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The Reformer, the Monsignor, and the Pueblos of New Mexico

CATHOLIC MISSIONARY RESPONSES TO NEW DIRECTIONS IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY INDIAN POLICY

Harvey Markowitz

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, many theoretical and moral foundations of post-Civil War federal Indian policy confronted growing scrutiny and attack. The primary targets were two ideologically complementary goals: transforming Indian “savages” into civilized U.S. citizens, and converting them from heathenism to Christianity. Commonly referred to as “Indian civilization and Christianization,” these aims derived from an increasingly controversial philosophy of social progress which maintained that human societies advanced through unilinear stages of development toward the social and religious institutions typifying European and American nations. Situated at the core of this Eurocentric epic of human progress was the gradual disappearance of tribal collectivism and the emergence of modern western society, in which the nuclear family both reflected and supported individualistic customs and values. Deeming this pattern of development both natural and moral, policy makers believed

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culturally superior peoples were obligated to devise ways to speed the progress of Indians and other benighted folk toward their assimilation into the mainstream of civilized, Christian society.¹

As far back as the early nineteenth century, the federal government had successfully petitioned mainline Christian denominations and missionaries to play a major role in civilizing and Christianizing Indians.² Among the most active was the Roman Catholic Church. Although it continually suspected the Protestant-dominated Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) of seeking to sabotage its efforts, the American Catholic hierarchy remained a steadfast advocate of the government's assimilationist efforts.³ The many and varied reasons for this support included the historical parallel that the Catholic hierarchy drew between the church's work among contemporary American Indians and its civilization and Christianization of European barbarians during the Middle Ages. However, the primary foundation was the church's missiological application of the Thomistic credo "grace builds upon nature" to the relationship between civilization and Christianization. Catholic policy makers tended to assume that the successful planting of self-sustaining Indian sacramental communities, or Catholic Indian churches in the truest sense, required a "natural" substratum of Indian populations that practiced "civilized" Euroamerican social institutions.⁴

By the early twentieth century, the near universal failure of Indian missions to mature into churches was the source of considerable hand-wringing throughout the Catholic missionary enterprise. Although mission leaders increasingly sensed the urgency of discovering and addressing the causes for this failure, they were neither willing nor able to abandon completely the paradigm of Indian civilization and Christianization as well as their partnership with the OIA. During this period of confusion and malaise, John Collier appeared on the scene, initially as an ally in the church's fight to protect Pueblo land rights but soon thereafter as an agent of what Catholic missionaries considered radical and dangerous reform.

This article explores the origins, dissolution, and aftermath of the alliance between the Catholic Church and Collier. First, it identifies some of the influences that shaped Collier's efforts to safeguard the traditional communitarian customs and values of American Indian societies and religions. Second, it describes the events that led Collier and Catholic missionaries to join forces in 1922 to derail the Bursum Bill, a controversial measure that threatened to divest New Mexico's Pueblo Indians of thousands of acres of their most valuable lands. It also outlines the ideological differences that led to the disintegration of this alliance in 1925. Third, this article examines both the collapse of the assimilationist policy of "civilization and Christianization" by the early 1930s

and Catholic fears that Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt's selection of Collier as his commissioner of Indian affairs signaled an end to the historically deep working relationship between Christian missionaries and the OIA.

The early conflict between Collier and the Catholic Church over the Bursum Bill prepared the Church for changes in the direction of federal Indian policy that would force it to rethink its own guiding principles for working with Indians. The conflict sets forth some of the important conditions that led to an evolution in Catholic Indian missions in the twentieth century.

Collier and the Red Atlantis

In the "Forward and Apologia" to his autobiography from 1962, *From Every Zenith*, Collier informs his readers that "the theme of this book is community." He understands community as a human ideal rather than as an object of sociological description and analysis.⁵ His goal, in fact, is nothing less than "an attempted devising of mental and social structures to enable the measureless potentials of community to vibrate and flow into modern man."⁶ For Collier, community was a moral formation and process that could resuscitate a moribund western society sagging under the weight of modernity.

In the initial chapters of his book, Collier describes those persons and events that most influenced his normative view of community. Early in his life he converted to a humanistic form of Catholicism from which he eventually "passed out . . . with no inward struggle . . . and with lifelong gratitude" to the joyful discovery of "the earth soul, with all the souls of plant and man and beast, and all the cosmic purpose within these souls."⁷ Collier loathed the devastating toll that industrialization and individual self-interest were taking on the human spirit; became involved with the labor and cooperative movements in France, Belgium, England, and Ireland during the first decade of the twentieth century; and grew committed to the social reform of American Progressivism.⁸ Collier's idiosyncratic blending of these and other influences resulted in two complementary callings that would inform his entire professional life. The first was to protect the endangered communitarian lifeways of contemporary "premodern" peoples.



ILL. 1. JOHN COLLIER
(Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.)

The second was to adapt these forms of community life to serve as an antidote to the destructive American individualism and greed driven by modern corporate industrial capitalism.

Collier's dedication to these two goals prompted him to accept the position of civic secretary for the People's Institute in New York in 1908. One of the major responsibilities of his new office was to administer the forums, community centers, and settlement houses through which the institute sought to protect immigrant neighborhoods from the isolating forces of urban life. Collier hoped that such grassroots initiatives would eventually coalesce into a nationwide social-reform movement. Despite some early successes, however, none of the institute's projects gathered the momentum they needed to survive.⁹

It was largely owing to this failure that Collier decided to accept the post of director for the California Office of Higher Education in 1919. Once in this new position, he quickly recast its projects and goals to satisfy his passion for social reform. One of his first initiatives was to offer classes in community organizing. The popularity of these courses led him to institute a statewide series of forums that drew heavily on the European socialist and communist movements for its inspiration. Ironically, however, the success of Collier's first year in California proved to be his undoing. The overlap of his forums with Atty. Gen. Alexander Palmer's anticommunist "witch hunt" led California's legislature to slash appropriations for adult education. Rather than provoke further cuts, Collier submitted his resignation in autumn 1920.¹⁰

Still reeling from his failures on both coasts, Collier withdrew with his wife and three sons to an isolated stretch of California's Redondo Beach in November 1920. He had intended this excursion to be preparation for a far more rigorous retreat in the wilds of the Sonoran Desert. Shortly before their departure, however, he received a series of letters from his friend Mabel Dodge Luhan that led him to change this itinerary. Writing from her adopted home of Taos, New Mexico, Luhan urged him to visit that "magical habitation . . . of six hundred magical Indians."¹¹ At first, Collier understandably read Luhan's letters with a jaundiced eye. His experiences in New York and California had sensitized him to the apparently insurmountable difficulties entailed in reclaiming western society from the clutches of individualism and materialism. The suggestion that a tiny group of North American Indians had managed to resist the social dislocations of modern society struck him as positively ludicrous. Nonetheless, his reform spirit remained sufficiently intact for him to re-route the family's travel to Sonora through the Pueblo of Taos.

