexico. Her dissertation was a study on the Santa Fe Indian School as a place and space where cultures met. Hyer used ethnohistory as the methodology for her dissertation. Every building at SFIS was newly constructed and the campus was arranged in a certain way to encourage assimilation. Hyer wanted to find out through interviewing former students, especially the students that attended SFIS from 1900 to 1920, if the architecture of the buildings and the design of the campus influenced students to want to assimilate into American society. What Hyer discovered during her research was the existence of cultural exchange between the students that attended SFIS. She also discovered through the interviews with former students, that the of the Native American students that attended the Santa Fe Indian School, only a small number assimilated into mainstream American society. Instead, a family and community of Native American students from different tribes that attended the school had developed and collectively identified themselves as Native Americans.<sup>26</sup>

Hyer was the director of the Santa Fe Historical Society and a public historian.<sup>27</sup> She started the oral history project in 1985 to tell how the students of the Santa Fe Indian School interacted with one another and what it was like to attend the school. *One House, One Voice, One Heart, Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School*, published in 1990, was the findings of that oral history project, and companion book that accompanied a traveling photo exhibit. It also doubled as the companion book to a PBS special aired in 1991. The exhibit was

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<sup>26</sup> Laurel Seth, "Sally Hyer Kristin Volunteer Extraordinaire," *Bulletin of the Historic Santa Fe Foundation*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 23.

<sup>27</sup> Seth, 23.

supported by the Museum of New Mexico, the all Pueblo Council, Pueblo Governors, and received an award from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The exhibit traveled throughout the state of New Mexico from 1990 to 1995.

Hyer learned that the Pueblo were independent and possessed the ability to work among themselves and other tribes to form alliances to attain a common goal.<sup>28</sup> Hyer pointed out how important it was to the Pueblo Elders and parents of the students to learn about Euro-American ways: “Students were at the school to learn the white man’s way of life. But at the same time, their Indian identity was secure; they already knew who they were and who their parents were.” As one student said, “the attitude our parents gave us at home was, ‘Do not ever forget your heritage. This is what you are, and you cannot ever change because you are this. But you must learn this other culture, which is necessary in this life.’”<sup>29</sup> The Pueblo children were not going to forget their heritage, and that was reinforced by what their parents and grandparents told them before they left to go to SFIS.

The carpentry teacher at the Santa Fe Indian School was a Danish immigrant. He and his family were included in the community and family created by the Pueblo students at the school.<sup>30</sup> The Pueblo practiced their cultural values, which included all types of cultural exchange, Native American and non-Native American. The Pueblo believed that cultural exchange, and the exchange of ideas between different cultures is very important to combining cultures for a better understanding of each other. Hyer mentioned the diverse number of Native American cultures present at SFIS by 1910: “Indian students from many different tribes attended the Santa Fe

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<sup>28</sup> Hyer, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Hyer, 8.

<sup>30</sup> Hyer, 11-17.

Indian School and learned from the Pueblo and each other how to adjust and combine cultures, and many students developed friendships across tribal lines that lasted for eighty years.”<sup>31</sup>

Hyer noticed that something else was going on at the school: a spirit of pluralism. This was not only felt between tribes, but Native American and white cultures coexisted within an atmosphere of pluralism that had developed within the Santa Fe Indian School. Hyer was the first scholar that used the words laboratory and multicultural when she talked about SFIS: “the school was a laboratory for experimentation in multicultural education.”<sup>32</sup> According to Hyer, the roots of the first ethnic education program started at the SFIS: “Students could paint pictures about their homes and culture. The students were allowed to speak their own languages, but were also encouraged on their own accord to learn English as a second language to communicate with students from other tribes.”<sup>33</sup> Hyer reminded the reader of the fact that this was an Indian boarding school and not everybody was allowed to participate in the arts program. Each student had to try out and be accepted into the arts program. If a student had no artistic ability they had to learn carpentry or domestic service. However, these students were treated better at Santa Fe than the other boarding schools in the United States because there was an abundant supply of fresh fruit, vegetables and meat available. Corporal punishment was enforced at SFIS, as this was a government run boarding school, but was not as harsh.

The Santa Fe Indian School hired many former students as teachers. The staff of the school, including faculty, was thirty-percent Native American by the late 1910s. Students that had attended both the San Ildefonso Day School and the Santa Fe Indian School after 1900 later

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<sup>31</sup> Hyer, 25.

<sup>32</sup> Hyer, 31.

<sup>33</sup> Hyer, 36.

became instructors at SFIS. Former Pueblo students, Tonita Peña and Alfredo Montoya, became teachers and reinforced and encouraged the creation of community and family. They taught and helped students from other tribes adjust to boarding school life and join the family atmosphere. Hyer added that by the late 1930s, more than fifty-percent of the faculty at the Santa Fe Indian School was comprised of Native Americans from all over the United States.<sup>34</sup>

*One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School* examined the interaction between students and how Progressive educators influenced inter-cultural exchange between the Native American students and teachers.<sup>35</sup> Hyer followed the new trend and brought a Native American voice and perspective that explained life in the Santa Fe Indian School. She built on the trend by doing an oral history of the former students that attended the school in the early twentieth century.

Another scholar that added a Native American voice to the scholarship on the government run boarding schools was David Wallace Adams. Adams was a professor of history and education at Cleveland State University.<sup>36</sup> His book, *Education for Extinction, American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928*, published in 1995, examined the early development of the government run Indian Boarding School system. Instead of looking at one school as Garmhausen and Hyer did, Adams looked at the experiences of students in general in the boarding school system of the United States. Adams used the experiences of Luther Standing Bear while he attended the Carlisle Indian School as an example of a successful boarding school experience. Standing Bear was the perfect Native American student and had the successes that

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<sup>34</sup> Hyer, 17, 39.

<sup>35</sup> Hyer, 96.

<sup>36</sup> Adams, 320

Richard Pratt had hoped all Native American students would attain. Standing Bear was successful in the outing program. He worked in a dry goods store in Philadelphia. After his education at the Carlisle Indian School, Standing Bear returned to the Rosebud Reservation, in South Dakota, and started his own dry goods store. He had somewhat assimilated into mainstream American culture. He participated in American society in a useful occupation. The experience that Standing Bear had was an exception to the experiences that Native American students generally experienced in the boarding schools.

Adams wrote *Education for Extinction, American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* to explore Federal Indian Policy toward education: “the story of how American policymakers sought to use the schoolhouse -specifically the boarding schools -as an instrument for assimilating Native American youth to ‘American’ ways of thinking and living.”<sup>37</sup> Adams looked at the boarding system from three sides in writing his book. The side examined first was a study of how the U.S. government created its policy of cultural assimilation toward the Native Americans. Government officials are not the only people examined; Progressive Era reformers are looked at as well. Since the Progressives believed that education should be the central item in new Indian policy, Adams looked at what the Progressives believed was important. The second side Adams explored was how educational policy was implemented. Adams analyzed how teachers, Indian agents, school superintendents, and support staff worked together to civilize Native American children. The third side Adams used was to look at how the Native American students responded to the educational effort.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Adams, ix.

<sup>38</sup> Adams, ix.

Adams utilized the many government documents that exist on the Indian boarding schools. Adams did not center on one school, but looked instead at what the experiences were of some students that went through the system. To tell the story of the boarding school system utilized by the United States, Adams used the records of the individual schools and reports of the individual Indian agents. Territorial and state governors, the Secretary of the Interior, and the National Commissioner of Indian Education, along with many personal accounts of the Indian students that attended the Indian boarding schools, were included in the book in order to get a clear picture of both sides of the boarding school experience.<sup>39</sup>

Adams explored pluralism by Progressives in the United States government in the early twentieth century and how it applied to Native American children. Adams pointed out that when Francis Leupp became Commissioner of Indian Education in 1904, Leupp saw advantages in allowing at least certain tribes to keep their culture. The Pueblo was one of these tribes, and they were allowed to include such vocations as pottery making, watercolor painting, and silversmithing for jewelry making. Adams pointed out that changing the definition of useful education, and by allowing certain tribes to keep their culture for economic reasons, would help Native Americans make a living by selling their arts and crafts.<sup>40</sup> Adams mentioned the Santa Fe Indian School but did not elaborate on the interworkings of the school

The importance of the San Ildefonso Day School was told by J.J. Brody, in his book, *Pueblo Indian Painting Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, published in 1997. Brody was a professor emeritus of art and art history at the University of New Mexico, and the

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<sup>39</sup> Adams, x.

<sup>40</sup> Adams, 317.

former director of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, located at the University of New Mexico.<sup>41</sup>

Brody described the unusual way Esther Hoyt decided to teach the Pueblo children at the San Ildefonso Day School: “According to Tonita Peña, Hoyt distributed art supplies and encouraged the children ‘to think of the dance in the plaza and of how they felt when dancing and to paint that.’”<sup>42</sup> Clinton J. Crandall had just taken over jurisdiction of the northern Pueblos and encouraged the teachers to overlook the use of native languages on the playground. He also encouraged the teachers to have the students to do some of their tribal dances. Crandall then instructed the teachers to encourage the students to speak English while they explained their paintings to the teacher and class.<sup>43</sup> Crandall instructed Hoyt’s replacement, Elizabeth Richards, to apply the same teaching techniques after Hoyt retired in 1907.<sup>44</sup> *Pueblo Indian Painting Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930* told the important history of the San Ildefonso Day School and the circumstances that surrounded the education policies practiced there.

In her article, “Shaping a New Way: White Women and the Movement to Promote Pueblo Indian Arts and Crafts, 1900-1935,” published in 1998 in *Journal of the Southwest*, Margaret D. Jacobs, a professor of history at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, examined the role white women had in allowing the Pueblo children paint about their culture and practice Pueblo culture. The article was trying to rebut the view that white Progressive women tried to

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<sup>41</sup> J.J. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1997), 230.

<sup>42</sup> Brody, 38-40.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Brody, 40, 72.

protect the Pueblo and their culture from white society.<sup>45</sup> As the white Progressive women arrived in the Santa Fe area, they believed it was their duty to protect the Pueblo from white intervention. Jacobs pointed out, these women wanted the Pueblo culture left alone in order to produce their art, but the day school teachers and the way they taught came to light,

The focus on these men has overshadowed the contributions of white women in the arts and crafts movement. Around 1905 around a renegade San Ildefonso Day School teacher first encouraged Cerscencio Martinez to paint his dance ceremonies... “Self-taught” Tonita Peña told her biographer that she learned to paint when her day school teacher at San Ildefonso, Esther Hoyt, gave her water colors and encouraged her to paint. Peña’s cousin at Cochiti, Romando Vigil, first learned to paint from his day school teacher Elizabeth Robbins.<sup>46</sup>

But Elizabeth DeHuff believed that the real revival of Indian painting and preservation of Native American culture started in her living room, when she brought in seven Native American boys to paint about their culture.<sup>47</sup> Despite the efforts that these white women believed they were doing to preserve Pueblo culture, something else was occurring between the Native American students that attended the Santa Fe Indian School, a cultural exchange of ideas. Jacobs noted that not all of the teachers at the Santa Fe Indian School believed in letting Native American students paint about their dances during the early 1900s. “Clara True and Mary Dissette, both were day school teachers and they did not let the Pueblo students paint Pueblo dances because they believed that Pueblo dances were immoral.”<sup>48</sup>

The community feeling was always present in Pueblo culture. When Julian and Maria Martinez bought their first car, a Dodge sedan, they bought it for the entire community and used

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<sup>45</sup> Margaret D. Jacobs, “Shaping a New Way: White Women and the Movement to Promote Pueblo Indian Arts and Crafts, 1900-1935” *Journal of the Southwest*, 40 (Summer 1998): 188.

<sup>46</sup> Jacobs, 190.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Jacobs, 197.

it to help the members of the community as needed. Because they possessed the Pueblo feeling of community, Julian and Maria believed that they could give back and help their community through the car. This is the type of kinship that developed within the Santa Fe Indian School between all of the Native American students that attended and was the same spirit that allowed the community to form at the Santa Fe Indian School system. Jacobs pointed out this cultural value of Pueblo through Julian and Maria Martinez,

Julian and Maria acquired the ultimate symbol of modern America, but rather than conveying modernity and individual achievement with their new car, Maria and Julian instead imbued the vehicle with values more associated with their Pueblo community. Maria said, 'You would be surprised what I do with that car. We take everybody who is sick, we get food, and we help everybody with that car.' Maria and Julian Martinez and the Dodge car they bought were used for the entire community.<sup>49</sup>

Joe S. Sando, who was Pueblo, a former student at the Santa Fe Indian School, and a Pueblo scholar, explained in detail Pueblo cultural values. His book, *Pueblo Profiles, Cultural Identity through Centuries of Change*, published in 1998. The first chapter of the book explained how the Pueblo forged family type feelings among many different tribes of Native Americans. He told the story of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. He recounted the story of the Pueblo Revolt and how the Pueblo leaders created an alliance and family with the various neighboring Apache tribes. Sando explained how a Native American community collectively identified themselves as Native Americans, across tribal lines, to attain a common goal developed.<sup>50</sup> Sando brought to the fore front the strong leadership qualities of the Pueblo.

Sando profiled several Pueblo people and told the stories of their life-time accomplishments. He also examined the relationships that developed between the Progressive

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<sup>49</sup> Jacobs, 208.

<sup>50</sup> Sando, 10-15.

educators that taught at the Santa Fe Indian School and the students. An example of this relationship was Domingo Montoya,

He had just completed the eleventh grade at the Santa Fe Indian School in June of that year, 1929. Because his father was in ill health Montoya, as the oldest boy in the family, had to take responsibility for supporting the family of six in that first year of what would be called the Great Depression. Although he had been a promising student and one of his teachers had come to Sandia Pueblo to return him to school in Santa Fe, Montoya felt strongly about his family responsibilities and was never able to continue his education.<sup>51</sup>

Here are two examples of how SFIS was different from the other boarding schools in the early twentieth century. First, the teacher went to the home of Montoya to try to convince him to come back to school, because Montoya was a promising student. Second, because Montoya was Pueblo, he had strong family ties that made him not finish his education because he had a responsibility to his family. Montoya was not the only promising Pueblo student that left school early because of family obligations. The Pueblo possessed very strong family and kinship ties. Family always came first. The Pueblo believed that the student who had to leave school for family obligations should return to school and finish his or her education as soon as the family situation allowed, demonstrating the importance of education in Pueblo culture.<sup>52</sup>

An article by Carri Carpenter, who attended the American Indians Studies Program at the University of Minnesota, wrote a journal article titled, "Detecting Indianness: Gertrude Bonnin's Investigation of Native American Identity," published in 2005 in *Wicazo Sa Review*, which described the problems that Native American activists faced in the 1920s. Carpenter kept her focus on what Gertrude Bonnin stood for, a collective Native American identity.

