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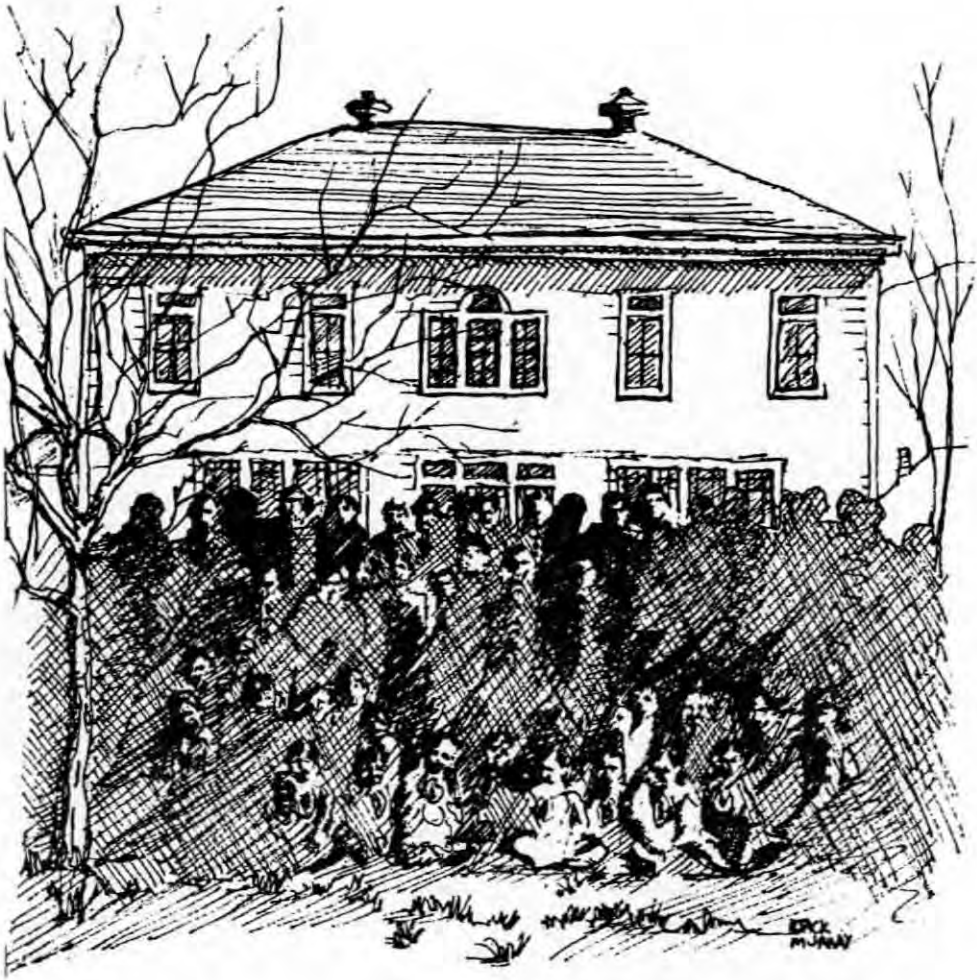

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JOURNAL OF THE WESTERN SLOPE

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THE COVER: The drawing is by John H. "Jack" Murray, a Firefighter/Paramedic, who has served the Grand Junction Fire Department for the past twelve years. Mr. Murray has been interested in art since childhood. He moved to western Colorado from California at the age of thirteen.

CESSPOOLS, ALKALI AND WHITE LILY SOAP: THE GRAND JUNCTION INDIAN SCHOOL 1886 - 1911

By

DONALD A. MacKENDRICK

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Cesspools, Alkali and White Lily Soap: The Grand Junction Indian School, 1886-1911

By Donald A. MacKendrick

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, supported by Congressional legislation and appropriations, made a determined effort to employ education as a tool in assaulting what authorities called the "culture of savagery" and to usher the younger generation of American Indian children into "modern civilization."

The centerpiece of this assimilation effort was the off-reservation industrial boarding school. Congress established over two dozen such institutions during the period, one in the Grand Valley of Western Colorado two miles south and east of the town of Grand Junction. Referred to as the Teller Institute in honor of Colorado Senator Henry M. Teller, considered the school's legislative founding father, the institution operated from 1886 to 1911 at the peak of the Indian Bureau's assimilation effort.[1]

From Independence to the 1870s, the U.S. government made little effort to operate public educational institutions among the various Indian tribes, deferring such matters primarily to sectarian groups both Catholic and Protestant. The 1880s, however, witnessed the gradual abandonment of sectarian education of Indian children and the opening of government schools on and off the reservations. By the last decade of the nineteenth century,

such government schools had come to dominate Indian education.[2]

These developments coincided with the enactment of the Dawes Severalty Act (1887) and an accompanying effort to break Indian tribalism by assigning reservation land to individual Indians. The ultimate goal of both the educational and land policies of the period was to eliminate the reservation system and absorb the American Indians into the cultural mainstream.[3]

The idea of the off-reservation industrial boarding school was developed in the late 1870s and early 1880s by Captain Richard Henry Pratt at an abandoned Civil War army training facility near Carlisle, Pennsylvania. After conducting limited experiments in Indian education in association with General Samuel C. Armstrong at the Hampton Institute for Black Youth in Virginia, Pratt convinced Secretary of Interior Carl Schurz of the viability of an assimilation-focused educational program for Indian youth and in the summer of 1879 the Indian Bureau opened such a school at the Carlisle Barracks.[4]

Pratt's school quickly became a showpiece in the developing system of government Indian schools, enrolling more than five hundred students from an assortment of Far Western Indian tribes by the mid-1880s. By isolating Indian youth from tribal influences and exposing them to the essential elements of the dominant "white culture," Pratt hoped to direct young Indians away from tribalism and toward a place in Anglo-American society.

Carlisle schooling centered on teaching the vocational skills needed to earn a living outside the reservation, and the learning of the English language skills necessary to function effectively in mainstream society. The goal at Carlisle was to provide students with the equivalent of an eighth grade public school education plus a vocational skill.[5]

After 1880, convinced of the success of the Carlisle experiment, Congress began authorizing a series of industrial boarding schools, mainly in the West. A school at Salem, Oregon was established in 1880, one at Fort Stevenson, North Dakota in 1883, four in 1884, one each in Indian Territory, Nebraska, New Mexico

and Kansas, and in 1886, the school near Grand Junction, Colorado. By 1890 Congress had created twenty-five such off-reservation schools.[6]

Henry Moore Teller, U.S. Senator from Colorado and later President Chester A. Arthur's Secretary of Interior, became a central political figure in the expansion of schools on the Carlisle model. From the time of his entry into the Senate in 1876, Teller took a strong interest in the so-called Indian Question. He earned a reputation as a friend of Indians when he opposed the removal of the Nez Perces from Idaho to Indian Territory. After the Meeker Massacre (1879) he voted against the 1880 Ute removal treaty because of its severalty provisions, arguing instead for the maintenance of communal land holding and other Indian customs and religious practices. He opposed severalty throughout his career, viewing it as a device "to despoil the Indians of their land and make them vagabonds upon the face of the earth."[7]