Collier initially planned this trip to Taos as little more than a whistle-stop call on an old friend. As soon as the family arrived at the pueblo, however, its natural surroundings, people, and lifeways so enchanted them that he decided

to make it their home for the next five months. During this period, Luhan's "magical inhabitants" became Collier's "Red Atlantis": a society characterized by "personality-forming institutions . . . which had survived repeated and immense shocks, and which were going right on in the production of states of mind, attitudes of mind, earth-loyalties and human loyalties, amid a context of beauty which suffused all the life of the groups."¹²

The significance of Taos for Collier lay not merely in its miraculous resistance to the corruptions of western civilization, but also in its potential for rehabilitating modern American society. As historian Kenneth R. Philp has observed, Collier believed:

Pueblo culture, and tribal life in general, must survive not only in justice to the Indian but in service to the white. The Indian offered examples of *gemeinschaft* relationships in which people in communal life were motivated by shared purposes instead of the white-oriented *gesellschaft* mode of life, in which individuals lived isolated from each other. They [Pueblos] demonstrated how organized groups of people, joined together in community life, could save mankind from the negative consequences of the industrial age.¹³

In March 1922, Collier finally managed to tear himself and his family away from the Southwest to interview successfully for the post of sociologist at San Francisco State Teachers' College. Although this position was primarily instructional, he again devised ways to pursue his commitment to social reform, which he now directed toward the preservation of Native American rights and values. One of his projects was to aid Stella Atwood, chairperson of the Indian Welfare Committee (IWC), in procuring funds for that recently organized arm of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.¹⁴ Once aware of his connections with the IWC, one of Collier's friends succeeded in soliciting money to underwrite two years of his salary and expenses as a researcher and publicity agent for the committee's independent investigation of federal Indian affairs. After securing a release from his contract with San Francisco State, he began to prepare for his work with New Mexico's Pueblos, among whom the investigation was to begin. Little did he know that his work in their communities would last far longer and take a far different direction than he originally had planned.¹⁵

Collier, the Catholic Church, and the Bursum Bill

Collier first learned of the Bursum Bill in September 1922, while he was gathering information regarding the health and economic conditions of the

northern Pueblos. Authored and introduced by Sen. Holm O. Bursum of New Mexico, this proposed legislation was allegedly intended to settle the contested title to thousands of acres in New Mexico claimed by the Pueblos but occupied by Anglos and Hispanics. Although many of the non-Pueblos were squatters whose sole claim to their settlements rested on continuous occupation, others lived on tracts that they or previous residents had purchased from



ILL. 2. HOLM O. BURSUM
(Courtesy of the *New Mexico Historical Review*)

individual Indians assuming that the sale had brought title to the land. Congressional passage of the Enabling Act in 1910, however, undermined the validity of this assumption. The law classified Pueblos as federal wards and granted the U.S. government the exclusive right “to control and dispose of all lands acquired by the [Pueblo] Indians through or from the United States or any prior sovereignty.” Deciding a challenge to this law in the case *United States v. Sandoval* in 1913, the U.S. Supreme Court not only reaffirmed the trust status of Pueblo lands but also rendered the Pueblos’ designation as federally protected “wards” retroactive to 1848, thus throwing into question ownership of all Indian lands purchased after that date.¹⁶

While safeguarding Pueblo land and water rights, *Sandoval* heightened the danger of armed conflict between New Mexico’s Native and non-Native residents. By the beginning of 1922, the situation had become so volatile that Sec. of the Int. Albert Fall, also of New Mexico, in cooperation with Comr. of Indian Affairs Charles H. Burke, retained historian Ralph E. Twitchell of Santa Fe to investigate the history of the crisis and recommend avenues for its resolution. Twitchell’s report, submitted to Fall in the spring of that year, proposed a settlement that attempted to balance the claims of Indians and homesteaders. By the time his compromise had passed through committee and was introduced for debate by Bursum, however, it had been altered in ways that, if enacted, would have guaranteed the Pueblos’ forfeiture of sixty thousand acres of their most valuable lands and water resources.¹⁷



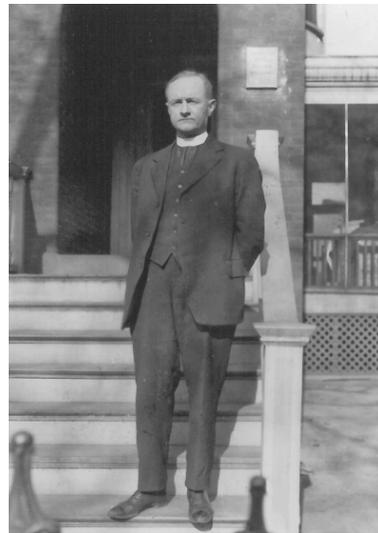
ILL. 3. CHARLES H. BURKE
(Courtesy of the *National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.*)

Apprised of this dangerous legislation, on 5 November 1922, Santo Domingo Pueblo sponsored a special meeting to initiate the Pueblos' fight against the Bursum Bill. Attended by one hundred delegates from the majority of New Mexico's Pueblo tribes, this gathering not only marked a revival of the All Pueblo Indian Council after two and a half centuries but also generated nationwide publicity and support for the Indians' cause. Collier was one of the few non-Indians invited to audit the proceedings owing to the good relationships he had established with the people of Taos pueblo.¹⁸

Following the council meeting, Collier began publishing essays for liberal magazines such as *Sunset* to arouse public sentiments against the measure and solicited support from groups he knew to be sympathetic to Indian rights.¹⁹

One of the organizations he contacted was the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM). In Collier's letter to the head of the BCIM, Msgr. William Hughes, he first described the pernicious character of the Bursum Bill. He then carefully outlined the importance of IWC investigations intended to safeguard Indian interests and stated that Catholic support for these inquiries was consistent with the finest traditions of the Church's Indian missions. On the subject of church support, Collier wrote:

It is desirable that the Roman Catholic sponsorship be made as great as possible and shall extend to the entire range of their [the Pueblos'] problem, not only religious and moral but equally the social and economic phases of their problem which largely determine the moral part in these groups whose land and life is inseparable. I can't find any fine [sic] social imagination, any statesmanship, applied over a long period to any group in the United States, except which the Franciscans (and those whom they influenced) applied to the Southwest Indians. The principle and methods they used are just as applicable today; the new techniques, especially of economic sorts, which are needed, would assimilate perfectly to the ancient Franciscan conceptions.²⁰



ILL. 4. MSGR. WILLIAM HUGHES
(Courtesy Special Collections and
University Archives, Marquette
University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin)

Hughes needed no letter from Collier to inform him of the dangers that the Bursum Bill posed to Pueblo landholdings and water rights. His associates

in Washington and missionaries in the Southwest had long ago apprised him of these facts. When writing to Hughes, Collier may well have known that he was preaching to the converted. His goal, however, was not merely to formally enlist the BCIM director among the anti-Bursum forces, but also to obtain from him a letter of introduction that would facilitate his investigations in New Mexico.

Although he sympathized fully with the IWC's campaign against the Bursum Bill, Hughes lacked sufficient knowledge of Collier to vouch for his character. He therefore sought the advice of Fr. Dennis Lacey and Bishop John Joseph Cantwell of Los Angeles and Archbishop Edward Joseph Hanna of San Francisco, all of whom were familiar, Hughes knew, with Collier's character and work. Only after the three clerics had submitted their endorsements did Hughes notify the missionaries in New Mexico to assist Collier's work.

The curious saga of the early relationship between Collier and the Catholic Indian Missions really begins with Hughes's correspondence. He advised the Pueblo missionaries to prepare for a visit from Collier of the IWC and Richard Shevsky of Leland Stanford Junior University in California. The intent of these visitors was to gather information for an exhaustive investigation of Pueblo land conditions. Lauding their qualifications and project, Hughes wrote Fr. Salvatore Gene, "[They] are specially equipped to such an investigation and manifest warm interest in the Pueblo. The matter to which they are giving their special attention . . . the Bursum bill now pending in Congress which, if passed, would work very serious injury on the Pueblo Indians. I speak for these gentlemen [to solicit] your courteous and hearty cooperation in conducting an undertaking that, I am quite sure, will be for the great benefit of the Indians concerned."²¹

The monsignor's letters of introduction supplied Collier with access to the knowledge and good graces of the many Catholic religious stationed among the Pueblos. The most important of these contacts was undoubtedly Fr. Fridolin Schuster, the veteran Franciscan missionary at Laguna. Like Hughes and Collier, Father Schuster well understood the disasters that the Bursum Bill would unleash on Pueblo communities. To learn more about the measure, Schuster had met with attorney Francis C. Wilson of Santa Fe, who was an IWC retainer at the time. Wilson evidently provided the priest with information but dampened his hope of defeating the pro-Bursum forces.²²

A boost in Schuster's spirits was not long in coming. On 1 November 1922, he wrote Hughes that he had "met with Collier and [was] more than happy to join forces with him."²³ In this letter, the priest included a postscript invaluable for gauging his initial response to Collier: "Mr. Collier is a wonderful man, very clever, thorough and a good organizer. He is eminently fitted for

the work and the Federation [of Women's Clubs] could hardly have selected a more competent man."²⁴

Meanwhile, Collier apparently had taken no less of a liking to the Franciscan priest. He related to Father Hughes that he "found especially great help from Fr. Shuster [*sic*] of Laguna."²⁵ Shortly thereafter, Collier commented, "Fr. Shuster [*sic*] has scholarship, the most practicality, is accepted by the Laguna Indians as a sort of a wiser brother or vice governor, [and] is equally in touch with the Government men, and he is one of the few persons in or out of New Mexico who understands the Pueblo land question and the legal and legislative side of this very complicated situation."²⁶

Despite the warmth of these mutual accolades, however, the relationship between Collier (in association with Wilson) and Father Schuster began to cool within a year of their initial meeting, and both Schuster and Hughes soon severed their association with Collier. Strangely, this rapid fallout resulted from a disagreement over which of two compromise bills could best protect Pueblo land rights while gaining Senate and House passage.

One of these proposals, known as the Jones-Leatherwood Bill, called for the creation of a presidentially appointed three-person panel that would work with a special U.S. attorney and a Pueblo-appointed counsel.²⁷ This panel was to be responsible, first, for establishing guidelines for compensating Indians who had been dispossessed of their lands; second, for applying these guidelines on a case-by-case basis to the disputed land claims brought before it; and third, for allocating approximately one million dollars to irrigation projects that would benefit Indians and non-Indians alike.

According to the *Searchlight* (later renamed the *Searchlight on Congress*), a monthly bulletin published by the watchdog group the National Voters' League, Jones-Leatherwood represented the combined efforts of the Pueblo Indians, the Women's Federation, the Franciscan Fathers of New Mexico, and the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs. High-profile organizations such as the American Anthropological Association and the Eastern Association on Indian Affairs had endorsed the bill. In spite of its distinguished pedigree and the growing public support for the Pueblos, however, it failed to win over most of the House Indian Affairs Committee's pro-Bursum members.²⁸

Having anticipated this outcome, the Senate Committee on Public Lands and Surveys held an open hearing from 15 January to 25 January 1923. A steady stream of anti-Bursum witnesses, including Wilson, Atwood, and Collier (in the company of numerous Pueblo Indians), voiced their opposition to the bill's passage. Although officials from the Interior Department attempted to counter these criticisms, the committee ultimately decided that the bill was unfair to the Indians and that a more equitable measure should replace it.

Bearing the name of the Senate committee's chairman, Irvine L. Lenroot, the Lenroot Substitute called for the formation of a federal board of arbitration much like the one that had been outlined in the Jones-Leatherwood Bill. Unlike its predecessor, however, this board was to follow a specific statute of limitations on Pueblo claims. The Lenroot Substitute also differed from Jones-Leatherwood by specifying mechanisms to compensate Indians for the lands they had lost.