Bonnin had attended boarding school at the White's Institute of Indian Manual Labor in Wabash, Indiana. Bonnin had a bad experience at this school, but did go on to attend Earlham

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<sup>51</sup> Sando, 79.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

Collage in Richmond, Indiana. She taught at Carlisle from 1899 to 1901. She was dismissed from that institution because she wrote an article for *Harper's Weekly* that described the loss of identity experienced by Native American children that attended the boarding schools in the United States. Bonnín became a Native American activist and joined the Society of American Indians in 1916, a Progressive group of middle class Native Americans that was interested in preserving the Native American lifestyle and lobbying for full citizenship for Native Americans. Bonnín worked as an activist for the SAI until 1920. She founded the National Council of American Indians in 1926. The National Council of American Indians was dedicated to uniting the tribes in the United States to gain full citizenship and the right to vote.<sup>53</sup> Bonnín was the leader of the National Council of American Indians until her death in 1938.

Carpenter focused on the letters that Bonnín wrote to her friend Charlotte Jones concerning what Native American identity was and if it could be a collective idea among people of different tribes, calling everyone collectively Native American. In her article Carpenter observed through the correspondence Bonnín had with Jones, how hard it was for Native Americans in the 1920s to establish a collective Native American identity.<sup>54</sup> The problems ranged from citizenship to the problem of mainstream America viewing Native Americans in an ideological light of being primitive and an antimodern fascination. This led to the formation of several American Indian institutions, which the Society of American Indians was the largest. Different views developed as to what a collective Native American identity was. During the 1910s and 1920s Native Americans found it difficult to become united because of

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<sup>53</sup> Cari Carpenter, "Detecting Indianness: Gertrude Bonnín's Investigation of Native American Identity" *Wicazo Sa Review*, 20, Colonization/Decolonization, II (Spring, 2005), 139-149.

<sup>54</sup> Carpenter, 140.

communication problems expressing cultural ideas across tribal lines and the way mainstream America viewed Native Americans.<sup>55</sup>

Bill Anthes examined the art that was produced at the Santa Fe Indian School. Anthes looked at how, by 1934, the students at SFIS had the freedom to express their Native American culture, and protest, through art. Anthes researched the impact of the WPA mural painting projects in his book, *Native Moderns, American Indian Painting, 1940-1960*, published in 2006. Anthes was an assistant professor of art history at Pitzer College.<sup>56</sup> Anthes wrote about the WPA mural projects in his book and focused on the Santa Fe Indian School. He looked closely at the interactions between the Native American students that attended the school and relationships that developed between the teachers and students at SFIS during those mural projects. Anthes pointed to the importance of the bond that developed between the Native American students outside of the school while they worked on the WPA mural projects.

Anthes opened by introducing a famous and outspoken graduate of the Santa Fe Indian School, Oscar Howe. At a painting exhibition in Tulsa Oklahoma, in 1958, Howe was appalled by the fact that his painting was rejected. Being a graduate of the Santa Fe Indian School he was taught to paint his heritage and he had accomplished this in his painting. He protested and eventually won, however, what was important was that Howe had learned to stand up for himself and his cultural identity while he attended the Santa Fe Indian School in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. Howe had not lost his Native American culture and identity.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Carpenter, 141.

<sup>56</sup> Bill Anthes, *Native Moderns, American Indian Painting, 1940-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 242.

<sup>57</sup> Anthes, xi-xiii.

Anthes, like Garmhausen, also wrote about the years that John De Huff was the Superintendent and the fact that his wife Elizabeth had asked to have seven gifted Native American students to paint about their cultures and homes in her living room. That was against the Federal Boarding School Policy. During these sessions a life-long relationship developed between Elizabeth DeHuff and Fred Kabotie, a Hopi student that was invited to paint pictures of his Hopi heritage in DeHuff's living room. According to Anthes, Kabotie was lonely at SFIS and later in life remembered: "When you are separated from your own people, you get lonesome. You do not paint what is around you. You paint what you have in your mind. Loneliness moves you to express some things about your home, your background."<sup>58</sup>

Anthes also followed the careers of Oscar Howe and Alan Houser. Those two men were graduates of the Studio Style of painting developed by Dorothy Dunn, and became educators at other institutions of higher learning. Howe became a member of the art department of the University of South Dakota and encouraged Native American students to express their Native American heritage through art.<sup>59</sup> Houser became the sculptor instructor at the Institute of American Indian Art, in Santa Fe, New Mexico and continued to instruct Native American students to express their heritage through art.<sup>60</sup> *Native Moderns, American Indian Painting, 1940-1960*, contained some important information as to how Native American students interacted and bonded with each other and their teachers.

Jennifer McLerran followed the careers of the six students that participated in the WPA mural projects in 1934 from the Santa Fe Indian School. She used the words of the students, and

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<sup>58</sup> Anthes, 5.

<sup>59</sup> Anthes, 157-158.

<sup>60</sup> Anthes, 177-178.

put a Native American perspective into the events that transpired. McLerran was the Curator of the Museum of Northern Arizona and was an assistant professor of art history at Northern Arizona University.<sup>61</sup> In *A New Deal for Native Art*, published in 2009, McLerran examined the six Native American art students, and how they expressed their culture through the art murals they painted in the new Department of the Interior Building. McLerran centered her research on the New Deal WPA art projects, started under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, and how those programs helped Native Americans, especially the art students from the Santa Fe Indian School, express their cultural heritage.

McLerran analyzed the relationships that developed between the students. She also reviewed the DeHuffs and their contribution to the arts program at the Santa Fe Indian School. McLerran pointed to the importance of the paper titled "A Proper Education Plan for the Children of the Indians" that John DeHuff wrote, and presented to the Round Table of Indian Service Teachers, during their summer session in Flagstaff, Arizona, in 1922. According to McLerran, DeHuff expressed his Progressive educator side with this presentation: "John DeHuff expressed his ideas on Indian education by explaining that all Indian children were given identical training in school through eighth grade, but there were always exceptional cases. For instance, Indians have an exceptional 'artistic instinct' and 'its exercise should be encouraged. If a student is gifted, the teacher should develop that gift.'"<sup>62</sup>

McLerran described the WPA mural project to decorate the Department of Interior Building in Washington D.C. The students with the most artistic talent were selected to participate. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, convinced the Secretary of the

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<sup>61</sup> Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Americans* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2009), 301.

<sup>62</sup> McLerran, 163.

Interior, Harold Ickes, to have six Native American artists from the Santa Fe Indian School paint the murals. Six students were selected from the school, Alan Houser, Gerald Nailor, Woody Crumbo, Velino Herrera, James Auchiah, and Stephen Mopope. According to McLerran, these artists were from different tribal backgrounds and painted their cultural heritage in the murals.<sup>63</sup>

After the murals were painted Secretary Ickes did not like the paintings because he did not believe the murals looked like Native American art. The students were painting their tribal heritage, not what mainstream America believed Native American art should look like.

Eventually Ickes allowed the paintings but did not understand them. The students had not lost their Native American culture and heritage; rather they expressed their cultural identity in the murals they painted. McLerran concentrated only on the mural projects created during the Great Depression and never mentioned life at SFIS before Dorothy Dunn arrived in 1932. McLerran only told of how Dunn promoted her students and her relationship with the Native American students she taught at SFIS, and how her students expressed their Native American identity through the mural projects.

*Through Their Eyes, Indian Painting in Santa Fe 1918-1945*, written by Michelle McGeough and published in 2009, detailed Progressive education, Pueblo cultural values, and the personal feelings of the Native American artists that attended the Santa Fe Indian School. That publication was a companion book and catalogue which accompanied an art exhibit. The catalogue told of the many relationships that developed among the Native American students and their teachers, who attended and worked at the Santa Fe Indian School.

McGeough was the assistant curator of the Wheelwright Museum in Santa Fe, New Mexico. She had an M.A. in art history from Carleton University in Ottawa. McGeough

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<sup>63</sup> McLerran, 176-193.

specialized in indigenous research methodologies and incorporated these methodologies into this art exhibit and the companion catalogue.<sup>64</sup> *Through Their Eyes, Indian Painting in Santa Fe 1918-1945* was an art exhibit of the personal collection of a collector of the art works that was produced at the Santa Fe Indian School during the early twentieth century. McGeough dedicated two chapters to the history of the interactions that occurred between the students that attended the Santa Fe Indian School. She also profiled the relationship between the Native American students and their Progressive teachers at the school. The display was in 2009, at the Wheelwright Museum in Santa Fe and the catalogue was also published in 2009.

McGeough focused on the Progressive educators that taught at the Santa Fe Indian School. Her primary focus was on Elizabeth De Huff and Dorothy Dunn. McGeough is the first scholar that made the connection that both of these women were followers of John Dewey, the man that developed the ideals of Progressive education, during the Progressive Era. McGeough made clear that DeHuff was not a teacher at the school: “Elizabeth Willis DeHuff encouraged students to express their Native American identity through a number of activities including easel painting. There from 1918-1926 Elizabeth was not employed as a teacher but her influence on the lives of students who attended the boarding school during her husband’s (John DeHuff) tenure as superintendent was profound.”<sup>65</sup>

McGeough gave a very detailed history of Elizabeth DeHuff and her first teaching assignment in the Philippines, from 1910 to 1913, where she met her husband John. John also was on his first teaching assignment. Their time in the Philippines was important because here was where the DeHuffs were first introduced to American assimilation practices. They learned

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<sup>64</sup> McGeough, 257.

<sup>65</sup> McGeough, 9.

about the Benevolent Assimilation policy, which the United States was practicing in the Philippines during that time period. Brian McAllister Linn, a professor of history at Texas A&M University in his book *The Philippine War 1899-1902* published in 2000, defined Benevolent Assimilation as doing good deeds for the Phillpnos, educating, creating sanitation facilities, and building the Phillpnos new homes. Through this policy, they would want to adopt the American way because of these good deeds and see that the American way was a better way of life.<sup>66</sup>

Both John and Elizabeth DeHuff were very interested in Native Americans and their art. After John was dismissed from his position at the Santa Fe Indian School, because his wife encouraged Native American students to paint their heritage, contrary to Federal policy, he quit the Indian Service and became the president of the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce. He still promoted the art that was produced by the Native American students that attended the school.<sup>67</sup>

Dorothy Dunn was hired in 1932 to be the painting instructor. The philosophy of Dunn toward the Native America student was just as progressive as that of Elizabeth and John DeHuff. Dunn believed that Native American students could be taught any subject through the use of art. McGeough observed that Dunn used the personal experiences of her students in her teaching, making her a strong follower of Dewey: "From the beginning Dunn insisted that the paintings her students produced should reflect their tribal heritages- an approach, according to art educator Laurie Eldridge, that came directly from the educational ideas of John Dewey, that personal experience should form the basis for building knowledge."<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War 1899-1902* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 434, 30, 69.

<sup>67</sup> McGeough, 30.

<sup>68</sup> McGeough, 36-37.

The science mural painted on the walls of the science building at SFIS, which the students painted under the instruction of Dunn, were the first public display of the art that reflected the type of education the Native American students were receiving at SFIS. The students used Pueblo science symbols, which secured Pueblo culture and heritage, to decorate the walls of the science building. Dunn applied one of the approaches that Dewey had developed to teach by having students to do something interesting to keep them focused.<sup>69</sup> McGeough described how Progressive education created an atmosphere within SFIS for the Native American students to express their Native American identity and cultural heritage,

Progressive Education and those who embraced it provided an environment that encouraged Native American students at the Santa Fe Indian School to express subjectively that was uniquely Native American. The paintings created by these students like the ledger drawings of the Plains, are important visual documents depicting cultures and identities that the government had attempted to eradicate. These paintings also provide us with insight into Native American cultures at a time when very few Native American people were writing about their own lives. We preserve our tribal culture by recording it in pictures filled with beauty and imagination.<sup>70</sup>

McGeough was the first scholar that saw Progressive educational ideas being applied at SFIS.

Anne Durst wrote *Women Educators in the Progressive Era, The Women behind Dewey's Laboratory School*, published in 2010, which provided an in depth analysis of the educational theories of John Dewey, and what the Progressives believed: "The Progressive Era in the United States was a country in search of novel ideas to solve the daunting problems of the new age"<sup>71</sup>

*Women Educators in the Progressive Era, The Women behind Dewey's Laboratory School*, was an in depth study of the Laboratory School that Dewey founded in 1896 in Chicago, Illinois. Durst followed the careers of the four young women teachers that administered and

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<sup>69</sup> McGeough, 36-37.

<sup>70</sup> McGeough, 41, 43

<sup>71</sup> Durst, 2.

taught in the school, until the school closed in 1904. Four young women, Katherine and Anna Camp, Althea Harmer, and Mary Hill taught the theories that Dewey had developed on elementary education. They gave detailed reports on the results of these experiments in the classroom, and published them regularly in the publication *The Elementary School Teacher*.<sup>72</sup> Durst pointed out what Dewey believed was important in elementary education: “The first factor that Dewey considered was the organization of the school as a community.”<sup>73</sup> Durst observed that Dewey believed the teachers were to find common subjects that interested the students: “that by utilizing this information on the interests of the students the learning community could be established and the interaction between teachers and students utilizing the common interests would lead to the children and content together through pedagogical methods.”<sup>74</sup>

What that book described about the way elementary children were taught in the Laboratory School drew a comparison to the parallel way the Native American children were taught in the feeder day schools that were the elementary schools, in the Santa Fe Indian School system. Clinton J. Crandall and at least two of the elementary school teachers that taught in the day schools in Santa Fe, taught in a parallel way to some of the theories of Dewey. There is no indication that any of these elementary teachers in the day schools ever taught at the Laboratory School in Chicago. But the four women that Dewey had teaching and analyzing his theories at the Laboratory School, regularly wrote articles about the methods applied, which regularly appeared in the publication *The Elementary School Teacher* from 1896 to 1904.<sup>75</sup> The information about experiments in education in the Laboratory School in Chicago run by Dewey

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<sup>72</sup> Durst, 25-41.

<sup>73</sup> Durst, 4.

<sup>74</sup> Durst, 56.