Upon entering President Arthur's Cabinet in 1882, Teller toured the Carlisle facility and, impressed by the school's work, became a leading advocate of what he called "manual labor schools," and worked hard to increase Congressional appropriations for Indian education. While he served in the Interior Department, the off-reservation boarding school system expanded. He also advanced two plans: one to create a permanent fund to finance Indian education by setting aside a portion of the revenue from public land sales and another to give graduates of off-reservation schools fully equipped farms "to prevent them from slipping back into the economic ways of their fathers." Though neither of these proposals came to fruition, they clearly demonstrated his support of Indian assimilation.[8]

Teller left the executive branch in 1885 and in the following year reentered the Senate where he continued to be a leader in Indian education legislation. In the first months after his return to the Senate the school in Grand Junction was authorized, presumably to "materially aid in the civilization of the Utes," who originally had inhabited Colorado's Western Slope. After the Meeker uprising (1879) most of the Utes were removed to reservations in Utah, though several bands were allowed to remain in

Colorado on two skimpy reserves in the extreme southwestern corner of the state. To serve the latter group Congress authorized an off-reservation school at old Fort Lewis while the Grand Junction school presumably would serve the Utah bands.[9]

The first students arrived at the Grand Junction school in November, 1886. The school sat on a 160 acre site "of as miserable adobe land, strongly impregnated with alkali, as can be found in this valley," presumably donated by citizens of the community. Since the Indian Bureau intended to teach agriculture-related trades at the school, the impoverished nature of the school site posed a continuing obstacle to the institution's success.[10]

During the summer of 1886, W. J. Davis arrived to take over duties as the school's first superintendent. A two-story brick building, a combination dormitory and classroom affair, was under construction. The school's physician, a Dr. Robertson, set out on an eight hundred mile trek through Utah to recruit students. Everywhere Robertson encountered Ute resistance to allowing their children to leave the reservation, resulting in a largely disappointing effort: seven Uintah Utes, six boys and a seventeen-year-old girl.[11]

For the first four years survival of the school was in serious doubt. Plagued by community squabbling over the spoils of a federal facility in the area, and by serious recruitment problems, the threat of closure hovered over the institution like a black cloud.

Wrangling over personnel positions began as soon as the school was authorized. The *Grand Junction News* reported dissatisfaction with the appointment of Davis as superintendent, favoring the Reverend Thomas Griffith of the Grand Junction community as a "better qualified" candidate. To quiet the local opposition, the school employed Griffith as principal teacher. When, due to "employee dissensions" Davis left after less than a year on the job, Griffith lost no time charging his former superior with fraud for "tampering with official papers," and suggesting he be removed from the Indian service.[12]

In 1888, because of the continuing political rancor at the Grand Junction facility, the Indian Bureau dispatched a special

(Photo courtesy Colorado Historical Society)

The Teller Institute, circa early 1900's.

agent, H. S. Welton, to the school to investigate. Welton reported political bickering between Republican and splinter Democratic supporters of the new superintendent, Thomas Breen, and regular Democrats, who opposed him and charged him with excessive tippling. Though the agent found no evidence of such dissipation, the *News*, staunchly Republican in its editorial policies, was sure the bickering, which it blamed on the local Democrats, endangered continuance of the school.[13]

Welton's investigation and report did not put the issue to rest. Superintendent George Wheeler, who succeeded Breen in May 1889, reported continued political strife. "Charges and counter charges for and against the superintendent and employees have been forwarded in bulk to Washington," Wheeler reported, "and then discussed with every passer-by on the street corners. Slander outvenoms all the worms of the Nile."[14]

The larger problem facing the school, however, related to the failure of the student recruiting effort. Special Agent Welton reported that his visits to many tribes in the area including Colorado's Southern Utes, the Jicarilla Apaches, the Navajos, and the Utah Utes all revealed the same picture: "I know of no tribe from which this school can be recruited, except by force and then (being so near their several reserves) they could only be kept there by the same means." Welton found only twenty-one students at the Grand Junction school when he visited in October, 1888. Five of these left while he was at the school and twelve more had petitioned to leave. Superintendent Wheeler reported only seven pupils at the school when he arrived in May 1889. All were dissatisfied and were sent home.[15] The *News*, quite as candid in reporting on the situation at the Grand Junction facility, related that one inspector termed the per pupil cost at the school excessive; more expensive, in fact, than keeping them at Harvard or Yale.[16]

Administrators at the school did their best to recruit. Superintendent Breen dispatched a recruiter to Nevada and Idaho in 1887, an effort that obtained only four students. In 1888, Breen himself tried his hand at recruiting among the Utah Utes. After a life-threatening trip in a snow storm over Douglas Pass to the

White River country, the Utes at the Ouray and Uintah agencies greeted him with steadfast coolness. Breen's recruiting efforts were complicated by a clash the previous year between settlers in the White River Valley and a band of Utes led by Colorow and by the testimony of one Turoose, a former student at the Grand Junction school who had "escaped" on a second try. Turoose related a "litany of wrongs" while a student at the Colorado institution: he had been starved and scolded. The industrial teacher wore a loaded revolver. When he and several other students tried to "escape," a posse headed by the principal teacher, Thomas Griffith, pursued them and "at the mouth of pistols [they were] driven like wolves back to the school" where they faced threats of imprisonment and hanging. Such testimony doomed Breen's recruiting effort to failure.[17]

Because of low enrollments, staff at the Grand Junction school began to be transferred in 1888 and Superintendent Breen reported that students were receiving letters from their reservation agencies reporting that the Grand Junction school would be closed at the end of the fiscal year.[18] By 1889 the school's staff had been reduced from nine to five and the average daily attendance at the school had fallen from the twenties to sixteen.[19]

Accordingly, conditions at the school seemed to warrant closure. Superintendent George Wheeler characterized the 1889 fiscal year "a complete failure." Practically nothing had been raised on the farm. Apathy and indifference pervaded the school. The bickering among employees continued. Demise of the institution seemed imminent.[20]

A turning point came after a visit to the school by Indian Commissioner Thomas Jefferson Morgan in 1890. Morgan, appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1889, was a staunch advocate of assimilation. Accepting the ideas advanced by Christian humanitarian reformers who gathered annually at Lake Mohonk, New York, Morgan endorsed breaking up the reservations, individual land holding, the replacement of Indian languages with English and the extension of American laws over the tribes. The Indians, in Morgan's view, must be absorbed into national life. As a professional educator with background as a

Baptist minister, professor of theology, principal of two normal schools, and an officer in the National Education Association, Morgan believed in developing a universal Indian education system and curriculum. Off-reservation schools enjoyed a prominent place in the new commissioner's plans.[21]

Commissioner Morgan arrived in Grand Junction late in September 1890. He addressed a small assemblage of people at the Methodist Church in Grand Junction urging a community effort to support the school: "Don't isolate the school," Morgan pleaded, "but take an interest in its progress; speak of it as our school."[22] Before leaving town, Morgan issued a detailed report on his plans for the Grand Junction facility. Admitting that the location was poor, the soil "hard to subdue," requiring intelligent cultivation and irrigation if it was to become productive, Morgan nevertheless was optimistic that good results could be obtained. A farmer and industrial teacher should be placed in charge of cultivating the land, an orchard should be planted and horses and farm equipment needed to be provided.[23]