The Lenroot Substitute split apart the closely drawn ranks of the anti-Bursum forces. While some members of this coalition believed that the measure offered a reasonable compromise between the Bursum and Jones-Leatherwood Bills, others found it weighted heavily against the Pueblos. The debate also divided Collier, Wilson, and Schuster into opposing camps. Collier opposed the Lenroot Substitute's passage, while Wilson and Schuster supported it. This difference was the source of bitterness that intensified over time. Expressing the level of hostility the measure generated, Schuster wrote to Hughes in November 1923:

We [Schuster and Wilson] both agreed that Collier is a "nut" and a radical man. I realized that when I was in Washington, so did Wilson. However, under the then existing conditions we had to hold together, at least on the surface. Action against the Bursum bill was most imperative and therefore Wilson and I did things we would not have had we more time to deliberate. After the close of Congress Collier attacked Wilson most shamefully and unjustly. I sided with Wilson and that apparently made Collier sore at me. I have had no correspondence with Collier since I returned from Washington. I am through with him.²⁹

On yet another occasion, Schuster wrote Lenroot to warn him of the devious tactics that Collier was intending to employ in order to turn the committee against the Lenroot Substitute. He stated: "John Collier is on his way to Washington with twelve Pueblo Indians. These Indians are from the northern pueblos only. . . . Thus again John Collier is sailing under false colors if he maintains that he has representatives from all the pueblos." Schuster elaborated:

I have been further told that John Collier made the statement . . . that he does not want educated Indians, but Indians who can sing and dance well; that they are doing the dancing and he (John Collier) will do the talking. If this be true, it seems that Mr. Collier is taking the Indians to Washington for the sole purpose of arousing sentiments

in their favor and for the purpose of propaganda. . . . If Mr. Collier uses such methods I am of the humble opinion that he deserves little consideration from your Committee. We fear that by such methods Mr. Collier will only injure the Indian cause.³⁰

From Schuster's point of view, Collier had become an exceedingly strange bedfellow with whom he wished to sever all ties.

If their dispute had rested on achieving an equitable solution to the Pueblo land controversy, Schuster and Collier may soon have been free of each other. During the debacle over the Bursum Bill, however, Indian Commissioner Burke disseminated a circular that not only deepened the conflict but also drew Monsignor Hughes directly into the fray. Released on 14 February 1923, this circular described the obstacle that social and religious—"pagan"—dances posed to the social and economic advancement of the Indians. The commissioner recommended that reservation agents strictly enforce regulations regarding their frequency and performance.³¹

In spite of his fundamental agreement with Burke's positions on Indian dancing and religion, Schuster harbored serious misgivings concerning the contents and timing of the order. First, he considered the commissioner guilty of naïve induction by generalizing too freely about Indian rituals from data drawn predominantly from the Sioux. Second, he feared that Burke's threatening tone might incite the Pueblos to take action that would jeopardize their land claims. Schuster voiced his ambivalence to Hughes on 1 March 1923:

I think it [the circular] was untimely and unfortunate for the reason he made it so general and sweeping. I am in full sympathy with the contents, and purpose of that circular, but basing the circular on reports from Sioux country, the Commissioner generalizes and apparently includes all Indian tribes. The Pueblos are resenting it very strongly; some Pueblos have proposed to call another meeting of all the pueblos to protest against this measure. I am using my influence to prevent this. My advice is to remain cool and not start another row until the Indian land bill is definitely settled.³²

While Schuster labored to defuse the Pueblos' outrage over Burke's circular, Collier poured his energies into channeling their anger toward politically constructive ends. During the summer of 1923, the second All Pueblo Indian Council at Santo Domingo passed resolutions he had distributed protesting the circular. Angered by what he considered Collier's rabble-rousing, Schuster wrote Hughes: "I think that Commissioner Burke and the Bursum crowd

in Santa Fe are beginning to realize that I am not quite as radical as they thought. When the Pueblos held their meeting to protest against the Commissioner's circular on dancing neither I nor the Laguna Indians (upon my advice) were present, and when the Pueblos met again in Santo Domingo on August 25 I was not present and the Lagunas would not sign the resolutions that John Collier had formulated."³³ Collier's direct involvement or advisement undoubtedly irritated the cleric and his church and deepened his rift with Schuster and Hughes.

As he had done in the fight against the Bursum Bill, Collier published a series of articles in the popular press to publicize the injustice of Burke's policy on Indian dance and religion. In "Persecuting the Pueblos," which appeared in *Sunset* magazine, he quoted the Taos governor's response to the commissioner's circular, which characterized Pueblo religious traditions as pagan. The governor proclaimed, "This religion of ours is many thousand years old among our people and is more important to each one of us than money, horses, land, or anything else in the world. It teaches us about God and the earth and our duty to God, to earth, to one another. The White people have a Bible which is printed, but ours is passed on by memory from the old to the young and it contains our knowledge of God, our forms of prayer and our rules of life."³⁴ Expressing his own views on Pueblo religion and dance, Collier wrote:

Let [the reader] remind himself that the "dances" are any and all collective religious expressions of the Indians. Let him take in the fact that the Indian holy days and holy seasons have been fixed since thousands of years ago, as changeless as Easter or Christmas or any Jewish or Christian time of sacred rejoicing or mourning. The Indian holy places are as fixed as Rome, Mecca or Jerusalem. Let him be informed that planting time, blossoming time and harvest time are the immutable dates for Indian ritual far older than Christianity.³⁵

Collier concluded his article by exhorting readers of *Sunset* to express their disapproval of the government's suppression of Indian religions to their congressmen, the secretary of the interior, and the president of the United States. Their protests, he submitted, would "help decide whether Washington, or only the Bureau, is or shall be allowed to continue as the religious persecutor of the Indians."³⁶

As part of his campaign to sway popular opinion against Commissioner Burke and his policies, Collier arranged for a group of Pueblo dancers to perform at the Los Angeles meeting of the General Federation of Women's

Clubs in June 1924. Learning of Collier's plans on 28 May 1924, Schuster appealed to Hughes for funds to bring a contingent of "progressive," Christian Pueblos to the conference. Schuster wrote:

[Collier] will take a delegation of Pueblo Indian [*sic*] to the convention of the Federation of Woman's [*sic*] Club[s] next week (we just discovered this) ad [*sic*] there have them dance before the convention and then pointing to these harmless? beautiful? Dances with lots of sob stuff that the Indian Office is trying by force to stop these harmless practices of their religion. We must counteract this and we have a delegation of Catholic progressive Indians selected who will go as Christian Indians to present their side of the case and tell in their own words what they have suffered for many years for their religious convictions. . . . I do hope that you will have been able to raise or find some money to help this cause.³⁷

Hughes demonstrated his support for Schuster's strategy by quickly sending him the funds he had requested. And for a brief time, it appeared that the federation's meetings would be the scene of an ugly public showdown between Schuster and Collier on Pueblo religious freedom. At the last minute, however, Schuster's priestly duties prevented him and his contingent from attending the gathering.