<sup>75</sup> Durst, 25-41.

was available to anyone in the United States. It is unknown if the teachers in the day schools in the northern Pueblos ever read those articles. Because few documents survived from the day schools, there can only be speculation as to if the Progressive ideas published in *The Elementary School Teacher* was read by the teachers at SFIS. It is unknown if the parallels of the methods used in both the Laboratory School and SFIS was coincidence or not.

New scholarship by Adrea Lawrence indicated that the theories Dewey devised and experimented with at the Chicago Laboratory School were being paralleled in Santa Fe. Lawrence was an associate professor of education at American University in Washington D.C. The focus of, *Lessons from an Indian Day School: Negotiating Colonization in Northern New Mexico 1902-1907*, published in 2011, is on the correspondence between Clinton J. Crandall, the Superintendent of the northern Pueblos of the Santa Fe Indian School and Clara D. True a Progressive educator at the Santa Clara Day School. Lawrence said, the letters and correspondence between True and Crandall allowed a glimpse into how True wanted to teach Native American students: “Federal Indian Schools and the Indian Office defined indigenous populations as those to be colonized. As colonial institutions enforced a rigid chain of command on its employees, True would urge Crandall to allow her to bend or break the rules of the Indian Service in order to educate the Native American students.”<sup>76</sup> Lawrence included the correspondence between the all Pueblo Council, Crandall, and True as to how and what kind of curriculum was taught to the Pueblo and other Native American children that attended the Santa Clara Day School and the Santa Fe Indian School.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Lawrence, 16.

<sup>77</sup> Lawrence, 18.

*Lessons from an Indian Day School: Negotiating Colonization in Northern New Mexico 1902-1907* explained the responsibility the Superintendent had, to enforce laws and mediate as a representative of the United States government. True had a trying experience when she first arrived at Santa Clara: the diphtheria epidemic during the winter of 1903. The way she handled it earned her the respect of the Pueblo. She not only taught the Pueblo children, the Pueblo children taught her: “Pueblo cultural values, and through the exchange of cultural ideas gained a better understanding of each other.”<sup>78</sup> Lawrence looked at how one day school teacher used Progressive ideas to run her school. The teaching methods True applied gave insight to how both the Progressive educational ideas of Dewey and Pueblo cultural values worked together to create a better educated and informed Native American. True, in principal, taught her students the basic ideals behind pan-Indianism through the works of Charles Eastman. She had the older children read Eastman’s *Indian Boyhood* to hone their skills with English.<sup>79</sup> True experienced both the educative process of Dewey and Pueblo cultural values while she taught at the Santa Clara Day School.

*Native American Boarding Schools*, by Mary A. Stout published in 2012, used a comprehensive approach that looked at Indian boarding schools from first contact with Europeans, to the extreme experiences students had. Where Lawrence followed the interaction between students and the teacher at one school, the Santa Clara Day School, Stout examined the boarding school system in an overarching way and how the experiences of two students were very different. Stout was a freelance writer that wrote textbooks for secondary and college students. She has written two other books, one on Geronimo, and the other on the Hopi Indians.

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<sup>78</sup> Lawrence, 65-96.

<sup>79</sup> Lawrence, 166.

Stout graduated from the University of Arizona with a master's degree in American Indian Studies, and her MLS from UCLA. She is currently employed as the librarian at Pima Community College.<sup>80</sup> Stout wrote *Native American Boarding Schools* to examine the education practices used to assimilate Native Americans through education.

Stout used the experiences of Luther Standing Bear and Gertrude Bonnin to demonstrate the extremes in boarding school experiences and how the experience affected the family relationships of the students.<sup>81</sup> Luther Standing Bear enjoyed going to Carlisle and excelled there. He participated in the outing program and worked in a dry goods store in Philadelphia. According to Richard Pratt, the Superintendent of Carlisle, Luther Standing Bear was a model student, and the pride of Carlisle.<sup>82</sup> After Standing Bear completed his education at Carlisle, he started his own dry goods store on the Rosebud Reservation, in South Dakota. He became a tribal leader and a tribal intermediary between the Lakota and the United States government. He was very much in favor of the boarding school system. Standing Bear would have preferred more of an association type of relationship during his boarding school experience instead of the assimilation relationship that he experienced. Standing Bear desired equal cultural exchange between white culture and Native American culture.<sup>83</sup>

Gertrude Bonnin had a completely different experience. Quaker missionaries convinced her to go to the White's Institute of Indian Manual Labor in Wabash, Indiana. She was eight years old at the time and went with the Quakers against her mother's will, from the Yankton Reservation in South Dakota. After she arrived at the school, Bonnin experienced the trauma of

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<sup>80</sup> Mary A. Stout, <http://www.linkedin.com/in/maryastout>. (Accessed March 20, 2013)

<sup>81</sup> Mary A. Stout, *Native American Boarding Schools* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2012), xi.

<sup>82</sup> Stout, 122.

<sup>83</sup> Stout, 11, 122.

having her hair cut, and extreme punishment. She graduated from the Institute and continued her education. Bonnin eventually became a teacher at Carlisle. After two years she became very angry and critical of the boarding school system and resigned her position at Carlisle. Bonnin returned to the Yankton reservation only to be rejected by her mother. Bonnin left and never returned to Yankton. She became an activist for Native American rights, and joined the pan-Indian movement. She remained a critic of the boarding school system the rest of her life.<sup>84</sup> The boarding school and return home experience Bonnin had was completely different from the experience of Luther Standing Bear. Stout never mentioned the Santa Fe Indian School, but she did give a close look at how the boarding school system in the United States worked and the varied experiences of Native American students.

Since 1988 the trend changed on the way the boarding school system the United States implemented in 1879, had been written about. The literature has centered on works written about individual boarding schools, and having the story of the students that attended these schools told in their voice. But as more research and works are published it came to light that the Santa Fe Indian School had a different curriculum than what was considered a normal experience in boarding schools. Progressive education and the educational theories of John Dewey were at least paralleled at the Santa Fe Indian School, giving the students a different school experience.

SFIS stood out as very different. Many books on Native American history and Native American art history have told little bits and pieces about the history of Santa Fe and the student interaction across tribal lines that occurred. With Native American voices being injected into the literature, the interaction between the students of different tribes and what it meant is better understood. There has been at least one oral history, by Sally Hyer, which examined how the students interacted with each other. From that project came an interesting revelation, that the

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<sup>84</sup> Stout, 144-145.

students that attended the Santa Fe Indian School all experienced cultural exchange. Other literature suggested that the San Ildefonso and Santa Clara Day School encouraged that exchange at a very young age, and was where cultural exchange really began. Recent literature also indicated Progressive educational ideas, the educational theories of Dewey, and Pueblo cultural values all intertwined in an intricate relationship that encouraged cultural exchange between students from different tribes and their non-Native American teachers. That combination created a family and community within the Santa Fe Indian School.

Being encouraged to paint and practice their culture, allowed the Pueblo students to create a family and community within the Santa Fe Indian School on their own across tribal lines. But the cultural exchange encouraged by Progressive educators within the school before 1918 cannot be ignored. They helped the community and family of Native Americans to form. But two aspects of the development of the family are missing in the literature that has been written about the Santa Fe Indian School. One aspect is the strength of the cultural values of the Pueblo. Many times in the oral histories about the school, many of the students mentioned that they felt like a family and one Native American community. Community and family was mentioned often in the literature, but the role the Pueblo students played in making one large family across tribal lines has never been examined. The second aspect that is missing in the literature is the role Progressive educators played at the elementary level in the day schools before 1918 and how that transcended to the main school in Santa Fe. The influence of the parallels that existed between SFIS and the Laboratory School in Chicago run by Dewey have not been examined as an influence on the family and community that developed in SFIS. The only known educators that followed John Dewey arrived in 1918, long after 1902 when the parallels to Progressive education began. In all of the written literature, it has never been

explored as to how the cultural values of the Pueblo interconnected to the Progressive educational theories of Dewey and the Progressive educators. These two philosophies complemented each other and worked together to create the family and community of Native Americans. From this exchange an educated and more informed Native American with an identity emerged.

The atmosphere was right in Santa Fe that allowed a family and community of Native Americans to come together. There were two intricate parts to this phenomenon. Progressive educators made the atmosphere right for cultural exchange among the Native American students. The cultural exchange that occurred allowed the Pueblo students to teach their cultural values to all of the Native American students that attended the Santa Fe Indian School. Not only were Pueblo cultural values, but the values of other tribes were included in that exchange. From that exchange and some help from Progressive educators, a family and community formed in the Santa Fe Indian School identifying itself as Native American rooted in Native American culture.

## Chapter Two

### **Making an Educated Native American with an Identity Rooted in Native American Culture**

The Santa Fe Indian Industrial School opened in 1890. All Native American students in the southwestern United States were eligible to attend that school. The school was part of the federal boarding school system. With the passage of the Dawes Allotment Act in 1887, boarding schools, including the Santa Fe Indian Industrial School, educated young Native American boys and girls to utilize the land they had received through allotment. By obtaining this education and learning how to use the land these students would become useful citizens of the United States. SFIS also provided an education in the useful vocations for the Native American children, such as carpentry for boys and domestic service for girls.<sup>85</sup>

Located two miles from Santa Fe SFIS was a newly constructed facility. The buildings were all brick and neatly arranged for optimum ease and comfort. This was intentionally done to encourage the Native American students to want to learn about the culture and lifestyle of the Americans and to voluntarily assimilate into mainstream American society.<sup>86</sup> Sally Hyer had brought this point up in her dissertation at the University of New Mexico. Her focus was on the ethnohistory and the role architecture played in cultural exchange. Laurel Seth in his article, "Sally Hyer Kristin Volunteer Extraordinaire" printed in the *Bulletin of the Historic Santa Fe Foundation* stated the interest Hyer had in architecture and assimilation: "That project exemplified the certainty that Sally had that studying the places where cultures meet, looking at boarding school architecture for example, could tell people about social, economic, and cultural

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<sup>85</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 12.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

exchange and about cultural values.”<sup>87</sup> It would become the main objective of the superintendent of the school to ensure that assimilationist cultural exchange occurred and that the Native American children that attended the school assimilated into American society.

S.M. Cart, who believed in a Pratt-based education of Native Americans, became the first Superintendent of SFIS in 1890. Cart was the Superintendent until 1893, and his first priority as Superintendent was to recruit as many Native American children in the area to attend the school. In an 1891 report from the Superintendent of Indian Education in Washington D.C. said, Cart had a good showing of eighty students enrolled during the first year of the Santa Fe Indian School. The Superintendent, was full of praise for Cart, because he enrolled that many Native American students in a very spread out and desolate area. The City of Santa Fe very much wanted this school located in Santa Fe and welcomed the Native American children. In the early 1890s Santa Fe extended city water lines to the campus. The residents of Santa Fe supported and considered the Santa Fe Indian School “their Indian School,” and helped in any way possible to start and maintain the school.<sup>88</sup>

Cart left SFIS in 1893. He was replaced by ex-Confederate Army Colonel Jones, who at least had one Progressive thought, he established at Normal School a SFIS.<sup>89</sup> It is not known if Jones was a Progressive or favored a Pratt-based education for Native Americans. Jones established the first Normal School for Native Americans on the campus of the Santa Fe Indian School in 1894. There is little known about the Normal School other than that Jones started it. It is unclear when Jones left the Santa Fe Indian School and his successor, Andrew H. Viets, took over. Not much information exists on these two men, except that both were U.S. army trained

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<sup>87</sup> Seth, 23.

<sup>88</sup> Hyer, 5 and Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 12, 6.

<sup>89</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 12.

officers assigned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington D.C. to administer the Santa Fe Indian School. Clinton J. Crandall, who was a Progressive thinker, was appointed the new Superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian School, in 1900.<sup>90</sup> He brought change to the school and its relationship with the City of Santa Fe. He became involved with the Santa Fe community and garnered more support for the school, and at the same time increased the enrollment of the Native American students attending the school.<sup>91</sup> Crandall also brought with him a different view as to how Native American children should be educated at SFIS.<sup>92</sup>

Crandall was born in 1857 in Ohio. His family moved to Rockford, Minnesota where he attained his primary and secondary education in the “common” schools of Minnesota. Crandall then aspired to attain his higher education at the Normal School of Valparaiso, located in Indiana. It was not until 1891 that Crandall accepted his first position of Indian School Superintendent with the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the Pipestone Indian School, located in Minnesota. He left Pipestone in 1894 to become the Indian School Administrator and teacher at Chilocco, Oklahoma, then on to the Indian school at Sacaton, Arizona, and the Brule Indian School, in South Dakota. In 1900 Crandall accepted the position of School Administrator at the Santa Fe Indian School. Based on his nine years of experience as an Administrator for the Indian schools, Crandall decided very soon after his arrival in Santa Fe to concentrate on the elementary education curriculum and the industrial training aspect of the school. His focus for the next twelve years was on the elementary education of Native American children.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Brody, 38-40.

<sup>91</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 12-13.

<sup>92</sup> Brody, 38-40.

<sup>93</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 13.

During his first four years at the SFIS, Crandall increased the enrollment of the school from eighty Native American students that attended the school to 431. As more students were recruited more federal money became available for the school. An article that Crandall wrote and appeared in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* on August 23, 1904 titled "Make Good Showing: Santa Fe Indian Institution Enrollment Up," Crandall described his success in recruiting Native American students. The citizens of Santa Fe were proud of the success of SFIS and wanted to know what was going on within the school,

There now enrolled at the school 431 pupils, representing five tribes . . . out of this number there are at least 350 full-bloods.

The faculty is composed of teachers, well skilled, who take a deep interest in their work, realizing that to teach Indians requires perseverance and hard work . . . lower grades are the fullest . . . with few Indians ever going above the eighth grade. They seem to prefer one of the various trades of professions taught. These include: engineering, blacksmithing, tailoring, farming, carpentry, etc. for the boys and dressmaking, cooking, and how to become a housekeeper for the girls.

The boys have just built a cottage on campus . . . They will be expected to build others next year. We have football, handball, and basketball for the boys . . . The boys make their own shoes and do much of the carpenter work and manual labor about the institution.<sup>94</sup>

During the first four years that Crandall was at SFIS, he forged a strong relationship, which still exists today, with the city and residents of Santa Fe.

The faculty that Crandall assembled at SFIS was very dedicated. He had hardworking educators at the elementary level. Crandall believed the elementary level was the most important part of the education of Native Americans. The education principals and curriculum at the elementary level that Crandall applied at SFIS from 1902 to 1912 paralleled the ideas and theories that John Dewey applied at the Laboratory School in Chicago.

