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*CULTURAL CHANGE ON
THE SOUTHWEST FRONTIER:
ALBUQUERQUE SCHOOLING, 1870-1895*

CHARLES D. BIEBEL

UNTIL THE LAST QUARTER of the nineteenth century, large sections of the far Southwest remained relatively unaffected by the industrial modernization and urban growth occurring in other parts of the United States. The isolation resulting from immense distances, inhospitable climate and terrain, and unpacified Indians all served to impede the "Americanization" of large portions of New Mexico and Arizona. Although San Francisco by 1880 was already a major urban center with a population of almost a quarter of a million, hinterland towns such as Albuquerque, New Mexico, remained largely pre-industrial agricultural villages with predominately Hispanic populations until the introduction of rail transportation in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Albuquerque provides a striking example of the rapid urban growth and social alteration attendant to the coming of the railroad. This paper focuses on schooling as one important indicator of the dramatic changes in social patterns and cultural values resulting from major economic innovation.

Albuquerque was founded in 1706 on a strategic portion of El Camino Real, the main north-south trade route between Santa Fe and Chihuahua. It remained a small agricultural village well into the nineteenth century. In the decades after 1820, when New Mexico was legally open to trade with itinerant American merchants coming west from Missouri, the town's population grew slowly. In 1860 it stood at 1,608, although at least 500 townsmen were members of the Fifth Infantry of the U.S. Army of the West.¹

By 1870 the Army post had been removed, and the population had decreased to 1,307. Of the male working force, 70 percent

were still classified as agricultural workers. Trade had quickened, however, and along with eight resident Anglo merchants, two dozen Anglo tradesmen and professionals had arrived, including four carpenters, a tailor, blacksmith, stonecutter, two physicians, a half-dozen lawyers, and a federal postmaster and federal judge. Although the town served as county seat for Bernalillo County and the site of a federal District Court, thus a "lawyers' town," the richest men in the community continued to be Hispanic "farmers." Their vast landholdings and flocks provided employment for the largest segment of the laboring class. The Hispanic ricos also served as wholesale merchant capitalists and controlled much of the freighting business necessary to bring goods to the area. In a community where 90 percent of the customers were Hispanic and where the dominant social and cultural institution was the Catholic church, Anglo merchants learned to speak Spanish, married Hispanic women, and gave their children Hispanic first names.²

The late 1860s and early 1870s were trying times in Albuquerque. The loss of the Army post in 1867 severely retarded the chief source of hard money in the economy. In the spring of 1874 the periodically fierce Rio Grande burst from its banks, devastating irrigation ditches and farm land, dissolving adobe buildings, and killing livestock. For several days the central plaza of the town became a solitary island marooned in a sea of destruction. Misfortune continued. Later in the same year the town lost the lucrative contract for the federal Arizona Mail Route to a more aggressive Santa Fe; with the mail contract went an estimated annual yield of \$50,000 scarce dollars.³ To make matters worse, the nearby town of Bernalillo, an older and richer village, began a campaign to wrest away the seat of county government from Albuquerque. In March of 1878, Bernalillo succeeded in winning the court house and the mercantile exchange it attracted.⁴ As businesses failed, the future looked grim.

By the winter of 1878-79, however, the fate of the town began to change. The New Mexico Territorial Assembly approved a railroad incorporation act, and shortly thereafter the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad organized the New Mexico and Southern Pacific Railroad (NM & SP) for the purpose of constructing and operating a branch line across New Mexico. This branch

line was slated to connect near Albuquerque with the projected tracks of the Atlantic and Pacific (A & P), a joint venture of the Santa Fe and the St. Louis and San Francisco, to be built west to California on the 35th parallel. Spirits rose when the first Santa Fe train entered New Mexico on December 7, 1878. Commercial activity had already begun to quicken when agents of the NM & SP determined that Albuquerque, not Bernalillo, would become the site for the Santa Fe's main division point and repair facilities. This decision meant major cash expenditures for building and materials and substantial monthly payrolls for wage employees.⁵

Men of foresight and ambition began boldly to plan for the future. Among them were three who would play crucial roles in promoting Albuquerque's fortunes: Franz Huning, Elias S. Stover, and William C. Hazledine. Huning was a major transitional figure from the prior period of Hispanic dominance. An immigrant from Hanover, Germany, in the 1840s, Huning had stopped in Albuquerque on his way to the California gold fields in 1849. In the 1850s, Huning and his brothers Charles and Louis began freight-ing goods across the Santa Fe Trail for resale in Albuquerque. By the seventies, the Hunings were important and successful merchant capitalists with flour mills and a half-dozen general stores in the Albuquerque trading area.⁶

Elias Sleeper Stover, on the other hand, was born in Rockland, Maine, in 1836. After several years at sea, Stover migrated to Kansas where, after serving in the Civil War, he became a successful real estate operator in Council Grove. Soon elected to the Kansas State Legislature, Stover served as lieutenant governor of Kansas from 1872 to 1874. "Governor" Stover came to Albuquerque as a wholesale merchant in 1876 just as the Santa Fe Railroad laid plans to build west. By 1879 Stover & Co. had expanded its trade to include wool and hide export, and Stover had become a prominent member of the new commercial elite which was beginning to dominate the now bustling community. Through Kansas connections, Stover became vice president of the New Mexico Town Company, a subsidiary of the Santa Fe Railroad responsible for platting and merchandising land in new towns formed along the railroad's right-of-way in the New Mexico Territory.⁷