Yet Schuster's change of plans merely postponed a clash between Collier and the Catholic Church over the Pueblos. When this confrontation finally took place, Collier's opponent was no longer a little-known missionary from an isolated pueblo but the director of the Catholic Indian missions himself, Monsignor Hughes.

Shortly after Collier vented his outrage over the government's attempts to suppress Pueblo religion, the BCIM director responded to his charges in a *Sacramento (Calif.) Bee* editorial. Headlined "Director of Catholic Indian Missions Says Pueblos Are Persecuted by Pagan Chiefs," Hughes's piece contended that the Christian, not non-Christian, Pueblos were the real victims of religious persecution. Hughes accused the "pagan, or reactionary chiefs" (*caciques*) of "cruelly persecuting the Christian progressives" because of the latter's refusal to participate in the pagan dances and customs. "For many years," Hughes continued, "returned students have been compelled to go back to the blanket or be persecuted by the czarist party." In a likely swipe at Collier and his supporters, he condemned "a few white men" for seeking to perpetuate the old Indian ways, "because it pays them in a salaried job or in art models or in scientific research, or because they are won by deception or sentimentality to the *cacique* cause."³⁸

To bolster his case, Hughes quoted liberally from a speech that the leader of the Christian Pueblos, Juan Pedro Melchior, had delivered before a meeting of the “All-Pueblo Progressive Indian Council” at Santa Clara Pueblo on 27 May 1924. In his talk, Melchior appealed for the government to protect Pueblo Christians so they could practice their religion in freedom, send their children to mission schools, receive their fair share of Pueblo resources, take part in the selection of Pueblo leaders, and advance civilization. “All the progressives,” Melchior pleaded, “want to progress, and they want their families to progress, and the Government is obliged to defend us.” He then declared that the “old officials must be put to one side . . . the officers are always taken from the party . . . we call the Cacique party. They do not work with justice; they have practiced many injustices against us. . . . We want liberty. We want justice.”³⁹

Hughes sent a copy of his editorial to Burke so he would receive it on the day it appeared in the *Bee*. The monsignor’s cover letter informed Burke that he had written the piece at the suggestion of his friend and *Bee* journalist Charley McClatchy, who urged him to go public with his charges that Collier had “falsif[ied] the facts on the Pueblo case and distort[ed] the spirit and letter of . . . [Burke’s] circulars concerning Indian dances.”⁴⁰ This unexpected attack on Collier so delighted Burke that he quickly telegraphed the vacationing Hughes for permission to reproduce and distribute the editorial.⁴¹ The BCIM director quickly assented “in the interest of truth and justice and for the benefit of the Indians.”⁴²

Not surprisingly Collier took a dimmer view of Hughes’s article. Writing to the editor of the *Bee*, he characterized the monsignor as the guileless pawn of the OIA. Hughes’s allegations against Pueblo traditionalists, he went on, were a “fantastic counter charge or smoke screen charge which has been proposed in self defense by agents of the Indian Bureau and others seeking to persecute Indian religions.” Burke’s policies on Indian religion, he claimed, were intended to “split the Pueblos asunder . . . paralyzing them in their struggle before the Indian Land Board and the courts for recovery of their lands.” Collier and his supporters realized “that the Indian deprived of his religion becomes [quickly] deprived of his land.” Collier submitted, “If they can be torn away from their religion, automatically they will be torn away from land.” Returning to Hughes’s charge that the caciques and the traditionalists were persecuting “progressive” Indians, Collier observed that the “Pueblos live their religion though they have no desire to impose it on any other human beings. They never proselytized or persecuted, which makes such a charge as Father Hughes has repeated cruelly fantastic.”⁴³

One of the more impassioned responses to Collier’s *Bee* editorial came from Joseph N. Montoya of San Juan Pueblo, who was vice president of the

All-Pueblo Progressive Council. In a letter to Collier, Montoya put his (Collier's) reputed friendship for the Indians to the test with a series of rhetorical questions:

What kind of friendship is it that would keep a whole race in primitive ignorance perpetuated under the name of an ancient religion? What kind of a friendship is it that would prevent a whole race from realizing to the fullest the possibilities of manhood under Christian civilization? What kind of friendship is it that would tamper with a race of immortal souls seeking a knowledge of the God who created them, in order to preserve this race as a curious show-case thing for the amusement of a more favored race? May I ask you if you cannot find apes and other primitive animals enough to fill your museums without putting your friends the Indians there for objects of amusement or scientific interest?⁴⁴

Switching from inquisitor to counselor, Montoya advised Collier: "If you wish to be our real friend, show your interest by granting the only mark of friendship possible in your case. Withdraw altogether from us and leave us to our Government and such true friends as are acting with it, and we shall soon be able to settle our own business to our best interests."⁴⁵

Schuster's opinion of Collier continued to plummet while Collier and Hughes were trading accusations. Writing to BCIM secretary Charles Lusk in late May 1924, he asserted: "I imagine the name of John Collier makes you as sick to the stomache [*sic*] as it does me. He is certainly a disturbing element in the Pueblo country and always inciting the Indians to something. . . . I wish that Commissioner Burke would order him off Pueblo lands. If Collier is anxious to pose as a martyr I would not hesitate to give him that opportunity."⁴⁶

While Hughes and Collier waged their war of words over Burke's Indian-land policy, Congress finally ratified the Pueblo Lands Board Act on 7 June 1924. The final bill was an evenhanded reworking of elements from the Jones-Leatherwood Act and the Lenroot Substitute that satisfied supporters of each. Once signed into law, this legislation brought the battle over Pueblo land rights to a close and allowed the various contesting parties finally to turn their attention elsewhere.⁴⁷

Yet the antagonism bred by Hughes's private and public battle with Collier not only led him to reinforce the BCIM's bond with Burke's Indian policies but also encouraged him to seek a pact with Herbert Welsh, the founder and longtime leader of the Indian Rights Association (IRA), a Protestant-dominated Indian advocacy group that the Catholics identified as an archenemy of their

Indian missions. That Hughes would attempt to establish an alliance with the founder and longtime leader of the IRA spoke volumes about his loathing for Collier. During Welsh's tenure as president in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the IRA's staunch opposition to federal support for Catholic-operated Indian boarding schools made his name anathema among Catholic missionaries.