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<sup>94</sup> Crandall, Clinton J. "Make Good Showing," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 23, 1904. (Accessed 9/27/2013) and Winona Garmhausen Papers, 18-19.

### **Progressive Education and Pueblo Cultural Values**

Progressive educators, Esther Hoyt and Clara True, arrived to teach in the day school system of the Santa Fe Indian School in 1902. They were part of the reason that Crandall increased the enrollment of SFIS by 1904. Hoyt and True gained the confidence and trust of the Pueblo that lived in the northern district of SFIS. The Pueblo entrusted Hoyt and True with the education of their children. With that came the trust that Pueblo heritage would be preserved while Hoyt and True educated the Pueblo children about the ways of the white man.

Esther Hoyt was a fifty-two year veteran teacher in the Indian Service. Crandall hired her to live and teach in the San Ildefonso Pueblo. Hoyt was responsible for teaching Pueblo children and a few Apache children that lived in the area, age twelve and younger. San Ildefonso Pueblo had a population of one hundred thirty eight people when she arrived in 1902. The school building that Hoyt used to teach her students was rented by the Indian Service from a Pueblo owner and was located on the outside edge of the village.<sup>95</sup>

The Pueblo offered a form of civilization that aligned with the European-derived markers of civilization. Included in the definition was the fact that the Pueblo were sedentary, farmers, and Christian. Also, while the Pueblo lived under Spanish rule, they came to be individual property owners. After the Mexican-American War a provision was included in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo that allowed the Pueblo to keep their property holdings. They purchased and sold or rented property.<sup>96</sup> This was the reason that the Indian Service rented a building from a Native American. It was very important that the teachers Crandall brought into the northern Pueblo Day Schools established a very good and trusting relationship with the Pueblo parents, grandparents, and elders in the respective northern Pueblos.

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<sup>95</sup> Brody, 38.

<sup>96</sup> Lawrence, 2, 98-99.

Hoyt was a long time teacher in the Indian Service and her mission, no matter where she was assigned, was to teach Native American children to read, write, work with numbers, and learn English. Along with these objectives Hoyt was to replace Native American culture with Euro-Americans ideas to attempt to get Native Americans assimilated into mainstream American culture. The year Hoyt took over San Ildefonso, 1902, only eighteen Pueblo students attended the one-room day school, out of forty-five children that were available that year. In 1903 the attendance increased, but no accurate record of the attendance was available. Hoyt only mentioned that attendance was up. Her students ranged from age four to age twelve. Her students included some future famous watercolor painters and pottery makers, Tonita Peña ten, Alfredo Montoya, eleven, Awa Tsireh, four, Santana Roybal, nine, and Maria Martinez, twelve, all of whom within the next fifteen years would become instructors at the Santa Fe Indian School. Attendance greatly increased by 1905, the first year the school kept official attendance records. Thirty-one students attended the now overcrowded one-room day school.<sup>97</sup> It was evident Hoyt gained the trust of the Pueblo parents and elders because so many of their children attended her school.

Tonita Peña remembered how Hoyt distributed art supplies and encouraged the children in the class to paint the dances they had just participated in on the plaza grounds of the school.<sup>98</sup> This countered what the U.S. government wanted the boarding schools to do. Hoyt was not following the guidelines described in the *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States: Industrial and Literary*. This was the manual of the United States government, which outlined the official government policy as to how Native American children were to be educated in the boarding school system.

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<sup>97</sup> Brody, 39.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

*Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States: Industrial and Literary* was written in 1901 by Estelle Reel who was the Superintendent of Indian Schools, located in the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington D.C. The manual was distributed to all of the Indian boarding schools in the United States on August 10, 1901 as a guideline for the education of Native American children.<sup>99</sup> Reel described what the United States government wanted Native American children to learn while they attended a government run boarding school and the manner in which the teachers should teach the children.

The manual expressed the importance to teach the Native American student the English language as quickly as possible. The students were to learn a vocation at the same time. The manual gave an outline of every course that was to be taught in the boarding schools that ranged from English, home domestic service, and industrial training. Guidelines that taught proper hygiene and system were included in the manual. The teachers in the Indian Service were to adhere to this manual and emphasize the dignity and nobility of labor. Reel hoped that through this curriculum being utilized, would make the Native American children a more patriotic and Christian U.S. citizen with the ability to be self-supportive.<sup>100</sup>

The manual prohibited any practice of Native American culture in the school. That would have included having Native American children paint about what dance they had just participated in at school, that was something that was prohibited. Hoyt ignored the manual, but she was a loyal employee of the Indian Service and had expressed, in 1902, her firm support of Federal policy toward the education of Native American children.<sup>101</sup> It is clear that Hoyt took

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<sup>99</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior. Office on Indian Affairs. Bureau of Education. *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States: Industrial and Literary*. By Estelle Reel Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, (August 10, 1901), 5.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, 5-6.

<sup>101</sup> Brody, 39.

very seriously the fact that the elementary teacher and the elementary education of Native American children were important, but she used a method that was not outlined in the manual written by Reel.

Hoyt allowed ritual dances to be performed and afterward the Native American children painted about the dances. Why did Hoyt do this? Judging from the statement Peña had made maybe Hoyt was: “a sympathetic, experienced, and effective teacher who developed close rapport with many of her students and whose primary concern was for the children and their acculturative development.”<sup>102</sup> Brody said that use of drawing in class was not an innovation of Hoyt, but a curriculum feature of Crandall. Hoyt used this method as a way to have children who had difficulty speaking English to communicate about things that mattered to them. As Tonita Peña recalled the perspective of the instructions that Hoyt gave the students, simply was for them to draw or paint the importance of the religious ritual and what it meant in their lives. Crandall went so far as to tell Hoyt and told her successor to “overlook the transgression” of children speaking their own language on the school playground.<sup>103</sup>

The same situation existed at Jemez Pueblo during the same time period. In an interview with Sally Hyer from her project titled *Santa Fe Indian School: The First 100 Years Project* conducted in 1985 through 1986, Andrea Toledo Fragua, who attended SFIS in the 1910s, spoke about speaking Jemez, her native language, Hyer asked: “Were you allowed to speak your own language?” Fragua replied “Yes.” Hyer asked, “Did you speak Jemez?” Fragua replied, “Yeah. When we were with the girls we spoke Jemez. When we were with the other girls we spoke English.” Hyer asked, “Were you punished for speaking Jemez?” Fragua answered, “No, we did

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<sup>102</sup> Brody, 39-40.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

not get punished.”<sup>104</sup> In at least two day schools the Pueblo children were allowed to speak their native language. Crandall and Hoyt ignored what Reel had outlined in her guide book on speaking native languages. Crandall instructed Hoyt not to forcibly suppress the native language of the students, but to encourage students to use English to engage their interests.<sup>105</sup>

Crandall paralleled the Progressive ideas of John Dewey. Whether Hoyt was a Progressive educator and follower of Dewey or just a good and loyal employee who followed instructions very well, is not known as there is little written about Hoyt. Crandall paralleled Dewey’s idea of the educative process which was the core of the philosophy of education and cultural exchange. Lawrence wrote about the educative process of Dewey: “As Dewey posits, educative processes are lessons that produce subsequent learning; this in turn expands the capacity for individual and group learning at the moment and in the future.”<sup>106</sup> Crandall paralleled the ideas of Dewey and this allowed a different kind of education to occur at the Santa Fe Indian School. Cultural ideas were being exchanged between the Native American children. But who was John Dewey and what were his ideas and theories?

With the arrival of the twentieth century, educational reformers in the United States were very concerned about the concentration of wealth and political power in the upper class, and the type of education being offered. Progressive education reformers did not like the type of education being taught, an education of uniformity and not diversity. This system only educated children to be dutiful, not critical citizens. The education system was focused on disciplinary training, not personal development and was in place only to support the growing industrial

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<sup>104</sup> Andrea Toledo Fragua, interview by Sally Hyer, ca., 1986, folder 13 interview transcript of tape 12, transcribed by Brandt Morgan, Santa Fe Indian School: The First 100 Years Project 1986-1987, (MSS 595 BC), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, 3.

<sup>105</sup> Brody, 40.

<sup>106</sup> Lawrence, 195.

economy, while it only provided for academic development to a certain few and giving a vocational education to the rest of society.<sup>107</sup>

Dewey claimed this kind of education resulted in the erosion of community life, small scale participation by the masses, and limited democratic participation. According to McGeough, Dewey published an article titled, *My Pedagogic Creed* in 1897, introducing his ideas on education.<sup>108</sup> Dewey stated what he believed was important in educating children,

I believe that the only true education comes through the stimulation of the child's powers by the demands of the social situations in which he finds himself. Through these demands he is stimulated to act as a member of a unity, to emerge from his original narrowness of action and feeling and to conceive of himself from the standpoint of the welfare of the group to which he belongs. Through the responses which others make to his own activities he comes to know what these mean in social terms. The value which they have is reflected back into them. . . I believe that this educational process has two sides - one psychological and one sociological; and that neither can be subordinated to the other nor neglected without evil results following.<sup>109</sup>

In many ways this idea of Dewey was being executed in a parallel manner at the Santa Fe Indian School.

Dewey's ideas on education came from his experiences as a young boy growing up in Burlington, Vermont. Dewey was born in 1859 to a religious minded mother, Lucina Rich Dewey, and an autocratic language-loving father, Archibald Dewey. Dewey entered the University of Vermont in 1879, at the age of twenty, and found school boring. Through the study of philosophy Dewey discovered and theorized about how children should be educated and keep

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<sup>107</sup> McGeough, 17, McGeough explains where she found this information in footnote 3, "The John Dewey Project on Progressive Education" n.d. *A Brief Overview of Progressive Education*. This is a website run by the University of Vermont completely devoted to the Progressive ideas on education of John Dewey; she accessed this on April 5, 2007.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> "My Pedagogic Creed" *School Journal*, 54 (January, 1897): 77. <http://dewey/pragmatism.org/creed.htm> (Accessed on March 4, 2014).

that education interesting so the students learn on a continuing basis by exchanging ideas among themselves. Dewey theorized that this type of education should begin at the elementary level.<sup>110</sup>

In 1896 Dewey organized and founded the Laboratory School located on the campus of the University of Chicago. Anne Durst wrote: “The educational theories of John Dewey as carried out in the Laboratory School, defied ordinary labels, the experimental school offered not just original ways to think about curriculum and instruction, but also a distinct approach to organizing a school so that the ideas and decisions of teachers mattered.”<sup>111</sup> Everything started at the elementary level with the teacher actively involved in that important part of the education of a child. Durst observed that intellectual freedom was an important part of the curriculum Dewey wanted utilized in the school: “At the Laboratory School, intellectual freedom advocated by Dewey and was central to the design of the school and practices. Teachers at the school were encouraged to be engaged intellectually with understanding the subject matter, discovering the learning capacities and interests of the children, and bringing the children and content together through innovative pedagogical methods.”<sup>112</sup> In the fall of 1898 the teachers that worked in the Laboratory School began to write reports about the progress that was made. The teachers created a community of students that included the teacher, which made learning more an exchange of ideas between the members of a community. This was important to the idea of exchange and learning.<sup>113</sup> Those reports were published in the publication *The Elementary School Teacher*, on a regular basis. Dewey also published several articles about his ideas on elementary education

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<sup>110</sup> Durst, 10-17.

<sup>111</sup> Durst, 46.

<sup>112</sup> Durst, 56.

<sup>113</sup> Durst, 57.

and how important the creation of a community and equal exchange of ideas was in educating young children.

By 1903 the Laboratory School was near the end of its experimental run in education. In 1904 the doors to the school closed due to a difference of opinion between Dewey and the President of the University of Chicago. But Dewey kept on writing articles that were published in *The Elementary School Teacher*. In an article that appeared in the December 1903 issue, titled “Democracy in Education” Dewey made clear that individuals needed to have freedom to learn: “Modern life means democracy; democracy means freeing intelligence for independent effectiveness—the emancipation of mind as an individual organ to do its own work.”<sup>114</sup> Dewey was critical of the education system. In that article, Dewey described one of his theories on education and that is how the teacher and student teach each other in an exchange of ideas, or the workings of the educative process. Dewey believed that in order for that to occur ideas have to be exchanged not only between the students but also the teacher has to be involved: “The teacher has not the power of initiation and constructive endeavor which is necessary to the fulfilment of the function of teaching. The learner finds conditions antagonistic (or at least lacking) to the development of individual mental power and to adequate responsibility for its use.”<sup>115</sup> Dewey believed that all of the functions and decisions concerning a school should be made by the people that work within the school: “Many reformers are contending against the conditions which place the direction of school affairs, including the selection of text-books, etc., in the hands of a body of men who are outside the school system itself, who have not necessarily any expert knowledge

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<sup>114</sup> John Dewey, “Democracy in Education,” *The Elementary School Teacher* 4 (December 1903): 193.

<sup>115</sup> Dewey, 194.

of education and who are moved by non-educational motives. The offered solution is the transfer of authority to the school superintendent.”<sup>116</sup>

Many of the ideas that Dewey described were present in the northern Pueblo day schools of the Santa Fe Indian School after 1902. Dewey believed superintendents and principals needed to have an active role in the administration of the school: “Superintendents and principals often encourage individuality and thoughtfulness in the invention and adoption of methods of teaching; and they wink at departures from the printed manual of study.”<sup>117</sup> In many ways that last statement by Dewey described the way Clinton J. Crandall administered SFIS. He and Hoyt were not following the rules that Estelle Reel had written and distributed to them in 1901. Crandall in many ways ran SFIS in a parallel way to the Laboratory School in Chicago, which Dewey created. Hoyt taught in a parallel way at the San Ildefonso Day School to the educational theories of Dewey. She found what the Native American children were interested in and used it to create an atmosphere of idea exchange, that reached across tribal lines, and included herself in that exchange. She allowed a community to develop to make that exchange occur. The parallels to the Laboratory School in Chicago and SFIS become more visible at the Santa Clara Day School. The teaching techniques that were applied by Clara D. True, the day school teacher at Santa Clara, gave an accurate view of the parallels within the Santa Fe Indian School system to the Laboratory School in Chicago.

Clara D. True came to the Santa Clara Day School in late 1902. Born in Kentucky in 1868, True joined the Office of Indian Affairs as a boarding school teacher and her first assignment was at the Haskell Institute in Kansas. From Haskell she was assigned to the Colville Indian School in Washington State, the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma and the Lower

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<sup>116</sup> Dewey, 195.