Also, immediate provision for teaching various vocational trades should be implemented. Newly appointed Superintendent Sanford P. Record was instructed to draft plans for trade shops. Four vocational teachers would be provided and a new dormitory for women students would be built.[24]

Seeing the community well disposed toward the school, Morgan recognized the need for establishing an "outing system" whereby students might be placed in homes and on farms and ranches to learn practical skills and good work habits. Such students could eventually advance to the public schools and to jobs in the community.[25]

To implement these plans, appropriations to the school rose and the number of employees increased. From an appropriation of $6,793 in 1889, the school's funding rose by 248 per cent to $16,877 in 1893 while the number of employees increased from five to fourteen during this same time period.[26]

These developments brought major changes at the school which in 1891 was officially designated the Teller Institute.[27] In June, 1891 Theodore G. Lemmon arrived to become the school's

(Photo courtesy Colorado Historical Society)

Teller Institute students planting the garden.

fifth superintendent, replacing Sanford P. Record, credited by the *News* with initiating the "Morgan reforms" at the Grand Junction facility during his brief tenure.[28] Early in 1891 the *News* reported major improvements: a two story brick vocational building was under construction to house carpenter, tailor, shoe and harness shops. A blacksmith shop "well supplied with tools" had been constructed where young Indians could learn to "strike while the iron is hot," along with a large barn and a milkhouse. The school had plans to acquire a herd of purebred Holstein cows and to establish a milk depot in the city. As encouraging were plans for a new girls' dormitory, a bee house, wooden sidewalks connecting campus buildings, and remodeling of the original school building. Eighty acres of newly plowed land would be planted to alfalfa, potatoes and other garden crops. A ten acre orchard was in the plans, also. At last, reported the *News*, the institution was taking on a "permanent aspect" after hanging in the balance "as if it might be abandoned at any time."[29]

The critical enrollment problem began to be resolved. When Superintendent Lemmon arrived to take his post fifty-three newly recruited students accompanied him. At mid-year, 1891 Lemmon reported an enrollment of eighty-one. In the next year enrollment stood at 102.[30] Special Agent Merial A. Dorchester, who visited the institute in September 1892, was ecstatic about the school's progress and could identify only one problem: the pupils' rough, unsightly hands, the result of the high alkali content of the domestic water supply at the institute. To remedy the difficulty Dorchester endorsed Superintendent Lemmon's requisition for nine hundred pounds of White Lily Soap![31]

To overcome the enrollment problem recruitment activity came to be centered in New Mexico and Arizona. By 1893, Utes--the group the school had been established to serve--made up less than fourteen per cent of the students at the Teller Institute while San Carlos Apaches made up thirty per cent of the enrollment and Mojaves sixteen per cent. Yuma, Navajo, Mescalero Apache, Tonto, and Coyoteño youngsters rounded out the student body.[32] In later years recruitment among the Papagos of Arizona and the River Pueblos of New Mexico yielded good results. Such a cos-

mopolitan student body at the school pleased Indian Department officials since one of the goals of off-reservation education was to break down tribal prejudices and hostilities by bringing together pupils from various tribes.[33]

As enrollments increased the institution's educational program matured following the format established at Carlisle's and other off-reservation industrial boarding schools.[34] School personnel initiated a curriculum designed to develop both academic and vocational skills with the school day divided to accommodate both types of study.[35] Academic studies paralleled those taught in public schools of the day, especially after the Morgan reforms were instituted. The goal was to give Indian students the equivalent of an eighth grade education. Initially, academic instruction was given in two classrooms in the school's principal building. Then in 1893 a new two-story frame school house devoted to academic instruction opened.[36]

Official reports are unaccountably incomplete in discussing the effectiveness of the academic program with only generalized statements appearing in these reports. For instance, Superintendent Breen's report in 1888 merely states that all students could read, write, and speak English "well enough to transact common business."[37] On the other hand Special Agent Dorchester reported in 1892 that "I have visited only one other school where English is so successfully taught."[38] Superintendent Lemmon reported in the same year that literary work was "fully up to the course of study" and Superintendent Charles E. Burton's report in 1906 characterized "literary work at the school as average with a large number of students completing the eighth grade."[39] Nowhere in these reports are student grade levels or the number of eighth grade graduates detailed. One can assume that either such information was not considered as important as the number of gallons of milk produced by the school's dairy herd or the number of bee hives built, items which were consistently reported in some detail, or that such information would either reflect negatively on the school, or was considered of less importance than the vocational training effort.

In a time when band music was very popular in the country

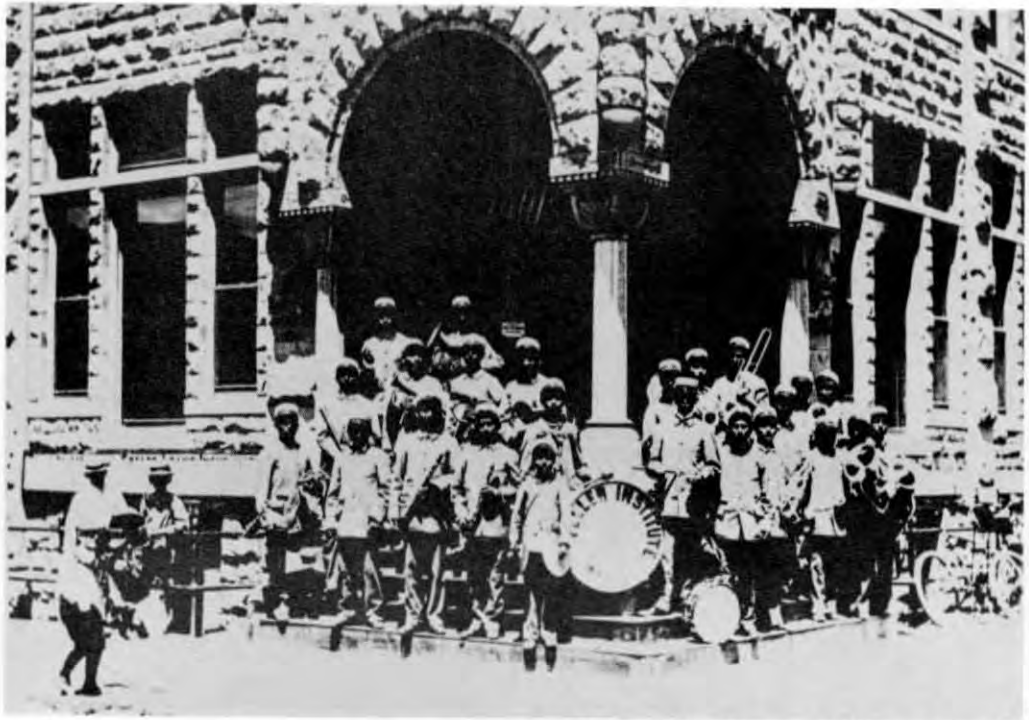
and most every town had a bandstand, the school's music program received considerable attention and applause. A cornet band, organized in 1896, traveled widely to performances in Utah and eastern Colorado and everywhere received praise. For instance, the *News* reported participation of the band in the Mid-Summer Carnival in Salt Lake City in 1896 appearing at a concert at Garfield Beach and in a contest in "the great tabernacle" at which the group won first prize.[40] Reporting on the success of the band, Superintendent Lemmon announced: "Their proficiency has been such and so popular have they become in Colorado and Utah particularly, that now one of the leading band instructors of this section has proposed to instruct the band."[41] The girls at the school participated in a mandolin band that was equally popular in the community though this group did not "take to the road" as the boys' group did.[42]