William C. Hazledine was another important newcomer. Born in Michigan in 1844, Hazledine migrated to Arkansas after the

Civil War where he became a successful lawyer, state legislator, and district judge. In 1875, "Judge" Hazledine arrived in Santa Fe where he became the friend and partner of William Breeden, chairman of the New Mexico Republican Party, member of the notorious Santa Fe Ring, and territorial attorney general from 1881-1886. Hazledine moved to Albuquerque in 1877 as resident partner of Breeden and Hazledine. He would also function as general secretary of the A & P Railroad, the Santa Fe subsidiary operating west to California.⁸

While several of the wealthy Hispano families like the Armijos would also seek to profit from new urban industrial opportunities, men like Hazledine and Stover represented a new generation of economic and civic leaders attracted by the railroad. Allied with long resident Anglos such as Huning, they were destined to direct local, regional, and territorial interests in towns across the southwest frontier in the late 1870s and 1880s. Their legacy would be as much cultural as economic, for their activities included schooling as well as real estate. Their promotion of new educational institutions in Albuquerque in the late 1870s signalled a major challenge to the cultural forms and values which had predominated in the town for over a century and a half.

From the founding of Albuquerque as a Spanish frontier villa in 1706, the Catholic church served as the single most important social and cultural institution in the town. With twin towers soaring high above the one story adobe buildings lining the town plaza, San Felipe de Neri presented unmistakable visual evidence of its centrality to the life of the community. In this it was similar to the Puritan church which stood as the physical and symbolic center on early New England village greens. As with New England Congregational churches, San Felipe long provided the impetus for what formal schooling existed in the rural villa. After the Civil War, it fell to the Sisters of Loretto to administer schooling in Albuquerque. In 1869, however, the general economic depression plus the lack of funds to repair their crumbling adobe buildings forced the Sisters to remove their work to Las Cruces in the south.⁹

The Jesuits, recently arrived in New Mexico at the invitation of Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy, thereafter assumed responsibility for Albuquerque as a mission. During the next decade they provided

educational as well as spiritual leadership in the town. In the fall of 1870, for example, at the suggestion of the Bishop, the Jesuits opened Holy Family College in Albuquerque, in effect an elementary and grammar school.¹⁰ Seven years would pass before the Jesuits could institute the first college in New Mexico at the more prosperous town of Las Vegas. While the sons of both wealthy Hispanos and Anglos would continue to travel east for college, formal schooling assumed importance in the territory.¹¹

In 1872 the Territorial Assembly required county commissioners to act as a County School Committee. The Bernalillo County Commissioners, now authorized to use public money for the training and education of youth, turned naturally to the Jesuits. Not only were the priests requested to maintain a public school, Father D. M. Gasparri, Pastor of San Felipe, was also asked to supervise the county's entire "public system" as Superintendent of Schools. While Father Gasparri declined the latter offer, the Jesuits did accept \$600 a year to provide free schooling from November to August for between sixty and one hundred boys.¹²

Initially, classes were held in the home of County Commissioner Ambrosio Armijo, one of the wealthiest of local patrones. As the number of pupils increased, the Jesuits began to press for a new building directly to the north of the church and rectory. Construction occupied most of 1878, and the first classes entered the new quarters of the "Public School" on November 19, 1878. The town school, then, was physically as well as spiritually connected to the dominant architectural and cultural edifice on the plaza. In describing the curriculum, Father Vito Tromby acknowledged that in addition to Spanish, students would study English, which "sooner or later will be of great utility if not at times actually necessary to know." Tromby assured parents, however, that "we will not neglect that of the mother tongue, the beautiful and rich Spanish language, which is the natural language of this territory, the language of the family, the social tongue."¹³

The Jesuits were not long the only sponsors of schooling in Albuquerque. A competing school resulted from the work of another urban promoter from another bustling southwest town, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Colorado Springs was founded in 1871 as a

product of the extension of another railroad, in this case the Denver & Rio Grande. Destined to be the third largest town in Colorado by 1880 with a population of 4,000, in 1874 Colorado Springs boasted a new institution, Colorado College.¹⁴ Initially financed by the Colorado Congregational Conference and the benefaction of railroad builder William Jackson Palmer, the struggling college under an aggressive new president, Reverend Edward P. Tenney, soon gathered support from the American College and Education Society in Boston. The Society had been recently created by eastern Congregationalists in 1874 as a new evangelical instrument to unite the efforts of the venerable American Society for the Education of Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry, founded in 1816, and the later Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education of the West, established in 1843 at a time when the West lay considerably east of the Rockies. Under terms negotiated by Tenney in 1877, the College was to receive \$60,000 over eight years.¹⁵

A consummate Christian entrepreneur, Tenney supervised the erection of the College's first permanent buildings and at the same time dramatized the opportunities of evangelical protestantism for Easterners in *The New West as Related to the Christian College*. Colorado College, Tenney argued, was a strategically located center for developing Christian leadership among the polygamist Mormons in Utah, the Spanish speaking "Romanists" of New Mexico, and the "Indians left after the government gets through killing the most vicious."¹⁶ Tenney envisioned eventual evangelical success by creating a system of Christian academies throughout Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona. These academies would prepare local boys for collegiate education and, incidentally, employ graduates of Tenney's college. "The planting of Christian teachers in every school district," he wrote, "can be secure only by establishing first the Christian College, from which intellectual and spiritual quickening will flow like the fertilizing streams of the Sierra Madre."¹⁷