<sup>117</sup> Dewey, 196.

Brule Indian School in South Dakota. True had worked with Clinton Crandall at the Lower Brule School before he was transferred to the Santa Fe Indian School.<sup>118</sup>

True became very culturally sensitive to the specific needs of the Pueblo living at Santa Clara. The 1903 diphtheria outbreak in both San Idefonso and Santa Clara Pueblos was the event that allowed True to gain the trust and respect of the Pueblo Elders and parents of the Pueblo school children. At the same time she created a learning community that included her in the day school. The diphtheria outbreak allowed her to learn the sociopolitical structure and the general needs of the Pueblo living in Santa Clara. That enabled True to increase the enrollment in the Santa Clara Day School. Against the wishes of Crandall in the fall of 1904, True delayed the start of school so the children would be available to help their parents bring in the fall harvest.<sup>119</sup> That was the first of several controversial decisions she made during her tenure in Santa Clara.

Much learning occurred in the Santa Clara Day School as documented by True. The students were engaged with each other and True was engaged with the interests of the children she taught.<sup>120</sup> True paralleled what the teachers did in the Laboratory School Dewey created in Chicago, because she created a community within the Santa Clara Day School and idea exchange occurred not only between the students, but the teacher and the students exchanged ideas as well. True became sensitive to what her pupils needed and was interested in.

In a 1986 interview of a former student, Santanita Lefthand who attended the Taos Day School in 1911, the way the Santa Fe Indian School paralleled the Laboratory School in Chicago is illustrated. Lefthand told of her educational experience at the Taos Day School: "I think the teachers were really interested in us Indians, to learn what they were trying to teach. The teachers

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<sup>118</sup> Lawrence, 8-9.

<sup>119</sup> Lawrence, 65-68, 205.

<sup>120</sup> Lawrence, 68.

went slowly they would turn us back again if we did not get the first lesson right.”<sup>121</sup> At SFIS the same type of idea exchange between teacher and student occurred. Another interview, in 1986 conducted by Sally Hyer with Andrea Toledo Fragua, who attended SFIS in the 1910s, also told of the teacher student exchange that Dewey said was important to the educative process. Hyer asked Fragua about having a favorite teacher, “Did you have a favorite teacher that you remember? Yes, Mrs. Penn. Could you tell us about her? She was a very good teacher. A very strict teacher and she taught us regular school like reading, writing, arithmetic, and history and all that.”<sup>122</sup>

From the correspondence between True and Crandall, student remembrances of Hoyt and student remembrances of two other day school teachers at Taos and Jemez, it appeared that a parallel of the educational theory of Dewey occurred in at least three day schools and SFIS. At San Ildefonso Hoyt used art and the dances of the Pueblo to create cultural exchange. True used living lessons for exchange. It is unclear from the interviews what the other two teachers, from Taos and SFIS, used to create cultural exchange, but from the interviews the students interviewed believed their teachers were interested and engaged with them. The engaged education that occurred in these three Pueblo day schools and SFIS was what: “Philosopher John Dewey called the process which learning became ‘educative.’ The educative process, writes Dewey ‘is a continuous process of growth, having as its aim at every stage an added capacity of growth’ or ‘further education’ and the capacity to determine just how previously learned lessons

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<sup>121</sup> Santanita Lefthand, interview by Sally Hyer, May 28, 1986, folder 15 interview transcript of tape 14, transcribed by Brandt Morgan, Santa Fe Indian School: The First 100 Years Project 1986-1987, (MSS 595 BC), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, 18-19

<sup>122</sup> Fragua, interview, 4.

should play out in current or future situations.”<sup>123</sup> The education that occurred in these three day schools and SFIS was parallel to the educative process of Dewey.

Hoyt used art to teach Native American children to speak English. True used reading. In 1904 an issue arose for True with the students that were ready to enroll in the main school at Santa Fe. After her students left the day school to go to the Santa Fe Indian School, many returned to the day school to learn more from her.<sup>124</sup> To help these students develop better reading skills True used advanced books. These books were written by Native American intellectuals. True taught her older students reading skills with *Indian Boyhood* published in 1902 by Charles Eastman a Santee Sioux, and one of the founders of the Society of American Indians.<sup>125</sup> This organization was one of the first pan-Indian movements in America. The Society of American Indians worked on finding and creating a Native American identity and unity to enact change in Federal policy toward Native Americans.<sup>126</sup> True also had her students read *The Middle Five*, published in 1900, by Francis La Flesche, an Omaha and Native American reformer. Those two books were not the type of reading that Estelle Reel recommended in 1901: “By using those two books True had succeed in teaching the Native American children to read, but at the same time facilitated a form of pan-Indian identity. That returned students were reading about the experiences on other Indians in other Indian schools suggests that Native experiences, to some degree transcended specific school sites and those Santa Claran students could empathize with the experiences of other Native American students.”<sup>127</sup> True was

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<sup>123</sup> Lawrence, 173.

<sup>124</sup> Lawrence, 166.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Carpenter, 140.

<sup>127</sup> Lawrence, 166-167.

reprimanded by Crandall several times for enrolling students at Santa Clara who were to be enrolled at the main school in Santa Fe. The school received funds from the U.S. government based on enrollment numbers. But True had developed a special bond with her students, and the Pueblo community at Santa Clara the educative process went beyond the normal teacher-student relationship.

Progressive educators were not the only force that worked to teach the Native American children at the Santa Fe Indian School. Pueblo cultural values were also present. Sally Hyer described the Pueblo and their long history of making alliances across tribal lines for a common cause. In her book *One House, One Voice, One Heart, Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School*, she talked about Pueblo cultural values and their history of cultural exchange, the Pueblos were farmers under Spanish occupation, the missions that were built by the Spaniards served a dual purpose for both religious purposes and place for education. But the Spanish soon discovered that the Pueblo were an independent people and possessed the ability to form alliances across tribal lines to attain a common goal.<sup>128</sup> Joe S. Sando, a Pueblo scholar, told of how effective the Pueblo were at forming alliances. In his book, *Pueblo Profiles Cultural Identity through Centuries of Change*, Sando described how the Pueblo rebelled against the Spanish in 1680 and successfully created an alliance across tribal lines among all of the Pueblo tribes and the neighboring Apaches. They formed a movement that viewed themselves as Native Americans (or a very early form of pan-Indianism) wanting to rid themselves of the oppressive Spanish.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Hyer, 3.

<sup>129</sup> Sando, 3-4.

Pueblo children were taught these oral stories of the Pueblo Revolt and about cooperation and alliances between different tribes during their early years before they enrolled in either the Pueblo day schools or the Santa Fe Indian School. By the time these children were five years of age the traditions and ways of the Pueblo and Pueblo cultural values had been deeply impressed by the lessons taught to them within their communities. They were taught the importance of the community they lived in and how important family ties were and needed to be maintained above all else. Boys and girls learned those lessons from their grandparents. At the core of the lessons were basic moral values and respect for elders and those lessons in Pueblo cultural values were taught at very early age in life.<sup>130</sup> Hyer told what one San Felipe Pueblo man said about his lessons from his grandfather on Pueblo cultural values: “Certainly my grandfather was a motivating force. My grandpa was strictly Indian . . . I was his partner when I was young; from the time I could walk, up to my school days. I had seen the worth of Indian ways. It was beautiful. I did not know what it was; nevertheless it was beautiful. Many of the Pueblos wanted their children to have an education to learn the ways of the outsiders. Our parents, grandparents, and elders all wanted us to have an education.”<sup>131</sup> Hyer pointed out how important it was to the Pueblo that their children learned the ways of the white man: “Students were at the school to learn the white man’s way of life. But at the same time, their Indian identity was secure; they already knew who they were and who their parents were. As one student commented on the charge their parents gave them before they let home: “the attitude our parents gave us at home was, do not ever forget your heritage. This is what you are, and you cannot ever change because

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<sup>130</sup> Hyer, 5-6.

<sup>131</sup> Hyer, 6.

you are this. But you must learn this other culture, which is necessary in this life.”<sup>132</sup> Education was a Pueblo cultural value of high importance in Pueblo culture.<sup>133</sup>

After Clinton Crandall became Superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian School, Pueblo cultural values and the wisdom of the Pueblo parents, grandparents, and elders became apparent. They brought their children to the school. Many of these children arrived at the school on the backs of burros. In an interview with Estefanita “Esther” Chavez Toledo, conducted by Sally Hyer from her project titled *Santa Fe Indian School: The First 100 Years Project 1986-1987*, conducted on May 22, 1986 at Jemez Pueblo, Toledo described her journey and arrival at SFIS in 1905: “Oh it was nothing. We just went up. We just get a ride. We rode to the school on a burro. It took about two days because in those days we were all poor. No cars. My sister and I went to the school because our mother and grandmother wanted all of my sisters and me to go to the school. It was important to them that we learn as much as we could about both worlds, white and Pueblo.”<sup>134</sup> Toledo was not the only student that arrived at the Santa Fe Indian School on the back of a burro. Many students arrived this way in the years between 1900 and 1912. Petra Chavez Ramero arrived in 1908 in this manner and was very embarrassed by it, because she rode the burro while her parents and grandparents walked either beside her or behind her.<sup>135</sup>

These girls were not the only students that traveled this far on the back of a burro. There were other children from the Jemez Pueblo and the other Pueblos in the northern district of the

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<sup>132</sup> Hyer, 8.

<sup>133</sup> Sando, 59.

<sup>134</sup> Estefanita “Esther” Chavez Toledo, interview by Sally Hyer, May 22, 1986, folder 12 interview transcript of tape 10, transcribed by Brandt Morgan, *Santa Fe Indian School: The First 100 Years Project 1986-1987*, (MSS 595 BC), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, 1-2.

<sup>135</sup> Petra Chavez Romero, interview by Sally Hyer, May 20, 1986, folder 11 interview transcript of tape 10, transcribed by Brandt Morgan, *Santa Fe Indian School: The First 100 Years Project 1986-1987*, (MSS 595 BC), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, 1.

Santa Fe Indian School. Their parents and grandparents accompanied the children on their journey to the school. They had to travel over the mountains on narrow wagon roads. Many of the children were being urged by their grandparents to go to the SFIS, and Romero was one of them: “It was my grandma. No, they wanted us to have education. My grandma did. She is the one that raised me.”<sup>136</sup>

In an interview Hyer did with Santanita Lefthand, who arrived at SFIS in 1911, it is made very clear that not only her parents were involved with her education, but the entire Taos community kept a watchful eye on the way their children were educated at the Santa Fe Indian School: “I was able to keep in contact with the Taos community and them with me. The Pueblo governor always visited the school and watched very closely that we were treated right.”<sup>137</sup>

In her book, *One House, One Voice, One Heart, Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School*, Hyer explained what the parents of the students told them before they left to go to SFIS and what it meant to be Pueblo: “The whole Pueblo teaching was there. Parents told their children ‘We are going to let you be at this certain place under the care of these people. And we know that you will be taken care of. And whatever they prescribe for you, be willing to learn, because you are there solely for the purpose of learning.’”<sup>138</sup> The students were told to be good and “we respected our teachers.”<sup>139</sup> Hyer said, as Pueblo children we were taught to be respectful and obedient at a very early age in Pueblo culture: “One of the hallmarks of being Pueblo...is

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<sup>136</sup> Romero, interview, 2.

<sup>137</sup> Lefthand, interview, 20.

<sup>138</sup> Hyer 8.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

how you get along with others. You are taught to recognize as brothers or sisters. Whenever you see anyone, there is always a greeting that is appropriate. That helped very much at school.”<sup>140</sup>

Pueblo teachings helped prepare students for their school experience. A San Juan graduate said, they did not struggle against the circumstances of forced separation from their families, they accepted it and persevered: “I think some of the teaching our parents gave us: to be tolerant, to not be overly aggressive, being of that mind really made a difference. I knew how to do without. I knew how to be moderate and I knew how to obey.”<sup>141</sup>

Students were at school to learn the way of life of the white man. But at the same time, their Indian identity was secure; they already knew who they were and who their parents were: “The attitude our parents gave us at home was, ‘Do not ever forget your heritage. This is what you are, and you cannot ever change, because you are this. But you *must* learn this other culture, which is necessary in this life. When children left home, their relatives blessed them and sent them on their way.”<sup>142</sup> These were the cultural values of the Pueblo and the education of their children was the most important.

After the Pueblo children arrived at the Santa Fe Indian School they began to teach the cultural values their parents, grandparents, and elders had taught them, to the other students from other tribes that attended the school. The parents sent their children to SFIS and brought them on the backs of burros, because these children were the hope and future of the Pueblo. These children were to learn how to live in the world of the white man while at the same they were to keep the heritage of the Pueblo alive in the modern world.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Hyer, 8.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

Progressive education allowed the students to take advantage of a situation within the school. Progressive educators became involved with the cultures of the Native American students, and tried to find out what the interests of students were to allow the educative process to occur. At the same time the Pueblo students applied the philosophy that their parents instilled in them at a very young age as they left home to go to the Santa Fe Indian School. These young Pueblo men and women applied the same principles that the Pueblo used after the Spanish had retaken New Mexico in the 1690s. The Pueblo learned Spanish as a second language to coexist with the Spanish and learned the ways of the Spanish in order to survive as a culture. The Pueblo applied the same strategy to learn the American ways to preserve their Pueblo culture in the early twentieth century. The educative process developed a way for teachers to teach students, but also allowed Pueblo cultural values to be taught. The combination of the Progressive educational ideas and Pueblo cultural values encouraged a family of Native Americans to develop, that collectively viewed themselves as Native American. This combination of Progressive education and Pueblo cultural values was fostering a feeling of pan-Indianism within SFIS.