Vocational studies at the school received greater attention than academic work, with successes and failures extensively reported. Students in these programs performed many service functions at the institute while pursuing vocational training. Students manned the kitchen, the shoe and harness shop, the sewing room, the dairy barn, the print shop (which turned out a newspaper, *The Reveille*), the bee house, the garden and farm, and the blacksmith shop. Such services were provided in a work-study type arrangement. The institution received valuable services while students learned by providing them. Girls learned to master various domestic arts while the boys learned trades geared to a productive role in mainstream society. At times, as students acquired good skill in a pursuit, schooling gave way to nearly full time employment. For instance, Superintendent Lemmon commented in 1892 that "two apprentice cooks have almost taken over kitchen work."[43] By 1894 these two apprentices apparently were still laboring in the school kitchen. They were, Lemmon reported, now fully qualified and could take charge of any school kitchen serving 150 pupils."[44]

The "outing system" was another important feature of the educational program at the Teller Institute. Following T. J. Morgan's visit in 1890 the school made a diligent effort to place

(Photo courtesy Museum of Western Colorado)

Teller Institute band students participating in local parade.



(Photo courtesy Museum of Western Colorado)

Teller Institute Band, downtown, Grand Junction, Colorado.

(Photo courtesy Museum of Western Colorado)

The Teller Institute girls mandolin band.

students on farms and ranches and in private homes in the community. Whether this became a supervised educational program operated by the school or a device to cover the use of Indian students as seasonal labor on farms and in orchards is difficult to determine from the official reports.

In theory, "outing" students to live with local families exposed them to the Protestant work ethic, forced them to improve their skill in the use of the English language, and gave them on-the-job work experience. Assimilation would be advanced, also, by enrolling "outing program" students in the local public schools.[45]

It would appear that "outing," as practiced at the Teller Institute, met only a part of these criteria. Though some students seem to have found regular employment on Valley ranches and farms, many more left school to do short term "day work" during planting and harvest times. In his 1898 report Superintendent Lemmon asserted that the outing system was functioning and that many girls could find year around work. He even hoped that some Indian children might soon be enrolled in public schools. There is no indication in the official records that any ever did.[46] On the other hand, Lemmon proposed in 1898 that the school term be shortened so students could help with spring field chores in the Grand Valley. In the next year a sugar factory opened in Grand Junction and the superintendent reported a great demand for boys to work in the beet fields. In 1909 the *News* reported a week-long suspension of classes at the Teller Institute so students could pick apples.[47]

The most important vocational training program at the Teller Institute related to development of agriculture-related skills and the school's farm served as a laboratory in this endeavor. In 1896 of the 144 students enrolled at the school, male and female, fifty-three boys were "detailed" to the farm.[48]

Unfortunately the school farm never became a very satisfactory laboratory for teaching agricultural skills, situated as it was on land that would challenge the most skilled and talented agronomists. The soil, heavy adobe impregnated with alkali, yielded stubbornly. Despite considerable experimentation with an assortment of crops, most failed. Three times an orchard was set

(Photo courtesy Colorado Historical Society)

Dining room at the Teller Institute, circa 1890's. Left to right: Sam Watson, Mrs. W.D. Ela, Sadie Rogers, unidentified Indian student, Mrs. Davis Waite, Governor Davis Waite.

out, and three times it failed.[49] Sugar beets were raised for several years with only marginal success.[50] Alfalfa proved to be the most adaptable crop and by 1906 most of the farm had been seeded to this forage crop.[51] The production of alfalfa hay gave rise to a relatively successful dairy operation at the school. In good years in excess of twenty thousand gallons of milk were produced by a herd of Holsteins and Durhams described by Superintendent Burton as "second to none in the State of Colorado."[52]

Other problems prevented the development of a quality farm program, including periodic grasshopper plagues and intractable irrigation problems. Grasshoppers took much of the crop and destroyed a young orchard in 1893 and struck again in 1898 and 1905.[53]

Problems with the irrigation system and securing instructional personnel acquainted with western irrigation practice under conditions of extreme alkalinity and heavy clay soil constituted another problem. Superintendent Lemmon complained in 1895: "The new farmer is willing but knows nothing of irrigation and little about stock handling." A year earlier he reported that the fields were spotted with holes and crusted by "careless irrigation." In addition, until 1895 the school's title to irrigation water rights was in dispute.[54]

Despite these problems there is an indication that at least some students mastered the elements of successful farming. In 1896 Superintendent Lemmon reported a successful agricultural year, perhaps because the boys detailed to the farm had been given individual responsibility for specific fields. Some of the boys had even become "expert irrigators." From whom they had learned these skills is not clear.[55]

In 1899 Lemmon allowed three boys to leave the school and go into farming on their own. They leased twenty-six acres of land near the school for three years, swapped work with neighbors for the use of horses and farm implements and apparently succeeded in their endeavor. In their first year, twenty acres of sugar beets were planted and yielded a respectable crop of ten to fifteen tons to the acre, which sold for $4.25 a ton.[56]

During virtually its entire existence, the Teller Institute faced other serious environmental problems related to the school site on a scale similar to those experienced in the agricultural undertaking. Two intractable problems related to providing an adequate supply of domestic water and the disposal of human waste.

The school was located only about two miles from the Colorado River in an area where the water table was characteristically high. This high water table coupled with the relatively impervious soil produced a major water drainage problem. During wet periods the school grounds became a sea of mud which continued for long periods because of the poor drainage. To make walkways and driveways passable, tons of gravel were hauled in--1,200 wagon loads in 1888 alone.[57]

Poor drainage also complicated the disposal of human waste at the school. Not until 1901 did the city of Grand Junction have a sewer system to which the institute might directly connect. In addition, the city pumped its domestic water directly from the Colorado River, making it impossible for the school to dump its human waste in the river, a standard practice in that day. Thus until 1901 the school dug cesspools to dispose of sewage which, because of the high water table, refused to drain. As a result students were almost continuously at work digging new cesspools.[58]

Superintendents worried about health conditions because of the inadequacy of waste disposal. Yet few health problems arose. There was a major outbreak of measles in 1891, of "la grippe" in 1892 and of scarlet fever in 1894. Otherwise, official records indicate only minor health problems: a few cases of diptheria, tuberculosis and typhoid fever. Anticipating resolution of the water and sewer problems, Superintendent Lemmon predicted that the school would soon become the "health resort of the Indian Service."[59]

The number of persons laid to rest in the school cemetery would be one indication of health conditions at the institute. Unfortunately there is no record of burials and, today, the location of the school's cemetery cannot be ascertained.[60]

Providing safe domestic water was as much a problem as

Student body of the Teller Institute.