To woo Welsh, Hughes sent him a personalized copy of his attack on the "Pagan Chiefs." Delighted by this gesture, Welsh thanked him for "his admirable written statement" and replied, "I need scarcely add I concur in what you have said." As if commiserating with an old friend, Welsh informed Hughes of a "serious situation" at the Pueblo of Cochiti involving a cacique who was refusing to return two boys, who had been granted fourteen days furlough for religious training, to the government boarding school. This defiance, virtually constituting a rebellion against the U.S. Constitution and federal law, "has been brought about by the conflict between the pagan chiefs representing the non-progressive ideas and those Indians of the Pueblos who want to move forward into the quiet and secure paths of United States citizenship, whether as Catholic Christians or those of other forms of Christian belief." To preempt "grave consequences in the future," Welsh insisted that the non-progressive Pueblo should be "made to understand that they must obey our laws, and certainly that they will not be permitted to force those members of their tribe . . . who want to march forward in civilized ways, to become their serfs."⁴⁸

Welsh's policy, which linked "Christian civilization" to federal assimilationist Indian policy, was quickly losing ground to a more pluralistic philosophy of society and religion in the 1920s. This transition explained Collier's, Schuster's, and Hughes's radically different takes on Burke's proscription of Indian "dancing." Reflecting the Catholic perspective on nonwestern faiths, the priest and monsignor viewed Pueblo modes of worship in terms of a theological split between natural religion on the one hand and the revealed, supernatural Judeo-Christian tradition on the other. They took for granted that replacing the superstitions of Pueblo heathenism with Catholic ritual and prayer constituted the heart of the Catholic mission and complemented their work to advance Indians from savagery to civilization. For Collier and his supporters such as Mabel Dodge Luhan, the Pueblos' religion had guaranteed their survival as a Native people in tight-knit tribal communities. And, although undeniably different from the practices of Christians and Jews, Pueblo beliefs and rituals were equally ancient, valid expressions of human spirituality.⁴⁹

At first glance, Collier's unintended role in brokering a truce between the traditionally antagonistic forces of Catholic and Protestant missionization is

little more than an ironic blip in the history of Christian missions to American Indians. A deeper consideration, however, demonstrates its importance for understanding the impending collapse of the assimilationist assumptions and methods that had dominated federal Indian policy since the 1870s. Whatever their mutual antagonisms and disparate theologies, Protestant and Catholic missionaries agreed that civilizing and Christianizing Indians was the fundamental solution to the “Indian Problem.” Missionaries threw themselves into divesting Native Americans of their traditional customs and religions and replacing them with Euroamerican institutions and Christianity. The disappearance of “the Indians” as distinct societies and cultures and the transformation of tribal members into American Christian citizens would signal their success.⁵⁰

These distinct notions concerning who Indians were and what sort of social and religious beings they ought to become set the stage for Collier’s second encounter with Hughes and the Catholic missionary enterprise. This time, however, the battle would be waged over the much higher stakes of whether the Church could continue its work with Indians in cooperation with the federal government.

Collier and the Crisis in the Catholic Indian Mission

By 1926 anecdotal evidence suggested that the socioeconomic conditions of Indians had worsened significantly under Burke’s scandal-ridden tenure as commissioner. To gauge the extent of this decline, Sec. of the Int. Hubert Work contracted with Lewis M. Meriam of the Brookings Institution to undertake a rigorous investigation of the current status of federal services to Native Americans.

Completed in February 1928, Meriam’s analysis, a scathing indictment of U.S. Indian affairs, was erudite and far too detailed for general consumption.⁵¹ Muckraking articles based on the commission’s findings, however, soon filtered into the popular press. One of the most scandalous noted that the average federal expenditure for students in Indian boarding schools amounted to about eleven cents a day, an irresistible target for investigative reporters.⁵²

The Meriam Report deepened Hughes’s concern over the failures of Catholic and federal assimilationist policy. The complaint of Fr. Joseph Zimmerman at St. Francis Mission in South Dakota over the eleven-cents-a-day claim drove Hughes to retort:

If you had attended with me the meeting in Atlantic City in November, you would realize a body of determined (and at present friendly) men are

resolved that the problem shall be solved. No answer should be made by any of us. The facts would be clearly against us. We would be defending the indefensible. We would simply be inviting and would deserve attack. You have probably never been burned so you do not fear fire. Please do not pick up this red hot stone. If you do, you and all of us will regret it.⁵³

With surprising candor, the monsignor posed the following question to Zimmerman:

If the Indian Department has pursued the right policies, why are the Sioux Indians not advanced much further in economic independence? You may answer that the Indian Department has not had enough money to do the job right. I believe that it is correct. But the rest of the answer is in the book. And most of it is right. Doctor Tennyly suggests that I write a similar book on the Catholic Indian missions—and then resign. Such a book might wake up the hierarchy and the people.⁵⁴

This admission, coming from the man in charge of Catholic Indian missions, foresaw the dangers facing Catholic Indian boarding schools only worsening.

Although bruised and shaken, Burke and the OIA managed to weather the initial blast from the Meriam Report. The shockwaves had hardly begun to subside when, in 1929, the commissioner was called to testify before a special Senate subcommittee that was conducting its own probe into the federal Indian Service. During his appearance, the panel relentlessly grilled Burke on suspected irregularities in his handling of the trust funds of Jackson Barnett, an Oklahoma Creek Indian, on whose allotment oil had been discovered. In an uncensored moment, the commissioner accused Sen. William Bliss Pine of Oklahoma of heading a cabal organized to destroy him and the OIA.⁵⁵ Unable either to substantiate these charges or to soften them to mollify his enemies, Burke submitted his letter of resignation on 9 March 1929.⁵⁶

Although Burke's career with the OIA was now technically at an end, he continued as the lame duck commissioner until the beginning of July. During the interim, Pres. Herbert Hoover's choice as new commissioner, Charles Rhoads, worked frantically to acquaint himself with the bureau's complex machinery. Upon assuming office, he directed his energies toward winning congressional approval for many reforms recommended by Meriam and his associates. As a former president of the Indian Rights Association, however, Rhoads remained committed to that organization's traditional assimilationist goals in ways that soon ran him afoul of the OIA's more radical critics. Among these opponents were Collier, cofounder and executive secretary of

the American Indian Defense Association (AIDA), and Harold C. Ickes, a progressive member of that organization.⁵⁷