#### **Federal Indian Education Policy from 1900 to 1912**

The United States started to change some of its policies toward Native American education, except how English was taught, by 1907. Commissioner of Indian Education in Washington D.C., Francis Leupp, issued a circular on December 3, 1907. Commissioner Leupp stated in that circular that one teacher in the Southwest had been using a different approach to teach Native American children: "I have in a few speeches and other public utterances, made special mention for the successful practice of one of our teachers in the Southwest, of inducing her pupils to bring to the classroom the little nursery songs of their homes, and sing them there in

concert, in their tongue and with their own inflections and gestures.”<sup>144</sup> Leupp talked about the importance of having Native American children to learn and become proficient in the use of English and suggested the use of daily journals.<sup>145</sup> It was apparent from that circular that Leupp still believed in a Pratt-based education concerning how Native American children learned English.<sup>146</sup>

It was unclear which teacher in the Southwest Leupp referred to, because there were many teachers in the Southwest. It was known that at the San Idefonso Day School, Esther Hoyt had her students draw and paint pictures about ritual dances of the Pueblo and used this approach to try to teach English to the students.<sup>147</sup> But there was more than one female teacher in the Southwest. Leupp could have been referring to another school other than SFIS because there were boarding schools at Albuquerque and Phoenix to name two schools also in the Southwest. There really was no way to know which female teacher in the Southwest Leupp referred to, but he made it clear that English was a priority to be taught in the boarding schools and not to combine or let native languages impede the teaching of English.

Adams observed a change in attitude of Native American education in the boarding school system, in his book *Education for Extinction, American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-192*. Adams noticed that Leupp believed that new vocations and trades should be taught to Native Americans and that new curriculum should be developed that showcased Native American vocations. Instead of carpentry for boys and domestic service for girls, maybe

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<sup>144</sup> Winona M. Garmhausen papers Collection Institute of American Indian Art, MS-007, box 10 file 2 Indian Education, section of report on Indian education by Francis Leupp to Congress in 1907, from Education Circular Number 175, Issued by Commissioner [Francis] Leupp, December 3, 1907, 41-42. Located in archives of the Institute of American Indian Art, Santa Fe New Mexico.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Brody, 38-40.

certain tribes that possessed a special type of skill should be pursued instead of the traditional trades. Leupp believed that the desire of Native American students to work in their native art forms would eventually help them become self-sustaining and supplement their English education. Leupp believed that approach would help Native Americans assimilate into mainstream American society.<sup>148</sup> That type of education had already started at the Santa Fe Indian School in 1901.<sup>149</sup> One reason was that many tourists had travelled through the Santa Fe area since the 1880s and had purchased Pueblo pottery. SFIS started teaching pottery making in 1901 to keep that tradition alive and was a commodity to sell for the community.<sup>150</sup> Because Progressive educators paralleled the way the Laboratory School put SFIS ahead of Leupp as to what vocations Native American children should be taught to keep them interested in learning.

1907 and 1912 saw the retirement, promotion, and being removed from office of Hoyt, True, and Crandall. Esther Hoyt retired from the Indian Service in 1907. The first replacement that Crandall assigned to San Ildefonso lost the trust of the Pueblo parents and elders so enrollment dropped. Two years later Crandall replaced that teacher at San Ildefonso with Elizabeth Richards, and attendance rebounded as Richards was much like Hoyt in her teaching style and regained the confidence of the Pueblo.<sup>151</sup> Clara True was promoted to Superintendent in 1907, by the Indian Service, and was transferred to southern California. She was Superintendent of the Potrero Indian School and a year later transferred to the Malki Indian School. There she met the love of her life, Mary Bryon who became her life-long companion. True left the Indian service in 1910 and moved back to the Santa Fe area. She purchased a ranch

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<sup>148</sup> Adams, 317.

<sup>149</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 18.

<sup>150</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 18-23.

<sup>151</sup> Brody, 71-72.

near the Santa Clara Pueblo and turned it into an orchard and worked unofficially with the Santa Clara Pueblo in cultural and educational matters.<sup>152</sup> She could not stay away from the people with whom she had a cultural exchange with, and became culturally sensitive to. The educative process True developed had a profound effect upon her and demonstrated the strength of both the educative process of Dewey and the influence of Pueblo cultural values. Crandall was transferred by the Indian Service in 1912 as part of a disciplinary action. He was accused, but not convicted, of being part of a liquor running ring in Santa Fe. He returned to Santa Fe in 1923 to become the Superintendent for the northern Pueblo Agency.<sup>153</sup> These three educators had moved on by 1912. Two, Crandall and True returned to different roles in the Santa Fe area. But these three educators had laid the ground work for the DeHuffs before they arrived at the Santa Fe Indian School in 1918. The DeHuffs brought attention to SFIS. Elizabeth is often credited with introducing Progressive educational ideas to SFIS. But those ideas and the cultural exchange already existed in SFIS when she arrived in 1918.

There seemed to be some strength to ways of the Pueblo and their cultural values. The Progressive educators that taught at SFIS from 1902 to 1912, in conjunction with Pueblo cultural values created an atmosphere that allowed the Pueblo and other Native American students create agency and take advantage of the system. The educative process had a role that allowed the Native American students from many tribes create a family of Native Americans that collectively considered themselves Native Americans. Those Progressive educators may have closed one chapter on Native American education at the Santa Fe Indian School, but opened a new chapter with the blessing of Commissioner Leupp for their successors: the DeHuffs.

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<sup>152</sup> Lawrence, 9-10.

<sup>153</sup> Lawrence, 10.

Arts and crafts as a vocation started in 1901 at Santa Fe started with pottery making, before Leupp suggested new vocations for Native Americans. The students of True and Hoyt started teaching at SFIS by 1912, and carried on the tradition of the educative process that started in a parallel manner in 1902 and continued until 1918. By 1918 thirty percent of the staff at the Santa Fe Indian School was Native American.<sup>154</sup> The art that was being produced at the school was now promoted. The promotion of the art work brought attention to the school. Native American students that attended the school defined and expressed their cultural identity. At the same time pan-Indianism took root within the Santa Fe Indian School. Pan-Indian movements started across the United States during the 1910s as well.

#### **Pan-Indianism and Native American Identity Expressed in Two Different Ways**

Clinton Crandall left the Santa Fe Indian School in 1912 and John DeHuff became Superintendent of the school in 1918. The years between 1912 and 1918 saw two Superintendents, H.F. Coggeshell 1912 to 1913 and Frederick Snyder 1913 to 1918. Neither man changed the educative process that ran parallel to Progressive educational ideas at the Santa Fe Indian School. The students that were taught under the Progressive educators, Esther Hoyt and Clara True, became instructors at SFIS.<sup>155</sup> The students expressed their cultural identity through art. Either as a pottery maker or watercolor painter a collective Native American identity was being expressed. Students were painting about home and the first encounters that their tribe had with Europeans and then Americans.<sup>156</sup> By 1920 SFIS established an arts program that any Native American student could attend if accepted, to pursue art.<sup>157</sup> The art program brought

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<sup>154</sup> Hyer, 17.

<sup>155</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 18, 29.

<sup>156</sup> Anthes, 5.

<sup>157</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 34.

many diverse Native American cultures to SFIS. During the 1920s and 1930s diversity in cultures would become an important factor at SFIS. The diverse base of Native American cultures was the basis of the pan-Indian movement at SFIS. This movement brought attention to Native American identity. Within the school a family of Native Americans already existed that collectively identified themselves as Native American and opened it to more diverse Native American cultures.

Santa Fe, because of the Native American art work produced there, became a major vacation destination.<sup>158</sup> Americans were interested in collecting the artwork Native Americans produced. The students from tribes all over the United States, who attended the Santa Fe Indian School produced works of art that told of their Native American stories and heritage. As Americans bought the art produced, the stories, heritage, and tribal identity was expressed and preserved. The tribal heritage and cultural identity of these students was expressed and preserved through art sold, throughout the United States and the world.

But the students at the Santa Fe Indian School were not the only Native Americans in the United States that discovered and expressed a Native American identity. The Society of American Indians formed in 1911 at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. Gertrude Bonnin, joining SAI in 1916, Carlos Montezuma, and Charles Eastman, two of the original founders of SAI in 1911, were the most noted and most outspoken members of SAI. The meeting site and date was intentionally chosen. Everything was symbolic, holding the convention in Columbus, Ohio and starting on October 12, or the date of the traditional Columbus Day. That was to symbolize the day that the lives of all Native Americans changed, that the day that

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<sup>158</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 16.

Christopher Columbus landed in the Americas and was the beginning of the end of the Native American lifestyle and culture.<sup>159</sup>

The organization promoted the well-being of all Native Americans, helped them in legal disputes, wanted to eliminate the Dawes Allotment Act and wanted to end the boarding school system. At the first convention the Society of American Indians adopted the Provisional Statement of Purpose of the Society of American Indians which was what SAI stood for and the services offered:

Adopted by the First Annual Conference held at Columbus, Ohio October 12 to 16, 1911, pending the meeting of the Constitutional Convention and Second Annual Conference in 1912.

1. To promote good citizenship among the Indians, to obtain the rights thereof.
2. To establish a legal department to investigate Indian problems and to suggest remedies.
3. To exercise the right to oppose any movement which may be detrimental to the race in matters, educational, social and political.
4. To provide a bureau of information, including publicity and statistics, and to record Indian complaints.
- 5 To provide through our open Conference the means for a free discussion on all subjects bearing on the welfare of the race.
6. To conserve and emphasize such special race characteristics and virtue which distinguish us as the American Indians.<sup>160</sup>

Of the members of the Society of American Indians, Gertrude Bonnin was possibly the most outspoken on the evils of the Pratt-influenced boarding schools that started in the United States. Bonnin was born on the Yankton Reservation in South Dakota in 1876. Her mother was Dakota, her father was white and left her mother and her before Bonnin was born. When Bonnin was eight years old, Quaker missionaries from Indiana arrived on the Yankton Reservation recruiting Native American students to attend the White's Manual Labor Institute in Wabash,

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<sup>159</sup> John W. Larnier Jr. Ed., *The Papers of the Society of American Indians*, part 1, (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1987), microfilm, Reel 07 Frames 1331-1335, 1400-1403, Section B Documents of SAI.

<sup>160</sup> John W. Larnier Jr. Ed., *The Papers of the Society of American Indians*, part 1, (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1987), microfilm, Reel 07 Frame 0964, Section B Documents of SAI.

Indiana. The missionaries lured her away from her family with the promise of an endless supply of red apples to eat in the land of apples.<sup>161</sup>

In an essay Bonnin wrote, “School Days,” she described her first experiences at the school and how traumatic it was to have her hair forcibly cut: “I ran and hid under a bed when I found out that the matrons intended to cut my hair, a common boarding school practice. I remember being dragged out, though I resisted by kicking and scratching wildly. In spite of myself, I was carried downstairs and tied fast in a chair. I cried aloud, shaking my head all the while until I felt the cold blades of the scissors against my neck, and heard them gnaw off one of my thick braids. Then I lost my spirit.”<sup>162</sup> Experiences like this were typical for Native American children at boarding schools. When Bonnin returned to her home in South Dakota, she discovered that she did not fit in with her family any longer. She was losing her Native American identity.<sup>163</sup>

Bonnin was rejected by her family. She decided to enroll at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana; another Quaker school. Bonnin probably chose Earlham since it would have been located close to White’s Institute in Wabash, she also wanted to perfect her English speaking and writing skills, and believed that Earlham had the most to offer.<sup>164</sup> She eventually became a teacher and obtained a job at Carlisle. Adams points out that in the third installment of her article “An Indian Teacher among Indians,” her travels were not over: ““her fate was to travel still further east. She could not resist the opportunity to teach at Carlisle.””<sup>165</sup> At Carlisle Bonnin

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<sup>161</sup> Stout, 144.

<sup>162</sup> Stout, 37.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Stout, 145, Adams, 312.

<sup>165</sup> Adams, 312-313.

found her calling in life; to be an advocate and critic of U.S. Indian policy and the boarding schools.<sup>166</sup> Stout said that Bonnin spent two years at Carlisle and became very angry at her fellow educators: “Bonnin revealed that many of her Caucasian colleagues were incompetent and interested only in occupying their positions as teachers at Carlisle as a means of steady income. Some teachers at Carlisle were good and cared about their students, but most were incompetent and uncaring. There just was not enough money available to weed out the deadwood.”<sup>167</sup>

Bonnin became a very harsh critic of the boarding school system and wrote many critical articles. Her articles were published in the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Bazaar*. Through those publications she voiced her opinions and pointed out the evils of the boarding schools and how Native American identity was being taken away from the Native Americans. She also served as the editor of the Society of American Indians publication *American Indian Magazine*.<sup>168</sup> Bonnin left the Society of American Indians, in 1920, because believed that SAI was not aggressive enough to enact change for Native Americans and determine what a Native American identity was. In 1926, she founded her own pan-Indian movement the National Council of American Indians and was the president of that organization until her death in 1938. But in that short time she worked with several groups both Native American and non-Native American to create the Meriam Report. That 1928 report was the basis for some of the reforms enacted in 1934.<sup>169</sup>

Carlos Montezuma was a Yavapai (Mohave-Apache). He was born in Arizona in the mid-1860s and was named Wassaja. In 1871 his tribe was attacked by the Pimas and he and his two sisters were taken prisoner and sent to Mexico. A man along the route to Mexico purchased

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<sup>166</sup> Adams 312-313.

<sup>167</sup> Stout, 37.

<sup>168</sup> Stout, 145.

<sup>169</sup> Stout, 146.