(Photo courtesy Museum of Western Colorado)

the disposal of human waste. At first, wells were dug, but the water proved too saline for use. When the wells failed, the school hauled water from the Colorado River and used ditch water to meet its domestic needs.[61] When Commissioner Morgan visited the school in 1890 he termed the water problem urgent and ordered Superintendent Wheeler to draft a contract to connect the school to the city mains. The connection was completed in 1891, though the situation remained unsatisfactory since water provided by the City of Grand Junction was of poor quality, also.[62]

After 1900 these conditions improved. In 1901 the City of Grand Junction's new "mountain water system" became operative. The pumping of water from the Colorado River halted and good quality water was piped from mountain streams flowing off nearby Grand Mesa, giving the school a healthful water supply. In the same year the cesspool system was abandoned in favor of what school authorities called the "Berlin distribution system" in reference to a similar process employed by the city of Berlin, Germany at the time. The school purchased an additional ten acres of land one half mile from the school campus and piped the sewage to the site and distributed it over an open, cultivated field. The arrangement created controversy from the outset. Installation of the system necessitated laying a pipe along a county road which according to the County Commissioners obstructed vehicular traffic. The dispute heated up when the Commissioners filed for an injunction to force the school to abandon the disputed pipe. Superintendent Lemmon declared that the Indian Department would close the school if the cesspool system had to be restored. The Grand Junction *Daily Sentinel* pleaded for a compromise to save the school's $40,000 budget, citing the economic importance of the school to the local economy.[63]

The sewage controversy was resolved in the next year when the school received a $10,000 appropriation to build a conventional sewage disposal system to take care of the school's human waste.[64]

In 1902, also, lighting by kerosene lamps, which had been the norm since the school opened, gave way to acetylene lighting which in turn gave way to electricity in 1906. To heat campus

buildings coal stoves were replaced by a central steam heating system in 1903.[65]

In addition, a flurry of construction after 1900 gave the Teller Institute one of the most modern campuses in the Indian school system. A new two story brick girls' dormitory was constructed in 1902. Concrete sidewalks were laid through the campus in 1905. In 1907 five new buildings were added to the campus complex: a modern dairy barn, an employees' quarters, a superintendent's cottage, a shop building, and a steam laundry building, bringing the total number of buildings on the campus to twelve. The *Sentinel* estimated the value of the campus to be a quarter of a million dollars, a significant figure in the first decade of the twentieth century.[66]

By this time the Teller Institute had become the pride and joy of the Grand Valley. The Indian school and its activities attracted wide community interest and support, intensifying after the Morgan visit in 1890 and the initiation of broad improvements at the school. Fans flocked to see the institute's baseball and football teams battle with local high schools and semi-pro teams.[67] The school's cornet band was a feature of almost every public celebration and ceremony in the valley. The band's popularity caused the local musician's union to complain of unfair competition, forcing the school to begin charging for band performances other than those sponsored by schools and churches.[68]

The Teller Institute long distance running team became a special favorite of sports fans in the school's waning years. The *Sentinel* actively promoted the team's ace performer, a slight Moqui youth named Saul Halyve, and billed him as a potential Olympian.[69]

After Halyve had bested most of the amateurs in the Grand Valley and across the state, the *Sentinel* worked to attract professional challengers to Grand Junction. A 1909 event pitted Halyve and the Indian school running team against three professional challengers from Australia, England and Utah. A crowd of one thousand gathered at the county fair grounds the evening of July 18 to watch the heavily publicized contest. The track was lit with orchard heaters and the Teller Institute cornet band provided

(Photo courtesy Museum of Western Colorado)

The Teller Institute football team.

(Photo courtesy Museum of Western Colorado)

The Teller Institute baseball team with Palisade team.

music. Not only did Halyve leave the three challengers in the dust, two of his teammates did the same, to the delight of the local sports fans.[70]

The largest of these *Sentinel*-sponsored events came in August 1910, a one-on-one contest between the Teller Institute ace and a Danish professional named William Stanley who claimed the world's record in the five and ten mile runs. A crowd of nearly two thousand gathered at the fair grounds to witness the twenty mile contest. After a slow start, Halyve twice lapped the Danish challenger who in mile eleven left the race with heart and stomach pains. Halyve continued to run through mile fifteen when the judges declared him the winner and halted the race. The *Sentinel* reported: "He finished the last two hundred yards with a whirlwind finish and was almost suffocated by the crowd that swarmed upon the field to get a close view and congratulate the clever little Indian boy."[71]

In addition, closing exercises at the institute were always packed with community well-wishers who came to hear the Indian scholars give recitations and dialogues; to see the boys, dressed in their smart red-trimmed gray uniforms, perform intricate military drills; to observe native dances, and to hear the cornet band and the girls' mandolin club play. The local press gave these exercises extensive coverage with editors taking the opportunity to laud the school and the performance of its students.[72]

Ironically these improvements came just as a concerted attack on off-reservation schools developed nationally signalling the fact that the institution's days were most certainly numbered. The assault began in 1905 with the appointment of Francis E. Leupp as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. If Commissioner Morgan can be credited with initiating explosive growth in off-reservation Indian education, Leupp can be credited with extensive contraction of the system.

Unlike Morgan, Commissioner Leupp was not a professional educator, though he had been an ardent student of the management of Indian affairs and, as the Washington agent of the Indian Rights Association, one of the most articulate critics of

Indian Bureau operations. In 1896, Leupp attracted national attention when he clashed violently with Richard H. Pratt of Carlisle School fame over reform of the Indian service. Leupp also advocated replacement of the off-reservation schools with reservation day schools, though he continued to advocate employment of Indian youngsters on farms and ranches during the summer arguing that such "excursions into real life" were of much greater value than mastering "the content of the whole school library."[73]

Leupp objected to schools like the Teller Institute on a number of grounds: the high cost of such institutions with "their armies of employees;" the crowded conditions, which were ideal for the "development of germ diseases;" and the greenhouse nature of the environment at the schools which he argued cultivated "a contempt for the primitive contrivances which make up his environment as a poor settler in a frontier country."[74]

Referring to such schools as "an anomaly in our American scheme of popular instruction," Leupp insisted that they tended to corrupt Indians rather than educate them:

> They furnish gratuitously not only tuition but food, clothing, and permanent shelter during the whole period of the pupil's attendance. In plain English, they are simply educational almshouses. This tends steadily to foster in the Indian an ignoble willingness to accept unearned privileges; nay, more, from learning to accept them, he presently comes to demand them as rights. The result is that in certain parts of the West the only conception his white neighbors entertain of an Indian is that of a beggar as aggressive as he is shameless.[75]

A bill introduced in the U. S. House of Representatives in 1908 sought to abolish all the non-reservation Indian schools, touching off a bitter debate as representatives from affected areas fought to protect their constituencies. Though the bill failed, clearly it was only a matter of time before the Teller Institute would be closed.[76]