Not one for idle dreaming, Tenney in 1878 proclaimed a Christian Commission for the New West and energetically solicited cooperative agreements with local business leaders in Salt Lake City and Santa Fe to establish and support "non-sectarian" academies in each city. The following summer, Tenney's agent, the Rev. C. R. Bliss, traveled down to Albuquerque from Santa Fe

by stage to confer with "Governor Stover, Judge Hazledine and other gentlemen" about establishing an academy affiliated with, and staffed by, Colorado College.¹⁸ Seven local trustees were recruited; E. S. Stover served as president, Franz Huning vice president, and W. C. Hazledine secretary, along with four other Anglo merchants. Professor Charles S. Howe of Colorado College opened the new Albuquerque Academy in an adobe building provided by Huning on the east side of the plaza in October. Twenty-six pupils, ten of whom were children of the trustees, comprised the first class.¹⁹

None of the local Albuquerque Academy trustees were Congregationalists, but neither were any of the trustees members of San Felipe de Neri Church. In contrast to the long standing church control of schooling, Albuquerque Academy's Articles of Incorporation asserted that "the Academy shall be Christian in character, but that it shall be forever free from ecclesiastical or political control." As the Anglo, Protestant alternative to Catholic schools, the trustees' *First Annual Report* declared that "the influence of the Academy will be on the side of religion, but no religious instruction will be given."²⁰

Edward Tenney was not the only Congregational minister concerned with Christianizing the New West. In April 1879, the members of the Chicago Association of Congregational Ministers received a first-hand report on "Education in Utah as affecting the Mormon Question." The critical question for the ministers, records indicate, was whether "Mormonism or Christianity must rule in Utah. There is danger that for a long time the ruling power may not be Christian. . . . In short, a vast region, rich in every variety of resource, will unless preventative steps are taken immediately, fall under the blight of this Asiatic exotic upon American soil."²¹ While other Americans talked of using the sword to deal with such a menace, the ministers recommended "schools of secular instruction, conducted by Christian teachers, and associated with religious work . . ." to separate a third of the adherents from the Mormon church, "thus weakening it for resistance to Christian civilization."²²

The Chicago ministers' desire to establish Christian schools received sympathetic approval from the Illinois General Association of Congregational Ministers. Their plans for promoting Christian schools, however, received less than enthusiastic support from

the denomination's American Home Missionary Society, which was responsible for establishing and subsidizing new churches. Nor did they receive concrete encouragement from the American Education Society which promoted colleges like Colorado College but not schools. The ministers thus turned to wealthy Chicago laymen for financial support and they met and retained Rev. E. P. Tenney, who, in exchange for acting as the Association's representative in the New West, received funds for professors like C. S. Howe who had already been dispatched to Albuquerque Academy.²³

In November 1879, the Chicago ministers resolved to incorporate independently of Colorado College as the New West Education Commission and to expand work in New Mexico Territory as well as in Utah since "Each is under the dominion of a disastrously 'peculiar institution.'"²⁴ By June 1880 the Commission had hired Tenney's former agent C. R. Bliss as its general secretary and had assumed the \$600 to \$2,000 for salaries it would pay annually to Albuquerque Academy teachers for the next dozen years.²⁵

Although only two of the New West trustees lived in Boston, seat of national Congregational authority, early *Annual Reports* took special pains to proclaim that "The Society is not Western but National. The peace and interests of all sections are at stake when a half-dozen vast Territories destined soon to become States in the Union, and eventually powerful commonwealths are settling questions involving their social life, public intelligence and religious freedom."²⁶ In Albuquerque these questions were dramatically defined and shaped by the arrival of the New Mexico and Southern Pacific in April of 1880 and the beginning of construction of the Atlantic and Pacific line westward toward California.

With the long-awaited arrival of the railroad, the town of Albuquerque began to fragment physically and socially. The Santa Fe tracks, depot, and divisional repair facilities were located two miles east of the old town. Following their standard practice, railroad authorities plotted a new town adjacent to the depot. Months earlier, W. C. Hazledine, E. S. Stover, and Franz Huning had quietly assembled the necessary acreage which was subsequently transferred by them to the New Mexico Town Company for one

dollar and 50 percent of the receipts of later land sales. The center of building activity and mercantile and social life rapidly shifted to the new town. Economically, the railroad quickly assumed a dominant role as chief industrial employer. Within two years its payroll numbered more than 300 employees; more than 95 percent of these workers were Anglo.²⁷

By the autumn term of 1881, the trustees of Albuquerque Academy resolved to remove the school to the new town and its young and growing Anglo population. With the exception of Franz Huning, all of the trustees now lived in new Albuquerque where they worked as merchants, lawyers, bankers, and building contractors. Shortly thereafter, E. S. Stover's New Mexico Town Company donated twelve lots in south new town upon which a new school building was constructed in the fall of 1882. The Academy also maintained a branch school in the Highland residential addition which Franz Huning was developing on the east side of the railway tracks.²⁸