Wassaja and his sisters. Later, an Italian immigrant, Carlos Gentile, purchased Wassaja and named him Carlos Montezuma. Montezuma was educated in the public school system of Urbana, Illinois. After he graduated high school he went to the University of Illinois and studied to become a medical doctor. He became involved with the organization Friends of the Indians and became an Indian doctor in 1889. Montezuma became involved with Captain Richard Henry Pratt, the Superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School, and soon caught the eye of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Jefferson Morgan. Morgan viewed Montezuma as the perfect specimen of the handiwork of the white man. Morgan hired Montezuma to work for the Indian Service as a physician and assigned him to Fort Stevenson in the Dakota Territory in 1899. Montezuma found the living conditions for the Dakota deplorable. He served in several other positions at army forts as a physician for various Native American tribes and discovered the same deplorable living conditions for Native Americans. Montezuma eventually worked as the school physician at the Carlisle Indian School in 1893. There he met Gertrude Bonnin, who taught at Carlisle, and she became an important figure in his life. Montezuma left Carlisle in 1896 and went into private practice in Chicago. By 1901 Montezuma became interested in his Native American past and visited some of his boyhood places in Arizona. Montezuma became a national Native American leader by 1905. Over the next six years he and other Native Americans created a national organization that would have control of Native American issues and helped establish a collective Native American identity.<sup>170</sup>

Montezuma worked on many of the same issues that Bonnin did and on September 30, 1915, before the convention of the Society of American Indians at Lawrence Kansas, read a highly critical article, titled "Let My People Go." He attacked the way the U.S. government

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<sup>170</sup> Gale Encyclopedia of Biography, "Carlos Montezuma," Answers.com, <http://answers.com/topic/montezuma-carlos> (accessed January 15, 2014).

handled Native Americans. Montezuma and the Society of American Indians stood for getting the U.S. government out of their lives. Native Americans believed they were capable to use their property and did not believe they needed to go to government run boarding schools to learn how to utilize their land. They wanted to use the land as their ancestors had before Columbus arrived. Their culture, way of life, and civilization was different from the Euro-Americans but that lifestyle and civilization was not accepted by the Euro-Americans.<sup>171</sup>

Bonnin and Montezuma were not the only Native Americans to be vocal and used the written word to place the ideals of the Society of American Indians before the American public. Charles Eastman, also one of the founding members of SAI, expressed many views on Native American identity and pan-Indianism. Eastman was born near Redwood Falls, Minnesota on February 19, 1858. He was given the Dakota name Hakadah. His mother died shortly after his birth, so he was raised by his grandmother and father until the Dakota war with the United States erupted in August 1862. Eastman was separated from his father during this conflict and did not know if his father was alive or had been killed during the war, or was one of the thirty-eight Dakota men hanged on December 26, 1862 at Mankato, Minnesota.<sup>172</sup> After the conflict had ended and the Dakota hung, the United States army still pursued the remaining Dakota. Eastman and his grandmother fled into Canada and the Assiniboine, Ojibwe, and Cree all agreed to allow the Dakota refugees assimilate into their tribes for protection from the U.S. army. The encounters that Eastman had from age four on with the United States were not good.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> John W. Larner Jr. Ed., *The Papers of the Society of American Indians*, part 1, "Let My People Go" by Carlos Montezuma, (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1987), microfilm, Reel 08, Frames 0244-0250. Section K, Publications. p. 1-10.

<sup>172</sup> Adams, 239.

<sup>173</sup> Anton Treuer, *The Assassination of Hole In The Day*, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2011), 142-144.

Ten years later Eastman and his grandmother were reunited with his father. Eastman had learned about his heritage and the Dakota ways. The opinion of his father was that Eastman should attend the schools of the white man. His father and grandmother were divided in feeling as to whether Eastman should attend the schools of the white man: "The Great Mystery cannot make a mistake; I say it is against our religion to change our customs that have been practiced by our people ages back."<sup>174</sup> But his father believed it was important to learn the ways of the whites: "that the next generation must learn to live alongside whites and that cultural isolation was simply not possible."<sup>175</sup> Eastman went to the Santee Indian School at Redwood Falls, Minnesota. He went on to college and attended both Beloit and Knox colleges and eventually graduated from Dartmouth in 1887. Eastman then graduated from the School of Medicine of Boston University as Doctor of Medicine in 1889.<sup>176</sup>

Eastman began to go back to his Dakota ways in the late 1890s. He wrote about it and lectured all across the United States about how it was wrong to take away the religion, education, and lifestyle of Native Americans. He believed it was wrong to take away the cultural heritage and identity of Native Americans. In 1902 Eastman wrote *Indian Boyhood*. In that book Eastman described the first fifteen years of his life before he went to the Santee Indian School. Eastman talked about how the tribe governed itself, the thrill of the hunt, religion and the way of the Great Mystery. He remembered how he listened to the stories and lessons of the tribal elders and tribal historian.<sup>177</sup> Eastman expressed his disagreement with federal education and assimilation policy

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<sup>174</sup> Adams, 239.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Adams, 240.

<sup>177</sup> John W. Larnier Jr. Ed., *The Papers of the Society of American Indians*, part 1, (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1987), microfilm, Reel 08 Frames 0205-0208 Section K, Publications. p. 1.

toward Native Americans. To express his views, Eastman wrote books, gave lectures across the United States, and co-founded of the Society of American Indians.<sup>178</sup>

The Society of American Indians suffered from fracturing. The members struggled trying to find and define what a Native American identity really was. Gertrude Bonnin worked hard on the identity issue and had to work through many non-Indians trying to pass as Native Americans.<sup>179</sup> During the early twentieth century many pan-Indian organizations came and went. Bonnin left SAI in 1920 and in 1926 started the National Council of American Indians.<sup>180</sup> Eastman worked independently writing books on Native American identity and going on speaking tours. Montezuma worked as a speaker for Native American rights. Everyone in SAI worked on their own agendas and did not work as a united group.

During these years another pan-Indian movement was taking root. At the Santa Fe Indian School, the students had formed a family and Native American community within the confines of the school that collectively identified themselves as Native American, a pan-Indian idea. The Society of American Indians and the Santa Fe Indian School were connected. During the years that Clara True taught at the Santa Clara Day School, 1902 to 1907, many Pueblo students over twelve years of age returned to the Santa Clara Day School instead of enrolling into the main school at Santa Fe. Starting in 1904, True taught these older students advanced reading from *Indian Boyhood* the book authored by Charles Eastman in 1902. True introduced her older students to the ideals of pan-Indianism between the years 1904 to 1907.<sup>181</sup> Many of these

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Carpenter, 142-144.

<sup>180</sup> Stout, 146.

<sup>181</sup> Lawrence, 166.

students became teachers and instructors at the Santa Fe Indian School by the 1910s.<sup>182</sup> These former students encouraged not only Pueblo students to paint about their identity, but the Native American students that came to the Santa Fe Indian School to study art from all parts of the United States. The Society of American Indians used articles, books, and public speaking tours to deliver their message and to express their Native American identity. At the Santa Fe Indian School the family that identified itself collectively as Native American used art to tell the world about their Native American identity, culture, and heritage. Not all Native Americans formed pressure groups or held conventions to find or express their Native American identity. By 1918, a community of Native Americans that attended the school from all over the United States was well established at the Santa Fe Indian School when John and Elizabeth DeHuff arrived.

John DeHuff became the new Superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian School in 1918. John and his wife Elizabeth were very interested in Native American children and would have a profound effect on the students at the Santa Fe Indian School. Elizabeth was not employed by the school as a teacher but she influenced the students while she was at the SFIS.<sup>183</sup> She built on what was already established at SFIS.

John DeHuff was born in Indiana and graduated from Indiana State University and the University of New Mexico. His first teaching assignment in U.S. government service was in the Philippines in 1901. He spent the next twelve years there. His last three years in the Philippines he served as the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Manila.<sup>184</sup> Elizabeth was trained at the Lucy Cobb Institute in Athens Georgia. From 1907 to 1908 she was enrolled at Barnard College

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<sup>182</sup> Hyer, 17.

<sup>183</sup> McGeough, 9.

<sup>184</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 35.

and at the teachers college at Columbia University. At the teachers college Elizabeth was taught by John Dewey in his philosophy of education. She was the only person at Santa Fe who was a former Dewey student. After she graduated from Columbia University, Elizabeth returned to her home in Augusta Georgia to teach mathematics at Tubman High School. Her uncle, who was a government official in the newly annexed territory of the Philippines, suggested that Elizabeth teach in the Philippines. She left for Manila in 1910 and taught high school math. There she met John DeHuff and after both returned to the United States in 1913 were married.<sup>185</sup> Both John and Elizabeth were accustomed to the assimilation policies of the United States by being a part of the “Benevolent Assimilation” policy the United States used in the Philippines, do good deeds for the Phiilpnos. The assimilation policy the Americans used, educated, created sanitary living conditions, and built new housing for the Phiilpnos. That will make them want to assimilate into American culture after they see the advantages of the American way of life.<sup>186</sup>

DeHuff was assigned to the Carlisle Indian School in 1913, his first appointment after he joined the Indian Service. Five years later, he was appointed the new Superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian School in 1918.<sup>187</sup> John DeHuff was not formally educated in the educational ideas of Dewey, but Elizabeth was taught by Dewey and understood the interaction between students that created the educative process. At Santa Fe she worked and built on the educational system that was in place at SFIS that paralleled the Progressive educational theories of Dewey. Soon after DeHuff took over as the Superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian School, Elizabeth requested that seven young Native American students, be allowed to come to her living room to paint scenes about their culture. She wanted them to paint scenes of the tribal dances of their Native

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<sup>185</sup> McGeough, 22-23.

<sup>186</sup> Linn, 30, 69.

<sup>187</sup> McGeough, 21.

American home communities. Elizabeth DeHuff was not the first person at the Santa Fe Indian School that had students paint and draw pictures of home Esther Hoyt had taken the same approach in 1902.

Elizabeth was not hired as a teacher at SFIS. She took interest in the seven talented students because of her interest in Native American art and the culture that surrounded it. The seven students were Velino Shije Herrera of Zia, Manuel Cruz and Guadalupe Montoya of San Juan, Juan Jose Montoya of San Ildefonso, Hopi students Fred Kabotie and Otis Polelonema, and Jose Miguel Martinez of San Ildefonso.<sup>188</sup> Anthes told of how lonely Fred Kabotie became at SFIS being separated from his family: “Kabotie later in life recalled: ‘When you are separated from your own people, you get lonesome. You do not paint what is around you. You paint what you have in mind. Loneliness moves you to express some things about your home, your background.’”<sup>189</sup>

While the boys painted in the living room of the DeHuffs, Elizabeth had them explain the activities in the paintings and stories about the history and legends of their respective tribes and communities. The invitation to come to the living room of Elizabeth was not confined to these seven boys. Elizabeth invited other students to her living room to tell her stories of their tribe and community. Mrs. Andrea T. Fragua, who attended the school in the 1910s, told Sally Hyer that Elizabeth did this with all of the students that went to the Santa Fe Indian School: “Oh, Mr. DeHuff, he was the Superintendent and Elizabeth was his wife. After school, they used to take some girls to tell story. My sister and another girl, her name was Asuncion Chavez, they were the

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<sup>188</sup> McGeough, 21.

<sup>189</sup> Anthes, 5.

two that went to tell story every afternoon after school. They told Indian story. That book, I guess it is still in the library huh?"<sup>190</sup>

Elizabeth was a writer as well as an educator. She took these stories and wrote books for children. She also befriended Kabotie and he illustrated the books for her. The first book for children Elizabeth wrote was the *Adventures of Taytay* published in 1922. Elizabeth wrote many books for children with Kabotie illustrations. They became lifelong friends and worked together for the rest of their lives. Elizabeth applied the philosophy of Dewey, which was present at SFIS in a parallel way when she arrived. The seven students were learning by doing activities that interested them and created an educative process. The other aspect of what Elizabeth did was she took the Indian stories the students told her and sold them for personal profit. She claimed she preserved the Native American cultures the stories came from, but she personally gained from this cultural exchange.<sup>191</sup>

While Elizabeth built on the educative process that ran parallel to Progressive educational ideas at SFIS, John DeHuff implemented his own agenda for Native American education at the school. DeHuff had his own progressive ideas about education and believed it should be used on Native American children. On July 11, 1922 at the Round Table of Indian Service Teachers Summer Session at the Northern Arizona Normal School in Flagstaff, Arizona, DeHuff outlined his thoughts on Native American education. In his paper DeHuff stated before the Round Table that he was very much in favor of allowing the Native American students to do their tribal dances. He did not believe that the dances should be suppressed, but enhanced and used as a means of cultural exchange. DeHuff likened the Native American dances to Greek theater. He

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<sup>190</sup> Fragua, interview, 5.

<sup>191</sup> McGeough, 25-26.

stated that without the Greek theater there would have been no dramas or motion pictures because both of these entertainment mediums can be traced directly back to the Greek theater. He went on to say that every story in Anglo-American history can be traced to some religious experience, or ceremony of one of their ancestors. He asked the question why Native Americans cannot have the same kind of experiences within their own civilization. He believed that Native Americans had a civilization, only different from Anglo-American civilization.<sup>192</sup>

DeHuff explained the purpose of the curriculum he used at the Santa Fe Indian School: “To foster and preserve the native culture of the Indian. He has one. Not an Indian, but see to it that he is one. Do not try to transform him into something else, for it cannot be done. And if the attempt is made his last state will be worse than the first. Try to improve him. Give him what he needs of our culture and civilization to enable him to stand in the face of competition . . . and help him sympathetically to develop his native arts and crafts.”<sup>193</sup>

DeHuff not only spoke about how he felt Native American education should be in the boarding schools he also wrote an article in the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, and described what he called the “A Proper Education Plan for the Children of the Indians.” In that article DeHuff outlined many of the same thoughts he brought up at Flagstaff, but expanded on what was being instituted at the Santa Fe Indian School and how he was going to incorporate the city of Santa Fe into that project to promote Native American culture.<sup>194</sup> DeHuff defended the unorthodox way many subjects and activities were conducted at SFIS.

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<sup>192</sup> Winona M. Garmhausen papers Collection Institute of American Indian Art, MS-007, box 10 file 2 Indian Education, article by John D. De Huff “How Shall We Educate the Indian?,” published in *El Palacio*, presented by De Huff at Flagstaff Arizona on July 11, 1922. Located in archives of the Institute of American Indian Art, Santa Fe New Mexico, 59-60.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> DeHuff, John D. “A Proper Education Plan for the Children of the Indians,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 12 and 14, 1922. (Accessed 9/27/2013).

Elizabeth promoted Pueblo art and culture. The Santa Fe Indian School was the place to do that because it contained the arts program within the Indian boarding school system of the United States. By 1918 “the Santa Fe Indian School had become for the BIA and public, the official arts and crafts school for all Indian groups and students soon came in large numbers to avail of the opportunity to train there.”<sup>195</sup>

Many of the students from other parts of the United States had difficulty adjusting being so far away from home. The students that arrived in the 1920s were from Oklahoma and had problems adjusting to school life.<sup>196</sup> In a group interview of former students conducted by Sally Hyer, Geronima Montoya, who attended SFIS during the 1920s, stated how the students from all over the U.S. got along and taught each other: “We learned, I think from the people that came from Oklahoma and South Dakota, because we mixed with them. And they learned from us and we learned from them their ways. We were very congenial. There was no jealousy. We got along pretty well. I see some of those students now and then run into each other once in a while, so it worked out pretty well.”<sup>197</sup> Progressive educational ideas and Pueblo cultural values worked together at SFIS to help the students from other parts of the United States adjust to life at SFIS.

In order to help promote the Pueblo and other Native Americans that attended the Santa Fe Indian School, Elizabeth had public shows depicting Native American art produced by students that attended the school. She organized public dances that would exhibit Native American culture. Those exhibitions were well received by the citizens of Santa Fe. She also

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<sup>195</sup> Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 34.

<sup>196</sup> Hyer, 51-52.