By the end of 1908, Grand Junction citizens began to discuss

possible uses of the school should it be closed. Some hoped the State of Colorado would take it over and convert it into a normal school for training teachers. No other normal school existed west of the Continental Divide and Grand Junction, because of its central location, seemed the logical place to establish such an institution. Local citizens believed the Teller Institute would be an ideal site for the school.[77] Other Grand Junction citizens hoped the institute would be handed over to a struggling private institution, the Western University of Industries, Science, and the Arts, which was operating out of a local church.[78]

Early in 1909 came a report from Washington that the government was preparing to turn over both the Teller Institute and the Fort Lewis Indian School in southwestern Colorado to the State of Colorado. Senator Teller had submitted an amendment to the Indian appropriation bill to affect the transfer with the proviso that the state must utilize the properties for educational purposes.[79]

In the House of Representatives, Representative James S. Sherman of New York introduced similar legislation but added a clause requiring the state to admit Indian children free of charge to any educational institution established by the state on the donated properties.[80]

Reports of the pending transfer of the school properties to Colorado came as the state legislature debated founding of a normal school west of the Continental Divide. Senator Horace DeLong of Grand Junction introduced legislation to establish such a school in Grand Junction.[81] Intense competition for the teacher training institution developed among several West Slope communities including Glenwood Springs, Gunnison and Montrose. In the final days of the legislative session the struggle ended with Gunnison designated as the normal school site.[82]

The *Sentinel* blamed failure of the effort to put the normal school in Grand Junction on the inability of Grand Junction citizens to present a united front to the legislature and to an action by the Grand Junction Chamber of Commerce in January 1909 endorsing the transfer of the Indian school to the privately operated Western University. The *Sentinel* editor, however, suggested

it was not too late to get the school moved to Grand Junction, clearly the superior site because of its central location and the fully developed modern academic campus at the Teller Institute.[83] Every effort to do so, however, failed.

Passage of the Indian school transfer measures by the Congress came in the closing days of the 1909 Colorado legislative session, but official communication of the Congressional action seems not to have been conveyed to the General Assembly until after it had adjourned. Failure of the General Assembly to accept the properties of the two Colorado Indian schools threatened the transfer process since another amendment to the appropriations bill provided for the sale of the properties should the State of Colorado fail to act by the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1910.[84]

Since the Colorado General Assembly met only in odd-numbered year at that time and special sessions could not appropriate money, it appeared quite likely the state would miss the opportunity to acquire the Indian school facilities at Grand Junction and Fort Lewis.[85]

Accordingly, the Colorado Congressional delegation had to scramble to save the properties for the state. Early in 1910 Representative John A. Martin of Pueblo and Colorado Senator Simon Guggenheim successfully amended the Indian appropriations bill gaining authorization to continue the Grand Junction school for an additional year and making an appropriation of $33,400 for operating expenses. The action gave the state additional time to act on the property transfers.[86]

With the property transfers saved until July 1, 1911, the debate over the future of the Teller Institute resumed. Lacking an appropriation to continue operation after June 30, 1910, the Fort Lewis school was closed and Governor John Shafroth suggested that the southwestern Colorado facility be sold to create an endowment to develop an educational institution of some sort, most likely a branch of the agricultural college, at the Grand Junction facility.[87]

Indicative of his indecision regarding use of the two Indian school properties, however, Shafroth asked President Charles Lory of the State Agricultural College (now Colorado State University)

to look over the two campuses to determine the feasibility of establishing branch agricultural schools at the sites.[88]

Later Shafroth appeared ready to endorse agricultural school branches at both Fort Lewis and Grand Junction, while the State Board of Agriculture, which governed the State Agricultural College, clearly favored the Fort Lewis site. Though campus facilities at the Teller Institute were superior to those at Fort Lewis, the latter sat on over seven thousand acres of land, much of it containing deposits of coal. The *Sentinel* estimated the coal on the Fort Lewis properties at ten cents a ton to be worth four million dollars. No doubt these factors helped influence the Board of Agriculture to support Fort Lewis over the better developed Grand Junction site.[89]

Early in 1911, with Governor Shafroth's support, the General Assembly began considering a bill to establish an agricultural high school at Fort Lewis under the control of the Board of Agriculture and appropriated $60,000 to launch the institution.[90]

A few weeks later, Representative A. C. Newton of Grand Junction introduced another bill to create the School of Horticulture and Forestry, also under the control of the Board of Agriculture, at the site of the soon-to-be-abandoned Teller Institute. The bill called for a $60,000 appropriation, which was reduced to $10,000 in the Committee of the Whole, far too little to begin operation of the proposed school. Clearly the measure, as approved and signed into law by the Governor in April 1911 would meet the letter of the federal statute authorizing transfer of the Teller Institute to Colorado, but not its spirit.[91]

Later developments confirmed the fact that the General Assembly had no intention of funding operation of an educational institution in Grand Junction. In June, 1911 President Lory of the Agricultural College visited Grand Junction to inspect the Indian school property, only days before the school was to be officially abandoned by the Indian Bureau. After taking control of the property from the departing Superintendent Burton, Lory auctioned off equipment and supplies left behind by the Indian Department and announced to the press what Grand Junction citizens already knew, that funding was insufficient to allow for

opening the school in the fall. The best he could do would be to try to hold a "farmers' institute" on the campus during the coming winter.[92]

Before leaving Grand Junction, Lory made Robert S. Herrick, the Agricultural College's horticultural field agent in the Grand Valley, custodian of the school and completed an inventory of the property. The school property, he reported, had a value of approximately $158,000. It consisted of 178 acres of land, two dormitories, a classroom building with auditorium, a dining hall, a heating plant, three residences for supervisory personnel, and an assortment of farm animal and poultry structures, certainly a well provided campus for the projected horticultural and forestry school.[93]

President Lory also found a major problem. Ground water was seeping into the basements of several of the campus buildings. A later investigation revealed that the water table on the campus grounds stood at under two feet. Apparently, unsupervised irrigation ditches had been allowed to run onto the school property in an uncontrolled fashion raising the naturally high water table. Clearly an expensive drainage project would be required before the campus could be used and that would require a large appropriation from a reluctant General Assembly.[94]

Lory requested funds from the General Assembly in 1913 to activate the Grand Junction School of Horticulture and Forestry, and although a $45,000 appropriation was made to continue development of the Fort Lewis school, the legislature made no appropriation for the Grand Junction operation. By 1914, Lory reported absolutely no progress in developing the "Teller School of Agriculture." Funds for property supervision at the school ran out and a renter looked after the campus. Campus structures were rapidly deteriorating due to the critical ground water problem.[95]

Not that the school was not used. The dairy operation was leased out and the school's auditorium was used from time to time for public functions. Early Grand Valley resident Pearl Ross remembered attending high graduations, minstrels, and other community events there. Ross recalled:

(Photo courtesy Colorado Historical Society)

Feeding poultry flock.