The Jesuits also quickened their efforts. Father Gasparri had favored the coming of the railroad as much as the most aggressive merchant, and he had helped the Santa Fe acquire land from his parishioners for the right of way near the city at reasonable rates. When, in the summer of 1880, Mother Regina Mattingly, Superior of the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, visited the Order's missions in Colorado and New Mexico, Father Gasparri persuaded her to send a half-dozen sisters to teach in Our Lady of Angels School in old Albuquerque.²⁹ The Sisters began their teaching in the fall of 1881; archives at the Motherhouse in Ohio record that in December 1881 "The children are given their first Christmas Tree and knowledge of Santa Claus."³⁰

At about the same time, Perfecto, Mariano, and Jesus Armijo, joint developers of the Armijo addition adjacent to the north side of the new town site, were transferring twenty-three lots to the Sisters of Charity for one dollar.³¹ With the support of the Jesuits, the Sisters began construction of St. Vincent Academy and Convent, a spacious two-story structure built of brick and stone shipped in by railroad. For the remainder of the decade, St. Vincent stood as the largest, most impressive educational monument in Albuquerque, serving both as a select boarding school for girls



Our Lady of the Angels School in Old Town, circa 1940. Courtesy of Albuquerque Museum Photoarchive.

and as a free public school for all children of the north end of the new town. During the same period, the Jesuits elected to construct a new parish church several blocks south of the Academy in new town for the small but steadily increasing number of English-speaking Catholic families moving into Albuquerque.³²

In the spring of 1884, the Territorial Assembly passed two acts which were particularly indicative of the social and cultural changes taking place in New Mexico after the coming of the railroad. The first law signed on April 1, 1884, disincorporated all towns previously organized under legislation enacted in 1880 and established new procedures for towns with more than 1500 residents to follow in reincorporation. Besides specifying town officers, requirements for physical boundaries and political divisions, and fiscal authority, the act enumerated 117 various powers of new town and city governments.³³ Town officials were empowered to tax, license, regulate, compel, suppress, inspect, prohibit, and prevent all manner of activities and occupations. Furthermore, towns were allowed to erect or establish highways, waterworks, gas works, engine houses, hospitals, cemeteries, calabooes, bridewells, houses of correction, reform schools, work houses, and free public libraries. With the exception of the calaboose and the cemetery, old Albuquerque had little experience with such enterprises.

The one area of urban life over which municipalities were clearly not given authority in the enabling clauses was education. A second law was passed for schools. Governor Lionel Sheldon had high hopes for greater support and central control of schooling. In his "State of the Territory" address to the opening joint meeting of the House and Council on the first day of the legislative session, Sheldon fervently implored the legislators to increase executive territorial supervision of education. "With the laws and experiences of the most progressive states before you and for your guidance," he concluded, "you will be able to frame a law that will accord with the advancing spirit of the age."³⁴

The response of the legislature hardly fulfilled the governor's recommendations. Since only a handful of towns in the territory qualified for reorganization under the new town and city law, the assembly enacted a new Public School Law that continued to

operate primarily on the county and precinct levels. Each county was required to elect a school superintendent. Every voting precinct constituted a school district; each district was expected to elect three commissioners who were empowered to provide school facilities, examine and hire teachers, choose textbooks once every five years (written in Spanish, English, or both), enumerate all unmarried persons between the ages of five and twenty every October 1, and receive and dispense a proportion of the county school fund which could be raised by a three-mill levy on taxable land within the county. Commissioners were also required to compile a yearly report of their activities for the county superintendent who in turn reported to the governor. The latter was then expected to report directly to the biennial legislature on the condition of the territory's schools.³⁵

While the new law did specify that schools were to teach orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, U. S. history, and geography, it did not designate a minimum length for the school term or require compulsory attendance of students. Nor did it empower municipalities to coordinate schooling within the various precincts of their town or go into debt to construct school buildings. In new Albuquerque, the school commissioners elected in Precinct 12 continued to appoint the Sisters of Charity to conduct public schools in north Albuquerque and those elected in Precinct 26 and later Precinct 25 continued to contract with Albuquerque Academy to conduct schools in the Academy's buildings in south new town and the Highlands.³⁶ According to school census and enrollment figures for the next several years, each precinct enumerated more than 200 children and enrolled one half to two thirds of these. Public money was not abundant, however, and the school term normally lasted only from October to Christmas. After January 1, the "public" schools again became select, tuition academies.³⁷

In contrast to the shrill anti-Catholic rhetoric pouring from the Chicago offices of the New West Educational Commission, Albuquerque Academy and St. Vincent Academy coexisted peacefully, if not amicably, through the decade as the new town public schools. As the Catholic editor of the *Albuquerque Review* had remarked in 1879 concerning the Congregational Academy:

Just as long as its directors confine themselves to the moral and literary education of children of its own persuasion, that long can we sincerely wish it success, but if it turns out to be simply a proselytizing institute established for the purpose of preventing children of Catholic parents, who form the bulk of our population or if still worse it be a Godless school intended to uproot Christianity then it were better the enterprise died in the bud.³⁸

While neither group privately countenanced the work of the other, the academies publicly refrained from open conflict. Each group sponsored schools for "Mexican children" in adjacent villages, but neither was in a position to provide educational resources for the entire community. The Congregational Academy, however, was threatened and openly criticized by local Methodists, who in 1887 established Albuquerque College several blocks from the Academy in south new town. The Methodists were particularly bitter at the annual award of public school money to a rival Protestant institution by school commissioners who also served as trustees of Albuquerque Academy.³⁹