As a key player in Washington's Indian-policy establishment and a friend of Burke's, Hughes was undoubtedly cognizant of Collier's involvement in the successful effort to oust the former commissioner. But the monsignor was likely more concerned about the relationship of Collier and AIDA to the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. Although Hughes now supported the position that assimilationist Indian policy was in need of a fundamental overhaul, he thought that many of AIDA's recommendations were far too radical. Of particular concern was the organization's opposition to Indian boarding schools, including those that the Catholic Church had long operated on many reservations. Given Hughes's falling out with Collier over Pueblo religion and the latter's leadership in AIDA, the monsignor worried that his old nemesis would use his influence over the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs to undermine congressional support for these institutions. Writing to St. Francis Mission superior Zimmerman on 4 June 1929, Hughes stressed the importance of enrolling in his school as many students as government contracts allowed. "We need to make the best showing possible," he urged, "because the Sub-Committee may possibly go into the matter of tribal contract schools. I hope not because publicity would probably result in great injustice to the Indians, by reason of the religious prejudice which would be aroused against our mission schools."⁵⁸

After Franklin D. Roosevelt's victory in the presidential election of 1932, Hughes took for granted that the new commander in chief would replace most of Hoover's appointees with those of his own choosing. The casualties, he assumed, would almost certainly include Rhoads, whose conservative approach to changes in Indian affairs ran contrary to the new Democratic administration's social agenda. On 20 February 1933, Monsignor Hughes wrote to Katherine Drexel, mother superior of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament and heiress to the Philadelphia Drexel fortune, about the likelihood that Rhoads would be required to vacate his post and the significance of this change for the Catholic Indian schools. He assured her that "the important thing is not so much who will be made Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner, but that the key men who know what it is all about, shall be retained."⁵⁹ Although Hughes was probably unhappy when Roosevelt chose AIDA affiliate Harold L. Ickes to replace Ray Lyman Wilbur as secretary of the interior, Ickes's championing of Collier for Indian commissioner must have horrified him. The monsignor, as we have seen, was beset with doubts concerning assimilationist Indian policy, but his hatred of Collier was undiminished. He quickly arranged for a meeting with James A. Farley,

Roosevelt's newly appointed postmaster general and the first Irish Catholic to gain such political prominence. Through Farley, the monsignor hoped to make Ickes revoke Collier's nomination. Hughes presented Farley with the following reasons: "First, because he [Collier] is an impractical agitator . . . secondly, because he would do endless harm not only to the Democratic Administration but also the Indians and, thirdly, because he is an avowed opponent of the contract school system." Hughes also urged Cardinal Patrick Joseph Hayes of New York to ask the postmaster to speak to the president. "Your Eminence may judge that this action is necessary," Hughes declared, "because in my seventeen years with the Bureau, I have never heretofore, found such action necessary. We have been able to take the Commissioners as they came, always establishing cordial relations."⁶⁰

Indeed, Farley informed Ickes of the BCIM director's reservations concerning Collier. As Hughes learned later, however, Farley's message "had no effect, Secretary Ickes considering himself, as he is a coordinate member of the Cabinet with Mr. Farley."⁶¹ Having thus failed to scuttle Collier's appointment, Hughes resigned himself to the fact that the "impractical agitator" would soon be in charge of setting a new course for federal Indian policy that, he was convinced, would have no place for Catholic missionary work on reservations.

Conclusion

As expected, Collier was appointed commissioner of Indian affairs on 21 April 1933. By June of the following year, Congress had approved (if tentatively) many of the provisions in his sweeping overhaul of federal Indian relations. Although officially designated the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), the new policy was also referred to as the Wheeler-Howard Act and the Indian New Deal, the last label signifying its place in Roosevelt's overarching economic stimulus package. Collectively the IRA's various components constituted the final nail in the coffin for Indian "civilization and Christianization." Accordingly, both the policy of allotment, which had led to the loss of more than ninety million acres of tribally controlled land and the suppression of Native cultures and religions were immediately terminated at the federal level.

Contrary to Hughes's expectations, however, the IRA displayed no animus toward reservation missionary work. In his first annual report, Commissioner Collier warned, "No interference with Indian religious life will hereafter be tolerated," but he also insisted that his administration had no "intention of interfering unduly with intelligent and devoted mission effort on the part of Catholic or Protestant workings in the Indian field" or the operation of

denominational education.⁶² The IRA prioritized community day schools over both government- and church-operated boarding facilities (a shift in policy recommended by the Meriam Report and actually initiated under Rhoads), but it also recognized the ongoing necessity for the latter. The government continued to underwrite boarding-school tuition for children living in economically ravaged households (which was not uncommon on depression-era reservations) and for those who lived great distances from day schools. Under these circumstances, denominational boarding schools, such as the one at St. Francis Mission, still provided significant educational service to tribal reservations.

Although Hughes was less than enthusiastic about a number of Collier's initiatives, the IRA was, to his surprise, a policy with which he could live. In "Indians of a New Trail" published in the *Catholic World* in July 1934, Hughes wrote that the IRA "will open up a new era for Indians in which all of the ardent hopes, misgivings, honest doubts and interested opposition will resolve themselves into team work by Government employees, missionaries, friends of Indians and the Indian [*sic*] themselves, under the idealistic but practical leadership of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the improvement of the Indians."⁶³ This optimistic assessment of the state of church-federal relations in Indian affairs is certainly at odds with the pessimism he expressed to Cardinal Hayes concerning his ability to work with Collier. Although he and the Indian commissioner might have never been able to establish "cordial relations," Hughes apparently now recognized Collier as someone with whom he could work, "taking him as he came."⁶⁴

Notes

1. For overviews of evolutionary social and cultural change, see David Bidney, *Theoretical Anthropology* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967); and Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). For its application to American Indian policy, see Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (1984; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); and Harvey Markowitz, *Converting the Rosebud: A Culture History of Catholic Mission and the Sicangu Lakotas, 1886–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Divinity School, 2002).
2. S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973), 46–47.
3. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888–1912* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979); and Harvey Markowitz, "The Catholic Mission