> The seepage made the ground crunch under our feet and it was a task to dust the building, but it really seemed no hardship in those horse and buggy days to load the old piano onto a hayrack and everybody go to "Old Teller."[96]

Not until 1915 did the General Assembly begin to address the deteriorating conditions at the school, appropriating the inadequate sum of $5,000 for drainage. By this time plans were being advanced to abandon the idea of an educational institution at the site. In the 1915 session of the General Assembly, Senator Herman W. Kluge of Palisade introduced and the legislature passed a resolution directed to the U. S. Congress asking that the original Indian school cession statute be broadened to allow the state to use the facility for an insane asylum or "other purposes."[97]

U. S. Representative Edward B. Taylor took up the General Assembly's appeal in the Congress. In debate on the 1916 Indian appropriation bill, Taylor introduced an amendment to allow Colorado to utilize the former Grand Junction Indian school property "for the care of the insane, as an agricultural experiment station, or for such other public purposes as may be authorized by the legislature of the State." In explaining his proposal, Taylor pointed out that Colorado really did not need and could not afford another educational institution.[98]

Before passing the Taylor amendment, debate turned cynical. Representative James R. Mann of Illinois remembered Taylor's earlier eloquent pleas for the Indian school property to meet Colorado's educational needs. Objected Mann:

> First you ask for it for a normal school. Now, they want it for an insane asylum and an agricultural experiment station, or anything else that the legislature happens to think of. Perhaps it would be better to have the insane asylum conduct these agricultural experiments.[99]

Despite having obtained consent from the Congress to use the Indian school for almost any purpose it wished, the General Assembly moved at a snail's pace in deciding what to do with the property, probably due to the World War I emergency from 1917

to 1918.

Not until 1919 did the General Assembly move to use the property, passing a statute creating an addition to the State Home and Training School for Mental Defectives to take pressure off an overcrowded facility at Ridge in eastern Colorado. An appropriation of $180,000 was included in the statute to pay for furnishings, equipment, operation and maintenance and another $120,000 for drainage and for repair of existing campus buildings.[100]

The state appointed James H. Rankin, a Mesa County Commissioner, Superintendent of Construction to supervise the drainage and facility improvement activities at the school. Ground water tests revealed the grounds about the school's campus to be completely waterlogged. Engineers put down twenty-six test wells and found the water table to vary from one to just under six feet from the surface and in over half the property, the water table stood at from 1.5 to 2.5 feet. Authorities gave the U. S. Reclamation Service a contract to drain the property, a project that was completed in December 1919. According to the State Engineer, $20,000 was expended on drainage and over $78,000 on improvements and repairs. The facility was to house about four hundred persons. Peak enrollment at the Indian School never exceeded 270 students.[101]

Just before Christmas, 1920 the restoration of the facility was complete and, without fanfare, the State Home and Training School (presently, the Grand Junction Regional Center for Developmental Disabilities) began receiving students. The state finally had made good its pledge to make constructive use of the Teller Institute.[102]

But the "Indian School Era" refused to die, at least in the hearts and minds of Grand Valley residents. For a very long time, local citizens continued to refer to the county road that ran along the institution's south boundary as the Indian School Road. And they continued, nostalgically, to relate stories about times when the voices of Indian children rang out at the school; when the cornet band and the mandolin club made sweet music at most every special community occasion; when baseball bats, wielded

by agile young Indian men, cracked in local ball parks; when the willing hands of Indian scholars assisted with the sugar beet and fruit harvests in the valley. Never mind the darker side of that time, the alkali and cesspools, the failing crops, the tainted drinking water. It had been a wonderful time. The new state institution at the old Grand Junction Indian School could never match all that.[103]

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(Photo courtesy Museum of Western Colorado)

NOTES

[1]Several useful works on the assimilation movement can be consulted including: Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962); Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the American Indian, 1867-1904* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Robert A. Trennert, Jr. *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988). See also, David W. Adams, "The Federal Indian Boarding School: A Study in Environment and Response, 1879-1918," Unpublished dissertation, University of Indiana, 1975.

[2]Francis Paul Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979) and *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), are useful in understanding the role of churches in Indian education. Also, see: *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885: xiii-xiv. (Hereinafter, *Report, CIA*). The culmination of government deference to sectarian activity in Indian affairs came after the Civil War with President Grant's "Peace Policy." Not only education but the entire task of reservation management was handed over to religious groups. For a discussion of this development see Robert H. Keller, *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-1882* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press: 1983).

[3]Theodore Fischbacher, "A Study of the Federal Government in the Education of the American Indians," Dissertation, Arizona State University, 1967: 44.

[4]For detailed discussions of the Carlisle System see: Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904* (Robert M. Utley, ed.) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964); Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975).

[5]Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *The Phoenix School*, 3-7.

[6]Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 57-59; Margaret Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self Determination, 1928-1973* (Albuquerque: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 9-10.

[7]Elmer Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller, Defender of the West* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Press, 1941), 101-108.

[8]Ibid., 139-147.

[9]*Report*, CIA, 1886: lxxviii.

[10]Ibid.: 261; Grand Junction *Daily Sentinel*, January 9, 1908 (Hereinafter, *Sentinel*). The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his 1888 report had additional caustic remarks about the site of the school: "Why it was selected as a site for a school of this kind is beyond the ken of all, except probably the ring of land speculators who adroitly manipulated the scheme." *Report*, CIA, 1888: 250-254.

[11]Grand Junction *News*, July 3, 1886, April 24, 1886, November 20, 1886 (Hereinafter, *News*); *Report*, CIA, 1889: 350; National Archives, Record

Group 75, 27066, 1889 (Hereinafter, Records Group 75).

[12]*News*, July 17, 1886; Records Group 75, LR 22285, August 15, 1887 and LR 22603, August 26, 1887.

[13]*News*, May 12, 1888 and November 3, 1888; Records Group 75, LR 25177, October 8, 1888 and LR 5916, October 26, 1888.

[14]*Report*, CIA, 1889: 350.

[15]Ibid.: 349; Records Group 75, LR 5916, October 26, 1888.

[16]*News*, January 26, 1889.

[17]*Report*, CIA 1888: 262.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid., 1887: 372-373 and 1889: 380-381.

[20]Ibid., 1889: 349.

[21]Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 66-70; Robert Kvasnicka and Herman Viola, eds., *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 193-203.

[22]*News*, September 20, 1890.

[23]Ibid., September 27, 1890.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]*Report*, CIA, 1889: 380-381 and 1893: 612-613.

[27]*News*, January 17, 1891.

[28]Ibid., February 21, 1891.

[29]Ibid.

[30]*Report*, CIA, 1891, Pt. II: 2-3 and 1892: 766-767.

[31]Records Group 75, LR 32986, September 5, 1892.

[32]Ibid., LR 38625, 1893.

[33]*Report*, CIA, 1896: 370-373 and 1903: 32-33; *News*, December 5, 1896.

[34]The format is well detailed in: Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *The Phoenix School*; Lillie G. McKinney, "History of the Albuquerque Indian School," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 20 (April, 1945): 109-138.

[35]*News*, annual edition, 1896; *Report*, CIA, 1892: 657-658.

[36]*News*, annual edition, 1896; *Report*, CIA, 1893: 410-411.