To enhance their position within the community, the Congregationalists, as early as 1884, advocated building a major new school building and began soliciting contributions in conjunction with the New West Commission.⁴⁰ After five years of hopes and promises of support from Chicago, construction of a new school building seemed imminent. Principal of the Academy, Charles Hodgkin, wrote to Secretary Bliss explaining the final choice of a building site on Edith Street and Railroad Avenue in the Highlands. "In the first place," wrote Hodgkin, "it is the highest point within the city limits near enough to the center. It is a slightly location showing to an excellent advantage from the depot and the business part of town. . . . Now, being in so prominent a place from depot, etc., the question will be asked, 'What building is that?' and consequently we would become better known."⁴¹ Five months later, the Commission had second thoughts about the expense of the new school and suggested building on a much reduced scale. In rejecting such a suggestion, Hodgkin bluntly informed officials in Chicago that "it is going to be a blow to us and the 'New West' work here if this thing is not settled pretty soon, and if we have to come down to a plain, cheap building, it will be said *sure*,

that we got money under false pretense, as many accused the [Methodist] College of doing."⁴²

Hodgin's advice was heeded, and by the end of the year, a massive three and a half story building of red brick and sandstone towered over the thriving town. By that time enrollment had reached 337. More than 90 percent of these students were Anglo, although the recently established "Mexican Departments" in nearby Barelás and Atrisco enrolled almost 140 pupils. The Sisters of Charity meanwhile taught 297 students at St. Vincent Academy and another 235 in old Albuquerque.⁴³

Barely a decade had passed since the first Santa Fe locomotive had steamed into new Albuquerque when dignitaries and patrons assembled in December 1890 to dedicate Albuquerque Academy's magnificent new Perkins Hall. As one of the most prominent men in the community and an original Academy trustee, William C. Hazledine delivered the opening address at the formal ceremony. Recalling the humble origin of the school in old Albuquerque, Hazledine reminded his listeners that just eleven years earlier "Where the scholars now play, the horned frog and the lizard enjoyed their midday siesta undisturbed by the presence of man." For Hazledine, the reasons for this rapid change were clear:

Anglo-Saxon energy, push and civilization hastened hither, bringing with it all that nineteenth century progress has made it, to occupy plant and build on this sandy but fruitful soil, made accessible by the construction of one of the wonders of the age, that great highway of commerce, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad.⁴⁴

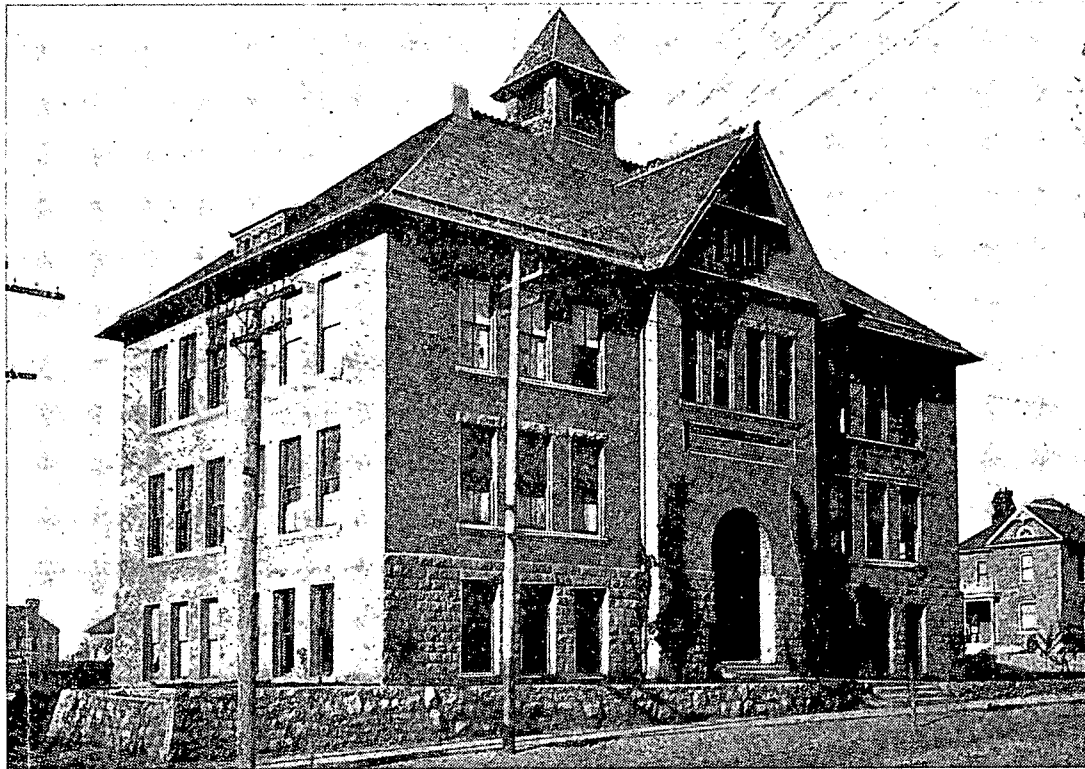
The New West Education Commission had also dispatched its venerable General Secretary, Charles R. Bliss, to deliver a major address at the happy occasion. In the course of his remarks, Bliss, like Hazledine, sought to place the event within a larger cultural perspective:

Why, my friends, the founding of Albuquerque Academy is only a little wavelet in that mighty tide that had been setting from old England over New England, and toward the slopes of the Rocky Mountains for the past three hundred years. It is only one distant

quivering pulsation from that great heart throb that long ago sent forth from under the crushing depotisms of the old world those great life currents of Christian enterprise, Christian thought, and Christian endeavor, which have added a continent to the domain of Christian civilization.⁴⁵

Ironically for the New West Commission, that quivering pulsation assumed a different beat the following spring when the Territorial Assembly passed another public education law. The new legislation finally strengthened executive territorial control over schooling and provided for the establishment of municipal boards of education which could incur bonded indebtedness for the construction of school buildings.⁴⁶ In April, new town selected members of the first Albuquerque Board of Education. Accurately reflecting an eastern cultural bias, one of the Board's first acts was to instruct its secretary to consult the 1890 census and select fifty towns in the East of about 10,000 population and write "stating to them the situation we are in here in regard to starting a system of public schools and ask them what under the circumstances they would advise."⁴⁷ By August the Board had determined not to continue subsidy of either St. Vincent or Albuquerque Academies as public institutions. Instead, temporary quarters were leased in Albuquerque College and in Perkins Hall. The Board also determined to sell \$60,000 worth of bonds to finance the early construction of four new school buildings. Charles Hodgkin, coincidentally denied a modest salary increase by his superiors at the New West Commission, resigned from the Academy in June to assume the better paying position of first superintendent of the public schools. With Hodgkin came his senior teacher from the Academy, Mattie Winslow, who was appointed first principal of the new high school.⁴⁸

On the evening of September 7, 1891, Superintendent Hodgkin noted in his record book, "Schools opened at 9 o'clock this morning for the first [sic] as *real* public schools. The first stone is laid in the foundation of a system which I hope may soon prove an important factor in the educational development of this great neglected territory."⁴⁹ Such words were prophetic. Within the year, the New West Commission reluctantly voted to sell Perkins Hall to the Board of Education.⁵⁰ Albuquerque College likewise soon closed



Perkins Hall, home of the Albuquerque Academy, at Edith Street and Railroad (Central) Avenue, circa 1895. The name of the building was later changed to Raynolds Hall, and it housed the first Albuquerque Public Library. Courtesy of UNM Library/Albuquerque Museum Joint Photoarchive.

its doors. Only St. Vincent Academy would survive and prosper into the twentieth century. When it became apparent that the Board of Education would not patronize St. Vincent, the Sisters converted the Academy into a select school for girls. At the same time, the new town parish pastor sponsored construction of St. Mary's school for boys adjacent to the new town parish church. St. Mary's thus became the first parochial school in Albuquerque at a time when the new town parish numbered barely one hundred families.⁵¹

Institutionally, schooling in Albuquerque had altered quickly and dramatically within a single generation. Initially in the late 1870s, competing religious and cultural values prompted educational innovation. Following the coming of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1880, however, educational change was more often the result of larger economic and social shifts. As with Omaha, Denver, Dallas or Houston in earlier decades, Albuquerque after the arrival of the railroad rapidly developed into a modern, industrial urban center.⁵² The Santa Fe overnight introduced specialized wage labor and employed more than 30 percent of the town's heads of families. The railroad also encouraged economic diversification by making Albuquerque a modern wholesale distribution center as well as a major entrepot for livestock and lumber. Physically, in contrast to the one-story, gridless design of old town, new Albuquerque's business and residential district was deliberately constructed in eastern styles of brick, stone, ornamental iron, and glass imported by train.

The railroad also led to the rapid in-migration of thousands of Anglo settlers. Like other new western town dwellers in other new "instant" towns, these newcomers attempted to reproduce a variety of familiar eastern social institutions including churches, labor unions, fraternal organizations, and literary and scientific societies.⁵³ Typical of this institution building and particularly reflective of the new cultural values of urban migrants were the public schools. With the passage of "educational enabling" legislation in 1891, the new Protestant majority quickly opted for conventional eastern models. Graded, hierarchically-organized, and bureaucratically-administered secular schools displaced the older ecclesiastically-owned academies. Other New West acad-

emies in Las Vegas, New Mexico, and Trinidad, Colorado, suffered the same fate. As in other sections of the United States, the public school act also provoked the establishment of competing parochial schools in Albuquerque by urban Catholics. By contrast, in smaller New Mexico villages less inundated by Anglo Protestants, various Catholic orders continued to own and operate public schools until the 1950s.⁵⁴

The coming of the railroad clearly signaled a major social and cultural transformation. By introducing new forms of industrial employment, the railroad attracted a rapidly growing urban, Anglo population which in turn promoted adoption of social institutions and cultural patterns experienced previously. Town leader William C. Hazledine had aptly summed up the ideological importance of the railroad for newcomers such as himself in April 1880 when the first engine of the Santa Fe rolled into Albuquerque:

Today the new civilization of the East is brought into direct contact with the ancient civilization of New Mexico. Today the bell of the locomotive tolls the death knell of old fogeyism, superstition and ignorance, and proclaims in clarion notes that henceforth knowledge, education, advancement, and progress shall be the right of our people.⁵⁵

NOTES

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1. For a discussion of early nineteenth century economic development in New Mexico and the Mountain West, see Leonard J. Arrington, *The Changing Economic Structure of the Mountain West, 1850-1950* (Logan: Utah State University Press, Monograph Series, 1963), pp. x, 5-63; Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), pp. 83-135; William J. Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company, A Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 5-39; Terry Jon Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque 1870-1900: Contrast and Conflict in the Development of Two Southwestern Towns" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1974),

chapter 1. On Albuquerque's 1860 population, see United States Census Office, *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: New Mexico*, Bernalillo County, Town of Albuquerque, National Archives Microfilm Publication M653, roll 712.