- and the Sioux: A Crisis in the Early Paradigm,” in *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas R. Parks (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 113–37.
4. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Pt. 1, Q.I, A. 8, ad. 2. An excellent example of the belief that the planting of church communities required appropriately civilized soil can be seen in the Catholic Church’s strong advocacy for settling nomadic Indian tribes on reservations. Once these tribes had been made stationary, the missionaries could school them in western customs and values, and the work of missionaries would have a chance to take root.
 5. John Collier, *From Every Zenith: A Memoir; and Some Essays on Life and Thought* (Denver, Colo.: Sage Books, 1962), 9–12.
 6. *Ibid.*, 10.
 7. *Ibid.*, 24 (first quote), 25 (second quote).
 8. Collier, *Zenith*, 24–25, 63, 64, 68–69. Collier’s close working associates in New York reflect his progressive stance. They included Robert E. Ely, founder of the League for Political Education, and Charles Sprague-Smith, organizer of the People’s Institute, where Collier worked.
 9. *Ibid.*, 68–94.
 10. *Ibid.*, 115–23.
 11. Collier, *Zenith*, 124.
 12. *Ibid.*, 126.
 13. Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier’s Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920–1954* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 24.
 14. For a detailed treatment of Collier’s work with the IWC and Stella Atwood, see Karin L. Huebner, “An Unexpected Alliance: Stella Atwood, the California Clubwomen, John Collier, and the Indians of the Southwest, 1917–1934,” *Pacific Historical Review* 78 (August 2009): 337–66.
 15. Collier, *Zenith*, 126–31.
 16. *United States v. Sandoval*, 231 U.S. 28 (1913).
 17. For an excellent summary of the convoluted evolution of Bursum and post-Bursum congressional actions on the Pueblo land crisis, see Philp, *Collier’s Crusade*, 26–54.
 18. Collier, *Zenith*, 132.
 19. John Collier, “Plundering the Pueblo Indians,” *Sunset*, January 1923, 21–27.
 20. John Collier to Hughes, 29 September 1922, Papers of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Department of Special Collections and Archives, Raynor Memorial Libraries, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin [hereafter BCIM].
 21. William Hughes to Gene, 10 October 1922, BCIM.
 22. Schuster to William Hughes, 2 October 1922, BCIM.
 23. Fridolin Schuster to William Hughes, 1 November 1922, BCIM.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. John Collier to William Hughes, 27 October 1922, BCIM.
 26. *Ibid.*
 27. For an excellent summary of the various congressional proposals to settle the Pueblo land controversy, see Philp, *Collier’s Crusade*, 26–54.
 28. The *Searchlight* no. 7 contains two important essays by Collier on the thorny negotiations between the pro- and anti-Bursum forces on the Pueblo land controversy: John

- Collier, "Politicians Pillage the Pueblos," *Searchlight*, 31 December 1922, pp. 15–20; and "Congress Upholds and Upbuilds Bureaucracy," *Searchlight*, 1 May 1923, pp. 16–21.
29. Fridolin Schuster to William Hughes, 19 November 1923, BCIM.
 30. Fridolin Schuster to Irvine Lenroot, 27 January 1924, BCIM.
 31. Charles Burke, "Segments from the Circular No. 1665 and Supplement to Circular No. 1665, Indian Dancing," 26 April 1921 and 14 February 1923, Washington, D.C.: Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior. For a description of the responses to Burke's pamphlet, see Tisa Joy Wenger, *We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, in association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2009).
 32. Fridolin Schuster to William Hughes, 1 March 1923, BCIM.
 33. Fridolin Schuster to William Hughes, 19 November 1923, BCIM.
 34. John Collier, "Persecuting the Pueblos," *Sunset*, July 1924, 93.
 35. *Ibid.*, 92.
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. Fridolin Schuster to William Hughes, 28 May 1924, BCIM.
 38. William Hughes, "Director of Catholic Indian Missions Says Pueblos Are Persecuted by Pagan Chiefs," *Sacramento (Calif.) Bee*, 26 July 1924.
 39. *Ibid.*
 40. William Hughes to Charles Burke, 26 July 1924, BCIM.
 41. Charles Burke to William Hughes, 9 August 1924, BCIM.
 42. William Hughes to Charles Burke, 10 August 1924, BCIM.
 43. John Collier to Charley McLatchy, 8 August 1924, BCIM. Collier's response was published in the 23 August 1924 edition of the *Sacramento (Calif.) Bee* under the title "Religious Persecution of Indians Charged by Defense League Official." Collier's letter was one of his few public criticisms of Catholic Indian policy during his career.
 44. Montoya to John Collier, 17 August 1924, BCIM.
 45. *Ibid.*
 46. Fridolin Schuster to Lusk, 31 May 1924, BCIM.
 47. Pueblo Lands Board Act, 43 Stat. 636 (1924).
 48. Herbert Welsh to William Hughes, 22 August 1924, BCIM.
 49. John Collier, "The Indian and Religious Freedom," r. 9, *John Collier Papers, 1922–1968* (Sanford, N.C.: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1970).
 50. An epitomizing statement of these goals is found in *The Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* for 1869, pp. 5–11, in *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha, 3d ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 130–33.
 51. Lewis Meriam et al., Brookings Institution, Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey Made at the Request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to Him, February 21, 1928* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928).
 52. See Vera Connolly, "The Cry of a Broken People," *Good Housekeeping*, February 1929, 30–31.
 53. William Hughes to Zimmerman, 29 January 1929, BCIM.
 54. *Ibid.*

55. *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, Seventieth Congress, Second Session Pursuant to S. Res. 79, 70th Cong.* (1928).
56. Robert M. Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola, *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824–1977* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 260.
57. For an interesting examination of Rhoads's approach to federal Indian policy, see Thomas A. Britten, "Hoover and the Indians: The Case for Continuity in Federal Indian Policy, 1900–1933," *The Historian* 61 (1999): 518–38.
58. William Hughes to Joseph Zimmerman, 4 June 1929, BCIM.
59. William Hughes to Drexel, 20 February 1933, BCIM.
60. William Hughes to Hayes, 10 April 1933, BCIM. In this message Hughes presented a detailed summary of his meeting with Farley to Hayes, who was a member of the BCIM's board of directors.
61. *Ibid.*
62. One is tempted to speculate whether Collier's appreciation of the humanistic form of Catholicism he experienced as a child tempered his attitude toward church work on the reservations. If so, he does not indicate that this was the case in his autobiography.
63. William Hughes, "Indians on a New Trail," *Catholic World*, July 1934.
64. William Hughes to Patrick Joseph Hayes, 10 April 1933, BCIM.