[37]*Report*, CIA, 1888: 251-253.

[38]Records Group 75, LR 32986, September 5, 1892.

[39]*Report*, CIA, 1892: 657-658 and 1906: 210-211.

[40]*News*, July 11, 1896.

[41]*Report*, CIA, 1896: 370-371.

[42]*News*, March 26, 1898.

[43]*Report*, CIA, 1892: 657-658.

[44]Ibid., 1894: 375-376.

[45]Robert A. Trennert, Jr., "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1887-1930," *Pacific Historical Review*, 13 (July, 1982): 271-290.

[46]*Report*, CIA, 1898: 363-364.

[47]Ibid., 1899: 391-392; *News*, October 4, 1909.

[48]*Report*, CIA, 1896, Pt. I: 372.

[49]Ibid.: 370-371.

[50]From statistical reports in *Reports*, CIA, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899 and 1900.

[51]Ibid., 1906: 210-211.

[52]Ibid., 1899: 391, 1900: 483-484 and 1906: 210-211.

[53]Ibid., 1893: 410-411, 1898: 363-364 and 1905: 417-418.

[54]Ibid., 1894: 373-377 and 1895: 365.

[55]Ibid., 1896: 370-373.

[56]Ibid., 1899: 382.

[57]Ibid., 1888: 251 and 1893: 411; *News*, January 17, 1891.

[58]*Report*, CIA, 1891: 558, 1892: 658, 1895: 364-368, 1896: 370-373, 1898: 363-364 and 1899: 391. For a detailed discussion of Grand Junction's domestic water problems in the nineteenth century see Kathleen Underwood, *Town Building on the Colorado Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1987).

[59]*Report*, CIA, 1890: 282, 1891: 558, 1892: 657-658, 1894: 373-377 and 1900: 483-484.

[60]The Mesa County Genealogical Society, which has catalogued all known cemeteries in Mesa County, confirms that the Indian School cemetery has not been located. However, there is documentation that a small number of remains from the Indian School were removed to the Orchard Mesa Cemetery. Conversation with Phyllis George, January 25, 1993.

[61]*News*, May 3, 1890.

[62]Ibid., September 27, 1890 and February 21, 1891.

[63]*Sentinel*, July 8, 1901; *Report*, CIA, 1901: 533-535. Many communities in the West became heavily dependent economically upon federal government operations and their Congressional delegations took care to protect those interests, then as now. For an extended discussion of this dependency see Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest, the Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 78-96.

[64]*News*, February 6, 1902.

[65]*Sentinel*, April 28, 1902; *Report*, CIA, 1906: 210-211 and 1903: 415.

[66]*Sentinel*, January 9, 1908; *Report*, CIA, 1905: 417-418, 1906: 210-211, 1907: 17-18 and 1908: 128.

[67]*News*, August 20, 1898, March 2, 1907 and April 18, 1908.

[68]*Sentinel*, May 18, 1909.

[69]Ibid., July 3, 1909.

[70]Ibid., July 19, 1909.

[71]Ibid., August 27, 1910.

[72]*News*, July 2, 1898; *Sentinel*, June 26, 1903, June 14, 1908 and June 8, 1910.

[73]Robert M. Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola, eds., *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, 221-231; Francis E. Leupp, *The Indian and His Problem*, (New York: Arno Press. 1971), 121. (Reprint of 1910 edition).

[74]Francis E. Leupp, *The Indian and His Problem*, 141.

[75]*Report*, CIA, 1907: 17-18.

[76]*Sentinel*, February 8, 1908.

[77]Ibid., December 19, 1908 and January 12, 1909.
[78]Ibid.
[79]*Congressional Record*, 60 Congress 2 Session, January 29, 1909: 1560.
[80]Ibid., February 16, 1909: 2516.
[81]*News*, February 6, 1909.
[82]*Sentinel*, April 2, 1909.
[83]Ibid., December 2, 1909.
[84]*Congressional Record*, 61 Congress 2 Session, February 21, 1910: 2189-2190.
[85]Ibid.
[86]Ibid., January 6, 1910: 360 and February 21, 1910: 2189; *Sentinel*, February 22, 1910.
[87]*News*, April 9, 1910 and June 18, 1910.
[88]*Sentinel*, December 10, 1910.
[89]*News*, December 17, 1910; Duane A. Smith, *Sacred Trust, The Birth and Development of Fort Lewis College* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1991), 36; *Sentinel*, December 10, 1910.
[90]Duane A. Smith, *Sacred Trust*, 39; *Sentinel*, January 1, 1911.
[91]*House Journal*, 18 General Assembly, 1911: 268, 421, 577, 938, 946, 972 and 1562.
[92]*Sentinel*, June 28, 1911 and June 29, 1911.
[93]*Report*, Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1912: 115-116; *Report*, State Board of Agriculture, 1911-1912: 59; *Congressional Record*, 64 Congress 1 Session, February 1, 1916: 1910-1911.
[94]*Report*, Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1912: 115-116; *Report*, State Board of Agriculture, 1911-192: 59; *Congressional Record*, 64 Congress 1 Session, February 1, 1916: 1910-1011.
[95]*Report*, State Board of Agriculture, 1913-1914: 18, 54.
[96]Pearl Ross, "Grand Junction Indian School, Also Known as Teller Institute" Unpublished Ms, January 6, 1969, Archives of Grand Junction Regional Center.
[97]*Session Laws*, 20 General Assembly, 1915: 87, 1601-1602. The farm land and dairy facilities at the school were leased to private parties for several years. Pioneer dairyman Fred Clymer operated the dairy from 1916 until the state began renovating the property in 1919. Oral History Collection, Mesa County Public Library District, Grand Junction, CO, OH-33 Maybelle Clymer (Hereinafter, Oral History).
[98]*Congressional Record*, 64 Congress 1 Session, February 1, 1916: 1910-1911.
[99]Ibid., 1977-1978.
[100]*Session Laws*, 22 General Assembly, 1919: 221, 267-268.
[101]*Report*, State Engineer, 1919-1920: 15-16.
[102]*Sentinel*, May 28, 1920, July 28, 1920 and December 20, 1920.
[103]Oral History, OH-33 Maybelle Clymer, OH-48 Dr. E. H. Munro and OH-64 Levi A. Clark; conversations with L. A. Brodak and Howard Powell, who were born and grew up in the Grand Valley, January 1993; Pearl Ross, "Grand Junction Indian School." Brodak remembers, as a boy,

meeting the son of Saul Halyve, the Indian School's long distance runner. The Halyve family lived in the Grand Valley for a time and Saul was once more competing, as "an old horse," in local races. Ross remembered Halyve both while he was at the Indian School and later, recalling that Grand Junction businessman Wendell Ela often paced the Indian School runners riding a "high-stepping horse along the track." According to Ross, Halyve had four children and "had a hard time making a living." Two of his children died in the Grand Valley, the other two after the family returned to Arizona.

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Mr. & Mrs. Dwight H. Tope, Albuquerque, NM
Mr. & Mrs. Max Welch, Grand Junction
Frank E. Woodard, Grand Junction