<sup>197</sup> Group of former students interview by Sally Hyer, ca. 1987, folder 26 interview transcript of tape 28, transcribed by Brandt Morgan, Santa Fe Indian School: The First 100 Years Project 1986-1987, (MSS 595 BC), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, 24-25.

wrote and produced plays about Pueblo culture.<sup>198</sup> The DeHuffs were more open about what they were doing than their predecessors. But the DeHuffs were different, they showcased everything that happened within the SFIS.

But trouble was brewing for the DeHuffs. Other Progressive educators at the school, who had kept to themselves and not publicly shown what they were doing to educate Native American children, were angered by the way the DeHuffs ran the school. The DeHuffs were different with their style of education and were very open and proud of what they were doing. That is why they held public art exhibits and performed plays and dances about Pueblo culture.

But despite the good relations the DeHuffs promoted, after students performed *Kew-Eh*, in 1924, drew the ire of the school librarian and English teacher Mary Dissette and retired day school teacher Clara True. From 1924 on, Dissette, who believed Pueblo dances were immoral, campaigned to get Elizabeth DeHuff to stop having performances, and have John DeHuff removed as superintendent of the school. Clara True, who worked within the Santa Clara Pueblo as an unofficial advisor on cultural and educational issues, did not feel the dances were immoral but believed DeHuff exploited the Pueblo for personal gain and wanted the public displays of the dances and plays stopped. She believed that Elizabeth was exploiting something the Pueblo Elders would not approve.<sup>199</sup> Fred Kabotie remembered the uproar that surrounded the DeHuffs: “Dissette, ‘did not like what the DeHuffs were doing ‘and that that she reported them to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.<sup>200</sup> Jacobs pointed out that part of Dissette’s bitterness can be traced to the fact that she had been at the Santa Fe Indian School since 1900 and never had

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<sup>198</sup> McGeough, 27-29.

<sup>199</sup> McGeough, 29.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

moved into a leadership position: “Tellingly, Dissette revealed that she saw the status of women and that of Indians in the same terms. She desired to rise through the ranks in the Indian Service and to attain a leadership position that only men had held.”<sup>201</sup> For whatever reason, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs demoted and transferred John DeHuff to the Sherman Institute in Riverside California. DeHuff was disillusioned and resigned from the Indian Service. He and Elizabeth returned to Santa Fe, where he became the president of the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce and they resided in Santa Fe for the rest of their lives. Elizabeth continued to write articles and gave lectures on the Southwest and Pueblo people for the Fred Harvey Company.<sup>202</sup>

Upton Ethelbah told Hyer about Burton Smith, the replacement for John DeHuff, who was Superintendent from 1926 to 1930, was like: “Smith was a very kind man who made sure the Native American students were well fed.”<sup>203</sup> In 1930 Chester E. Faris became the Superintendent and emphasized the arts program. He hired Dorothy Dunn in 1932 to teach art at the Santa Fe Indian School.<sup>204</sup>

Dunn was the last of the Progressive educators to teach at the Santa Fe Indian School. There was a very diverse student body by this time comprised of Native American students from all parts of the United States. The students that eventually expressed pan-Indianism through their art were Allan Houser, a Chiricahua Apache, Oscar Howe a Yanktonai Sioux, Pablita Velarde from Santa Clara Pueblo, Vincenti Mirabel From Taos Pueblo, Lorencita Atencio, and Navajos Harrison Begay, Gerald Nailor, Narcisco Abeyta, Andrew Tsihnahijinnie, and Quincy Tashoma.

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<sup>201</sup> Jacobs, 202.

<sup>202</sup> McGeough, 29-30.

<sup>203</sup> Upton, Ethelbah, interview by Sally Hyer, June 24, 1987, folder 28 interview transcript of tape 29, transcribed by Brandt Morgan, Santa Fe Indian School: The First 100 Years Project 1986-1987, (MSS 595 BC), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, 18, 19, 21.

<sup>204</sup> McGeough, 32.

In 1933, her first full year at the school, Dunn instituted a new two-year art program for high school graduates, a program that became known as the Studio. Students came from all over the United States, but of the fifty students that completed the program between the years of 1933 to 1942 almost all of were Pueblo or Navajo.<sup>205</sup>

The teaching philosophy of Dunn was progressive in that she believed all Native American children could be taught anything through art. In an article (year unknown) Dunn wrote how art and education were relative: "The American Indian child, and particularly the child of the Southwest, inherits a clear, definite art tradition very different from the heterogeneous culture background of the average American child. His cultural background is old, developed, deeply rooted in his home land, honestly American. . . They have woven and molded, carved and painted, sung songs and made dances, until art and their daily life have become one."<sup>206</sup>Dunn believed that having Native American students express their identity through art would help the students learn. She felt that the Indian schools should join other public Progressive schools and incorporate art into the academic area of the learning process.<sup>207</sup>

The art work produced should say something about where the artist came from and his heritage. In other words art can and should be used as a way to express Native American identity. From the onset of the Studio, Dunn insisted that the paintings the students produced should reflect their tribal heritage. McGeough said that according to art educator Laurie Eldridge the teaching philosophy that Dunn used took a page straight out of the educational theories of

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<sup>205</sup> McLerran, 164-165, and McGeough, 36.

<sup>206</sup> Winona M. Garmhausen papers Collection Institute of American Indian Art, MS-007, box 10 file 2 article written by Dorothy Dunn Art instructor at the Santa Fe Indian School 1932-1937, *Indian Children Carry Forward Old Traditions*, by Dorothy Dunn, Department of Painting and Design, Santa Fe School, Located in archives of the Institute of American Indian Art, Santa Fe New Mexico, 26.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid, 28.

Dewey, that the personal experiences of the students were the basis to building knowledge.<sup>208</sup> It should be used as a way to advance Native Americans forward. Dunn believed that these students should use their talents much in the same way the Society of American Indians used articles, books, and worked on legislation to advance Native Americans.

With the New Deal came the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and within that program was the Public Works Art Project (PWAP), Indian Division. That program established its headquarters at the Santa Fe Indian School in 1934.<sup>209</sup> In 1934 Dunn was commissioned to have her art students paint murals on the walls of the Science Building on the campus of SFIS. The mural project was thematic in nature based on astronomy, geology, botany, zoology, physics, and chemistry. Teofilo Tafoya worked on the mural in the Science Building. Tafoya membered, in an interview with Sally Hyer, that Dr. Max Kramer had the students paint the lesson on how life evolved on the earth. The students painted an amoeba on the ocean floor and then how life came after that. Dunn supervised the students that were in that class while they painted the murals.<sup>210</sup> All of the murals contained the scientific heritage and knowledge of the tribes that the artists represented. Dunn explained how the physics mural interpreted Hopi culture and scientific knowledge: “Was a graphic representation in Hopi Indian designs of storm, wind, rain, and lightning, illustrating that ‘all life is controlled by the elements of weather and climate.’”<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> McGeough, 36-37. This statement of Eldridge was taken by McGeough from an article titled “Dorothy Dunn and the Art Education of Native Americans: Continuing the Dialogue. *Studies in Art Education* 42(4): 318-332.

<sup>209</sup> McLerran, 166.

<sup>210</sup> Teofilo Tafoya, interview by Sally Hyer, July 9, 1986, folder 18 interview transcript of tape 17, transcribed by Brandt Morgan, Santa Fe Indian School: The First 100 Years Project 1986-1987, (MSS 595 BC), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, 9-10. Hyer, 45.

<sup>211</sup> McGeough, 37.

During her tenure as art teacher of the Studio, Dunn had her students paint many murals. Many of those murals were in new government buildings. In an interview with Sally Hyer, Pablita Velarde remembered that Dunn respected Native American cultural values: “and was not like Elizabeth DeHuff in that she did not pressure any Native American student to paint anything that the elders of his tribe did not want revealed about their respective cultures.”<sup>212</sup> The Native American students were encouraged to express their Native American heritage and individuality.

The intertwining of Pueblo cultural values and Progressive ideas on education of can be seen. The visibility to the general public began under the DeHuffs. But the movement started in 1902 in a parallel way to the educational philosophy of Dewey. A cultural exchange occurred, and through the mural projects that Dunn commissioned, and highlighted the pan-Indian movement within the school. The movement was now being expressed across the United States through art. The artistic expression that emitted from SFIS was just as important as the literature and speeches of the Society of American Indians. Native Americans not only voiced their identity but were illustrating it as well. Dunn furnished an outlet that allowed the pan-Indian movement that began to form in the Santa Fe Indian School in 1902 to express itself.<sup>213</sup>

### **Conclusion**

1900 was a pivotal year in the history of the Santa Fe Indian School. Clinton Crandall became the new Superintendent and increased enrollment. Crandall targeted the day schools to accomplish this. By installing Esther Hoyt and Clara True in two of the Pueblo Day Schools, San Idefonso and Santa Clara he created a parallel between the way Native American children were taught in these two day schools and Progressive education ideas. Besides increasing the

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<sup>212</sup> Pablita Velarde, interview by Sally Hyer, October 2, 1986, folder 11 interview transcript of tape 10, transcribed by Brandt Morgan, Santa Fe Indian School: The First 100 Years Project 1986-1987, (MSS 595 BC), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, 3-4.

<sup>213</sup> Brody, 182.

enrollment of their day schools, Hoyt and True created something else, the educative process. For some reason Crandall, Hoyt, and True paralleled the educational philosophy of John Dewey. That philosophy included creating a common ground between teacher and student. Along with that common ground, the teacher was charged with finding a common interest of the students to create the educative process. At the day schools in question, San Ildefonso and Santa Clara, it was various aspects of Pueblo culture that encouraged the educative process. For Hoyt it was having her students draw and paint pictures about Pueblo ceremonies and dances, and her students responded. Her students were allowed to speak their native language and only used English to explain to Hoyt what the picture meant. Crandall endorsed this method of education and actually encouraged all of the day school teachers under his jurisdiction to teach in a similar manner. From the oral histories of former students that attended the Santa Fe Indian School indicated that many of the teachers under Crandall used this approach to educate the Native American children at Santa Fe. Santanita Lefthand in an interview with Sally Hyer spoke for many former students when she said: "I think the teachers were really interested in us Indians."<sup>214</sup>

True taught in the same manner, but because of a diphtheria epidemic in 1903, became very involved with Pueblo culture and the needs of the Pueblo that lived in Santa Clara. True had a very different type of experience than did Hoyt to gain the confidence of the Pueblo. True had a cultural exchange with her students and the entire Santa Clara Pueblo community. That also contributed to her success within the community which allowed her to increase enrollment. Even after she had left Santa Clara in 1907, because of a promotion in the Indian Service, she returned in 1910 to a ranch and orchard in Santa Clara. True returned to Santa Clara to grow fruit, but

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<sup>214</sup> Lefthand, interview, 18-19.

became an unofficial advisor on community and educational issues for the Santa Clara Pueblo. From this involvement with the Santa Clara Pueblo, True worked to have the DeHuffs removed from the Santa Fe Indian School for exploiting Pueblo dances, something the Pueblo Elders of Santa Clara did not favor.

Why did Crandall, Hoyt, and True parallel Dewey and his Laboratory School Dewey in Chicago, at SFIS? Adams points out that in 1908 G. Stanley Hall, a psychologist at Clark University and the architect of Progressive elementary education, believed that: “modern civilization placed too much emphasis on book learning, giving insufficient attention to the ‘nature and needs of childhood.’”<sup>215</sup> According to Adams, Hall at a 1908 convention criticized Indian Educators: “In an address to the Indian educators at the National Education Association, Hall urged teachers to build on the natural capacities and background of the Indian child rather than obliterate them. Hall asked, ‘Why not make him a good Indian rather than a cheap imitation of the white man?’”<sup>216</sup>

Was this what Crandall, Hoyt, True, and the other Progressive educators in the system of the Santa Fe Indian School doing, making a better Native American instead of a cheap reproduction of a white man? If so they were ahead of Hall in new thought as to the education of Native American children. It is obvious through the letters between Crandall and True and the oral histories of the students that attended the school from 1902 to 1912 that it appears that was precisely what they were trying to do.

As Crandall, Hoyt, and True either retired or were reassigned, they left something for the DeHuffs to build on that had been started in 1902. McGeough and other art historians believe

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<sup>215</sup> Adams, 313.

<sup>216</sup> Adams, 313.

that the Progressive education that was present at the Santa Fe Indian School and the use of art as a way learn started with Elizabeth DeHuff.<sup>217</sup> No, it started long before, in the first decade of the twentieth century with Crandall, Hoyt, and True. The DeHuffs brought attention by placing the educative process and cultural exchange that occurred at the school in the public eye. They eventually were removed because of that, but they were not ones that started the educative process.

There was more involved in that process than Progressive education. Pueblo cultural values were involved at the Santa Fe Indian School as well. The Pueblo were very good at making alliances and creating family type ties and communities across tribal lines. From the time the students began arriving at the school the Pueblo were creating a family. The family ties that the Pueblo created at SFIS lasted a lifetime among all of the students from all tribes.<sup>218</sup> The students from different tribes bonded into a family that identified itself as Native American. The school fostered a pan-Indian movement that was very much like the movement started by Gertrude Bonnin, Carlos Montezuma, and Charles Eastman, and The Society of American Indians. Only the pan-Indian movement within the Santa Fe Indian School used art as its voice. Dorothy Dunn brought an avenue for this family of many tribes to express their identity collectively as Native American. The mural art works that the Public Works of Art Project part of the Works Progress Administration let this family tell the world of the Native American identity that had formed at the Santa Fe Indian School.

The pan-Indian movement started in the day schools. But it was neither Pueblo cultural values nor Progressive educators alone that fostered the movement. They both worked in

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<sup>217</sup> McGeough, 22-23.

<sup>218</sup> Hyer, 25.

conjunction with each other. One philosophy played off the other. The Progressive educators made Pueblo cultural values work easier by encouraging cultural exchange. Clara True had her returning older students read, *Indian Boyhood*, by Charles Eastman, and *Middle Five*, by Francis La Flesche, which made the cultural values of the Pueblo stronger as the Pueblo children were reading about other Native American experiences in the boarding schools. An educative process was born, that built and shaped the pan-Indian movement within the Santa Fe Indian School. These children, at a young age while they attended the day schools in 1902, started pan-Indianism. These children utilized their Pueblo cultural values and had little help from the Progressive educators that seemingly wanted to make an educated and more informed Native American with an identity rooted in Native American culture, instead of a cheap copy of a white man.

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