2. United States Census Office, *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: New Mexico*, Bernalillo County, Town of Albuquerque, National Archives Microfilm Publication M593, roll 893. See also, William J. Parish, "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico 1850-1900," *New Mexico Historical Review (NMHR)* 25 (January, April 1960): 1-29, 131-37.

3. *Albuquerque Review*, May 30, June 27, July 18, and August 14, 1874.

4. *Albuquerque Review*, March 2, 16, 19, 30, August 6, October 12, 19, 1878, and November 30, 1879.

5. David R. Myrick, *New Mexico's Railroads—An Historical Survey* (Golden: Colorado Railroad Museum, 1970), pp. 13-34; Victor Westphall, "History of Albuquerque, 1870-1880" (Master's thesis, University of New Mexico [UNM], 1947), pp. 60-70; and *Albuquerque Review*, June 7, 1879.

6. Franz Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail: The Memoirs of Franz Huning* (Albuquerque: Calvin Horn Publishers, Inc., 1973); and Harvey Fergusson, *Home in the West: An Inquiry into My Origins* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944), pp. 14-47.

7. Donald S. Dreesen, "Early Settlers of Albuquerque 1846-1912," 5 vols. (Typescript in Special Collections, University of New Mexico [UNM-SC], 1972), 5:n.p.

8. Dreesen, "Early Settlers of Albuquerque," 3:n.p.

9. Louis Avant, "The History of Catholic Education in New Mexico Since the American Occupation" (Master's thesis, UNM, 1940), pp. 18-19; and Father E. R. Vollmar, "First Jesuit School in New Mexico," *NMHR* 27 (October 1952): 296-99.

10. Vollmar, "First Jesuit School in New Mexico," pp. 296-99; and Father Thomas J. Steele, "Manuscript Chronology of the Albuquerque Mission," n.d., 2:37. I wish to thank Professor Steele for sharing his manuscript chronology of the Albuquerque parish and for aid in locating and translating copies of the *Litterae Annuae* from San Felipe. On Lamy see Paul Horgan, *Lamy of Santa Fe: His Life and Times* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1975).

11. Vollmar, "First Jesuit School in New Mexico," p. 299. Almost two decades would elapse before a state "university" would be established by the Territorial Assembly in response to the Hatch Act of 1887. Mariano S. Otero (b. 1844), Perfecto Armijo (b. 1845), and Justo R. Armijo (b. 1852), all influential citizens of Albuquerque in the 1880s, attended St. Louis University. The sons of the Armijos and merchant Albert Grunsfeld were sent to Notre Dame University; Franz Huning's son, Arno, attended St. Louis University. See George B. Anderson, *History of New Mexico, Its Resources and People*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: Pacific States Publishing Company, 1907), I: 538-44; and Bernice Ann Rebord, "A Social History of Albuquerque, 1880-1885" (Master's thesis, UNM, 1947).

12. Father T. J. Steele, "Manuscript Chronology," 2:62.
13. *Albuquerque Review*, May 18, and November 23, 1878.
14. Charles B. Hersey, *Colorado College, 1874-1949* (Colorado Springs: Colorado College, 1952.) On Tenney, see Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1932), 9:373.
15. Hersey, *Colorado College*, pp. 32-33, 48.
16. E. P. Tenney, *The New West as Related to the Christian College* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1876), pp. 45-47, 54-62.
17. Tenney, *The New West*, pp. 18-22.
18. Charles R. Bliss, "A Fragment by Charles B. Bliss—A Beginning of a Historical Sketch of the New West Works, having some facts not elsewhere given," undated manuscript, in Archives of Congregational Library, Boston, Massachusetts (CA). See also, Bliss's recollection in *Addresses Delivered at the New Academy Building* (Albuquerque, 1891), pp. 24-25; and Hersey, *Colorado College*, pp. 49-52.
19. *First Annual Report of Albuquerque Academy* (Chicago: Skeen & Stuart, Stationers, 1880), pp. 2-10. The *Annual Reports* of Albuquerque Academy cited in this study are in the Charles Hodgkin Papers, UNM-SC.
20. *First Annual Report of Albuquerque Academy*, pp. 4, 6.
21. "Manuscript Records of the New West Education Commission," March 31, and April 14, 1879, CA.
22. "Manuscript Records of the New West Education Commission," April 14, 1879, CA.
23. "Manuscript Records of the New West Education Commission," April 21, June 15, September 15, and November 11, 1879, CA. See also E. Lyman Hood, *The New West Education Commission 1880-1893* (Jacksonville, Fl.: H. & W. B. Drew Co., 1905), pp. 9-15, 112-14.
24. "Manuscript Records of the New West Education Commission," November 11, and November 24, 1879; and Circular, February 16, 1880, CA. Ten of the first fifteen members of the Commission's Board of Directors were from the Chicago area, including wealthy benefactors C. G. Hammond of the Union Pacific, and farm machinery manufacturer John Deere.
25. "The New West Education Commission," CA. This two-page circular was distributed in the pews of all Chicago congregational churches on Sunday, January 18, 1880, and mailed to every congregational church in the United States. See also, "Manuscript Records of the New West Education Commission," June 14, and June 27, 1880, CA.
26. *First Annual Report of the New West Education Commission* (Chicago: P. F. Pettibone & Co., 1881), p. 10.
27. Westphall, "A History of Albuquerque," pp. 87-90. Statistics on railroad employment compiled from *Albuquerque and Las Vegas Business Directory for 1883* (Albuquerque: Armijo Brothers & Borradaile, 1883).
28. *Second Annual Report of the New West Education Commission* (Chicago: P. F. Pettibone & Co., 1882), pp. 22-23; and *Fourth Annual Report of Albuquerque Academy* (Albuquerque, 1883), pp. 4-6; and *Sixth Annual Report of the New West Education Commission* (Chicago: P. F. Pettibone & Co., 1886), pp. 24, 33.

29. *Albuquerque Review*, January 7, 1880; Sister M. Lilliana Owens, *Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico 1867-1882* (El Paso: Revista Católica Press, 1950), pp. 75-79; Steele, "Manuscript Chronology," 2:61; and Sister Florita French, "The History of Saint Vincent Academy" (Master's thesis, UNM, 1942), pp. 13-14.
30. See "San Felipe, Albuquerque," undated manuscript in Archives of Sisters of Charity Motherhouse, Mount St. Joseph, Ohio; and Sister Blandina Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail* (Columbus, Ohio: The Columbian Press, 1932), p. 231.
31. Copy of Warranty Deed, filed December 7, 1882, signed by Perfecto, Jesus, and Mariano Armijo and their wives, in Archives of Sisters of Charity Motherhouse.
32. French, "History of St. Vincent Academy," pp. 20-36; and Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail*, pp. 223-335. On the history of the new town church, see William A. Keleher, "The Past," in *Immaculate Conception Church* (Albuquerque: n.p., 1960), p. 4. Keleher states that the original parish was comprised of no more than a dozen families.
33. *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico* (Santa Fe: New Mexican, 1884), 26th Session, February 18 to April 3, 1884, pp. 79-102.
34. *Message of Governor Lionel A. Sheldon to the 26th Legislative Assembly, February 19, 1884* (Santa Fe: New Mexican, 1884), p. 91.
35. *Acts of the Legislative Assembly*, pp. 151-57.
36. See *School Commissioners' Journal 1884-1890*, pp. 48-53, 101-5, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe (SRCA).
37. *School Commissioners' Journal 1884-1890*, SRCA.
38. William McGuinness, *Albuquerque Review*, October 4, 1879.
39. *Albuquerque Democrat*, August 31, and September 1, 1889; *Albuquerque Daily Citizen*, August 31, and September 2, 1889; Charles E. Hodgins to E. F. Williams, August 21, 1889, CA; and *Journal of the Fifth Annual Session of the New Mexico Mission* (Albuquerque: Knox Printing Company, 1889), pp. 11-13, 17-18, 22.
40. *Fourth Annual Report of Albuquerque Academy*, p. 6; *Reports and Addresses, Third Annual Meeting of New West Education Commission* (Boston: P. F. Pettibone & Co., 1883), p. 6, CA; and Williams to C. R. Bliss, July 16, 1889, CA.
41. Hodgins to Bliss, August 15, 1889, CA.
42. Hodgins to George M. Herrick, January 20, 1890, CA.
43. *Catalogue of Albuquerque Academy 1890-91* (Albuquerque: Knox Printing Company, 1891), pp. 5, 12; and L. Bradford Prince, *Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), pp. 16-18.
44. *Addresses delivered at the Dedication of the New Academy Building*, p. 7.
45. *Addresses at Dedication*, p. 26.
46. *Territory of New Mexico, Compilation of the School Laws of New Mexico* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1891), pp. 3-35.

47. "Minutes of the Board of Education," Albuquerque Public Schools, vol. 1, May 4, 1891, pp. 3-4.
48. "Albuquerque . . . Prof. Hodgin," in "Manuscript Records of New West Education Commission," June 16, 1891; Hodgin to Miss Towne, July 9, 1891, both in CA.
49. Hodgin, "A Record of the doings while superintendent of Albuquerque Schools organized in 1891, under the new School Law," Hodgin Papers, UNM-SC.
50. "Minutes of the Board of Education," Albuquerque Public Schools, vol. 1, February 16, March 10, and March 15, 1892. The New West Education Commission had expended almost \$40,000 in supporting the work of the academy in a dozen years.
51. *Litterae Annuae, Domus Albuquerqueensis, 1892-94*, pp. 3-7; Avant, "History of Catholic Education," pp. 65-67; Father F. Durante to Mother M. Blanche, August 17, 1892, and Mother M. Blanche to Father F. Durante, August 27, 1892, Sisters of Charity Archives.
52. On the parallel development of western towns, see the excellent monograph by John W. Reps, *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), especially chapters 16-18.
53. On the similarity of institutional change in new Albuquerque with that of other new western cities, see Lawrence H. Larsen, *The Urban West at the End of the Frontier* (Lawrence, Kan: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), pp. 21-60.
54. For the significant role of the Catholic Church in public education in New Mexico in the twentieth century, see Robert A. Moyers, "A History of Education in New Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1941), pp. 571-81.
55. *Albuquerque Review*, April 24, 1880.